

A GRAMMAR
OF THE
CLASSICAL ARABIC LANGUAGE,
TRANSLATED AND COMPILED FROM THE WORKS
OF THE
MOST APPROVED NATIVE OR NATURALIZED AUTHORITIES.

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BY MORTIMER SLOPER HOWELL,

H. M.'S BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE,  
Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and Fellow of the University of Calcutta, and of  
Anjuman-i-Punjab  
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UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE GOVERNMENT, N.-W. PROVINCES.

IN AN INTRODUCTION AND FOUR PARTS.

The Introduction: and Part I.-The Noun.

Book 3



ALLAHABAD:

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- P.* 906, *l.* 5. Read "XXII. 37."—*l.* 11. Read "o. f."—*l.* 17. Read *آم*—*l.* 25. Read *فَعَالٌ*.
- P.* 926, *l.* 16. Read "Ma'rūf".
- P.* 990, *l.* 17. Read *عَارِضِيهَا*.
- P.* 1015, *l.* 12. I supply *فيه تامل* or *فيه نظر* before *لانه* in *وما زعمة من وهم سيبريه لانه* (CD. 189).
- P.* 1096, *l.* 5. Read "But".
- P.* 1098, *l.* 10. Read "AlḤumām".
- P.* 1170, *l.* 8. Read *سَفِيرَجَلْ*.
- P.* 1213, *l.* 1. Read "*orig.*"
- P.* 1219, *l.* 13. Read "Jh, MAR".
- P.* 1253, *l.* 1. This "distinction" is the distinction between the signs of the *du.* and *pl.* and the *ʿ* of feminization as respects not being taken into account in forming the *dim.*
- P.* 1334, *l.* 3. Read "the *ى* second".
- P.* 1339, *l.* 20. Read "peculiar".
- P.* 1396, *l.* 1. Read *مَهَلْبٌ*.
- P.* 1416, *l.* 8. Read "upon".
- P.* 139A, *l.* 12. Read "*l.* 2."
- P.* 152A, *l.* 13. Read "Khtt"—*l.* 14. Read "l'Égypte".
- P.* 180A, *l.* 1. Read "of the Hamza, the".
- P.* 181A, *l.* 1. Read *بَرِيهِمْ*.
- P.* 182A, *l.* 7. So printed by Wüstenfeld (Bk. 671, *l.* 13); but the metre seems to require *عَبَانَات* without Tanwīn. See *p.* 29, *ll.* 9-10.
- P.* 187A, *l.* 6. Read "Ukl".

Additions and Corrections to the Abbreviations of References.

* AArb. The *Asrār al'Arabīya* by KIAMB, edited by Seybold.

* ABk. Read "*d.* 494".

ALB. The Shaikh Muwaffaq ad Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'ABD ALLATĪF Ibn Yūsuf alMauṣili by origin, ALBAGHDĀDĪ by birth, known as ALMUTAHḤIN and IBN ALLABBĀD, the Grammarian, Lexicologist and Physician (*b.* 555 or 557, *d.* 629).

AMArb. ABŪ MUḤAMMAD alḤasan Ibn Aḥmad alGhundaḡānī, known as ALĀSWAD ALA'RĀBĪ, the Lexicologist and Genealogist. He was lecturing in 428.

Amd. ABU-LKĀSIM ALḤasan Ibn Bishr ALĀMĪDĪ, the Grammarian (*d.* 371), author of *AlMukhtaliḡ wa -lMu'taliḡ fī Asmā ash-Shu'arā*.

AN. ABU-NNADĀ Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad alGhundaḡānī, the Lexicologist and Genealogist.

* ARf. The Gloss of the Shaikh AḤMAD ARRIFĀ'Ī upon the BY, printed in Egypt in 1297.

* Aud. The Commentary named *Auḡāḡ alMusālik ilā Alfīya Ibn Mālik*, and commonly called the *Tauḡīḡ*, by IHsh on the IM, printed in Egypt in 1304.

* AWM. The *Kitāb alMu'jib fī Talkhīṡ Akhbār alMaghrib* (c.621), by the Ḥafīṡ Muḡyi-dDīn Abū Muḥammad 'ABD ALWĀḤID Ibn 'Alī atTamīmī ALMARRĀKUSHĪ, the Jurist and Historian (*b.* 581), edited by Dozy (The History of the Almohades).

* BM. The *Bughyat alMultamis fî Tārīkh Rijāl Ahl al-Andalus* by ABÙ JA'FAR Aḥmad Ibn Yaḥyà Ibn Aḥmad IBN 'AMĪRA adḌabbī alAndalusī, the Traditionist and Historian (*d.* 599), edited by Codera and Ribera.

* BY. The Commentary of the Shaikh BUḤRUḤ ALYAMANĪ upon the *Lāmīyat alAf'āl* by IM, printed in Egypt with the Gloss of ARf in 1297.

* DW. Before "and of Abū Nuwās" insert " of Abu-l'Atāhiya, edited by one of the Jesuit Fathers at Bairūt; of AlKhansā edited, with the Elegies of Sixty other Arab Poetesses, by one of the Jesuit Fathers at Bairūt."

* Fkhr. The Chronicle entitled *AlĀdāb asSultāniya wa-d-Duwal alIslāmiya* (*c.* 701), by Fakhr adDīn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, known as IBN AṬṬIṬṬAḤ (*b.* 660 or 680, *d.* 703), edited by Ahlwardt.

* IAb. The *Kitāb atTakmila li Kitāb aṣṢila*, or, more shortly, the *Takmilat aṣṢila*, by the Kāḍī and Ḥāfiẓ Abū 'Abd Alīah Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh alKudā'i alAndalusī alBalansī, known as IBN ALASBĀR, the Historian and Philologist (*b.* 595, *k.* 658 or 659), edited by Codera, being a supplement to the IBshk.

* IBshk. The *Kitāb aṣṢila fî Tārīkh A'imma alAndalus, etc.* (*c.* 534), by the Ḥāfiẓ Abu-l Kāsim Khalaf Ibn 'Abd AlMalik, known as IBN BASHKUWĀL, alAnṣārī alKhazrajī alAndalusī alKurṭubī, the Traditionist and Historian (*b.* 490 or 493 or 494, *d.* 577 or 578 or 587), edited by Codera, being a continuation of the IFr.

* IFr. The *Kitāb Tārīkh 'Ulama alAndalus* by the Kāḍī and Ḥāfiẓ Abu-lWalīd, or Abū Muḥammad, 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥam-

mad Ibn Yūsuf alʿAzdi alAndalusī alKurtubī, known as IBN AL-FARADĪ, the celebrated Jurist, Historian, Traditionist and Philologist (*b.* 351, *k.* 400 or 403), edited by Codera.

* IKhrd. The *Kiṭāb alMasālik wa -lMamālik* by Abu-lKāsim ʿUbad Allāh Ibn ʿAbd Allāh IBN KHURDĀDHBA, the Historian and Geographer (*d.* about 300), edited by De Goeje.

IMda. The Kāḍī Abu -lʿAbbās, or Abū Jaʿfar, Aḥmad Ibn ʿAbd ArRaḥmān alLakhmī alJayyānī alKurtubī, known as IBN MADĀ, the Grammarian and Lexicologist (*b.* 513, *d.* 592 or 593).

ITlh. Abū Bakr Muḥammad IBN TALḤA alUmayī alIshbīlī, the Philologist and Grammarian (*b.* 545, *d.* 618).

IW. One of two Grammarians, father and son, distinguished in the Index of Proper Names, *vid.*

(1) ABU-LḤUSAIN Muḥammad IBN WALLĀD, so known, though the real name was AlWalīd, atTamīmī alMiṣrī, the Grammarian (*d.* 298); and

(2) ABU-LʿABBĀS Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn AlWalīd at-Tamīmī alMiṣrī alḤanafī, known as IBN WALLĀD, the Grammarian (*d.* 332).

* Jrb. The Commentary of the Shaikh Fakr adDīn Aḥmad Ibn AlḤasan alJārabardī, denizen of Tabriz, the Grammarian (*d.* 746), upon the SH of IH, cited from a MS, and from extracts given in the MASH.

* Kh. Add "Also the Commentary (*c.* 886) of the same Author upon the IM, cited from extracts given in the Sn."

Khtt. Abū Sulaimān Ḥamd, or Aḥmad, Ibn Muḥammad al-Bustī, known as ALKHAṬṬĀBĪ, the Jurist, Traditionist and Philologist (*b.* 319, *d.* 386 or 388).

* KIJ. An Extract from the *Kitāb alKharāj* by Abu-lFaraj ḲUDĀMA IBN JA'FAR al Baghdādī, the Secretary (*d.* 337), edited by DeGoeje as an Appendix to the IKhrd.

* LTA. The *Kitāb alLubāb fī Tahdhīb alAnsāb* (*c.* 615), an Abridgment by IATH from the *Ansāb* of the Ḥāfiẓ Tāj alIslām ABŪ SA'D, or ABŪ SA'ID, 'Abd alKarīm Ibn Abī Bakr Muḥammad atTamīmī asSAM'ĀNĪ, or asSIM'ĀNĪ, alMarwazī ashShāfi'ī, the Genealogist (*b.* 506, *d.* 562), cited from a Specimen edited by Wüstenfeldt.

* MAJh. The Marginal Annotations of N upon the Jh, printed in Egypt, with the text of the Jh, in 1282.

* MASdf. The work called *AlMu'jam fī Aṣḥāb AlKādī alImām Abī 'Alī asṢadafī*, a Biographical Dictionary of the Pupils of Sdf, by IAb, edited by Codera.

MII. Abū Bakr, or Abū 'Abd Allāh, MUḤAMMAD IBN ISHĀK Ibn Yasār alḲurashī alMuṭṭalibī by enfranchisement, alMadīnī (his grandfather Yasār having been taken prisoner by Khālīd Ibn alWalīd from 'Ain atTamr in the year 12, and sent to Abū Bakr at alMadīna, where he became the freedman of Abū Muḥammad, or Abu -sSā'ib, Ḳais Ibn Makbrama Ibn alMuṭṭalib Ibn 'Abd Manāf alḲurashī alMuṭṭalibī alMakkī asṢaḥābī), the Biographer, Historian and Traditionist (*d.* 144 or 150 or 151 or 152 or 153).

* MINR. The *Mizān alI'tidāl fī Nakd arRijāl*, a Biographical Dictionary of Traditionists, by Db, lithographed at Lucknow.

Nsf. The Shaikh Najm adDin Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar Ibn Muḥammad anNasafī asSamarḳandī, the Commentator, Traditionist and Glossarist (b. 461, d. 537), author of the TT.

Sdf. The Kādi and Ḥafīẓ Abū 'Alī alḤusain Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Firru Ibn Ḥayyūn aṣṢadafī alAndalusī asSaraḳusṭī, known as IBN SUKKARA, the Reader and Traditionist (d. 514).

Sfw. The Sayyid Kuṭb adDin 'Isā Ibn Muḥammad alḤusainī aṣṢafawī (d. 953), author of a Commentary on the IH.

* TR. The *Tarājim Rijāl, etc.*, or Biographies of the Authorities cited by MII, by Dh, edited by Fischer.

* Tr. The *Tārīkh arRusul wa-lMulūk* by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad Ibn Jarīr aṬṬabarī (b. 224 or 225, d. 310) cited from the Fifth Part edited by Kosegarten, and from the complete edition brought out by De Goeje and others, to which are appended Extracts from the *Dhail alMudhḥayyal*, a History of the Companions and Followers, by the same Author.

TSh. The *Ṭabaḳāt ashShu'arā*, or Classes of the Poets, by MIS and UISh.

* Also the *Ṭabaḳāt ashShu'arā*, or Classes of the Poets, named also the *Kitāb ashShi'r wa-shShu'arā*, or Book of Poetry and the Poets, by IKb, cited from a Fragment edited by Rittershausen.

* Tsr. The Appendix, styled *AtTaḡrīḥ bi Maḍmūn atTaudīḥ* (c. 890), by Kh, to the Aud, cited from extracts given in the Sn and the MAD, and from a MS. The Author is sometimes called the Muṣarriḥ.

TT. The *Ṭalibat*, or *Tilbat*, *atṬalaba fi-lLughā* by Nsf, a Glossary of the words mentioned in the works of the Ḥanafī Jurists.

* WIH. The Commentary entitled *AlWāfiya fi Sharḥ alKāfiya* by IH upon his own work the Kāfiya, cited from a MS.

CORRECTION OF CHRONOLOGICAL LIST.

Dele No. 196 and Note 2. The proper place of ABk, belonged to the Spanish School, and died in 494, is between 109 and No. 110. He was pupil of Mkk (95), and master of (116). His biography is given by IBshk, but not in the BM

cation of the *du.*—the form of the *sing.* is generally prèservèd—elision of the ة of femininization—of the ن of the *du.*—and of its ! ... 842—846

§ 229. The form of the *sing.* when unaltered in the *du.*—and when altered—dualization of the abbreviated, when its ! is 3rd—different opinions on the mode of converting the *rad.* ! and the ! whose *o. f.* is unknown—modes allowable when the ! has two *o. fs.*—dualization of the abbreviated when its ! is 4th or upwards—مَذْرُوءَانِ—elision of the ! in the *du.* of the abbreviated transcending four letters—خَوَزَلَانِ and قَهْقَرَانِ—summary of the rules for converting the ! of the abbreviated in the *du.*—summary of the anomalous *dus.* in the abbreviated ... 846—850

§ 230. The *us.* whose final is Hamza are prolonged and unprolonged—definition of the prolonged—its Hamza—dualization of the prolonged when its Hamza is (1) substituted for the ! of femininization—(2) *rad.*—(3) denotative of co-ordination and (4) converted from a *rad.* و or ی — ثَنَائِيَانِ and كِسَائِيَانِ—elision of the ! and Hamza of femininization—summary of the anomalous *dus.* in the prolonged—definition and dualization of the unprolonged ... 850—853

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§ 231. Dualization of the <i>n.</i> arbitrarily curtailed of its final—the <i>n.</i> whose <i>J</i> is elided for a necessitating cause ...	853—855
§ 232. Dualization of the <i>quasi-pl.</i> and of the broken, but not ultimate, <i>pl.</i> —dualization is easier in the <i>quasi-pl.</i> than in the broken <i>pl.</i> —and is not allowable in the ultimate <i>pl.</i> ...	855—856
§ 233. Number preferred in the <i>pre.</i> , (1) when two parts are literally or ideally <i>pre.</i> to their two wholes, (a) if the two wholes be uniform in letter—the <i>du.</i> disapproved unless omission of dualization would lead to ambiguity—the <i>pl.</i> why preferred to the <i>sing.</i> —difference of opinion as to the number allowable when each whole contains more than one of each part— <i>ex.</i> of the <i>du.</i> and <i>pl.</i> , and <i>ex.</i> of the <i>du.</i> —(b) if the two wholes be separated by a <i>con.</i> —(2) when the <i>pre.</i> is not part of the <i>post.</i> <i>du.</i> —number of the <i>pron.</i> , <i>qual.</i> , <i>dem.</i> , and the like, belonging to the <i>pre. n.</i> whose letter differs from its sense—the <i>sing.</i> substituted for the <i>du.</i> or <i>pl.</i> —the <i>du.</i> for the <i>sing.</i> —the <i>pl.</i> for the <i>sing.</i> or <i>du.</i> — <i>ex.</i> of the <i>sing.</i> and <i>pl.</i> for the <i>du.</i> ...	856—861

CHAPTER VII.—THE PLURAL NOUN.

- § 234. Definition of pluralization—and of *pl.*—IH's definition of *pl.*—R's explanation of the

definition—^٩قَمَر and ^٩رَكِب not *pls.*, but فَلَكْ
 a *pl.*—classification of *pl.*—sound *pl.*—also
 called *perf. pl.*—*masc.* and *fem.*—sound *pl.*
masc.—also called *perf. pl. masc.*—*perf. pl.*
masc.—also called *pl.* analogous to *du.*, and
pl. with two spellings—predicament of its
 two augments—elision of its ن—its *sing.*
 sound in the final, or unsound—formation of
 this *pl.* from the sound—the unsound defec-
 tive, abbreviated, or otherwise unsound—for-
 mation of this *pl.* from the otherwise unsound
 —from the defective—from the abbreviated
 —no distinction made by the BB and IM
 between the abbreviated whose † is *aug.* and
 the abbreviated whose † is *rad.*—co-ordi-
 nation of abbreviated with defective allowed
 when the † is *aug.*—or whether the † be *aug.*
 or *rad.*—or necessary when the † is undoubt-
 edly *aug.*, disallowed when the † is undoubt-
 edly *rad.*, and allowed when the † may be *aug.*
 or *rad.*—predicament of the prolonged—
sing. of this *pl.* either substantive or *ep.*—a
 proper name, or an *ep.*, of a rational being
 —or, in Z's words, of "him that knows"
 —the same conditions prescribed for this *pl.*
 as for the *du.*, with some additions—addi-
 tional conditions—*ns.* that do not satisfy the
 conditions—some conditions relaxed or dis-

عَرِيَانُونَ—سَيَفَانُونَ and نَدَمَانُونَ—puted—
 and خُصَانُونَ—*pls.* co-ordinated with *perf.*
pl. masc.—classification of such co-ordinates
 —anomalous *pls. masc.* with 'he, and ن—
 لَيْثُ عَفْرِيَنِ—irregular *pls.* with the , and
 ن common in one class of *ns.*—sometimes
 found in others—all the beings mentioned
 not necessarily *masc.* or rational—*du.* and
pl. of proper name, (1) when a synthetic
comp., if its second member be (a) *infl.*—(b)
uninfl.—(2) when an *att. comp.*—(3) when a
du. or a *pl.* with the , and ن—other forms of
du. and *pl.* of سَيَبَوِيَّةَ, and of خَمْسَةَ عَشَرَ as
 a proper name—(4) when a prothetic *comp.*—
pls. of ابْنُ كَذَا and ذُو كَذَا—sound *pl. fem.*
 —significations of its ا and ت—its *sing.*
 preserved—but the final ة elided in the *pl.*—
 formation of this *pl.* from abbreviated—
 predicament of prolonged and defective—*pl.*
 of ابْنَةٌ or بِنْتُ, and of أُخْتُ—of the *tril.*
 whose ل is elided, the ة being put as
 compensation for it—this *pl.* uniform in *gen.*
 and *acc.*—belongs to *fem.* substantives and
eps.—is regular or confined to hearsay
 —*fem.* substantives that regularly have this
pl.—formation of this *pl.* from such names
 of letters as end in ا—proper names that

universally have this *pl.* irrespectively of their gender—substantives that mostly have it—*eps.* that have it—*masc. eps.* that universally have it—broken *pl.*—its classification—common to rational and irrational, substantive and *ep.*, *masc.* and *fem.*—*pls.* of the proper name of a man—and of a woman—*exs.*—number of formations in broken *pl.* 862—885

- § 235. Classification of broken *pl.*—*pl.* of paucity and *pl.* of multitude—*pl.* of paucity not a regular *pl.*—its four paradigms—other paradigms sometimes held to be *pls.* of paucity—dispute whether the two sound *pls.* are *pls.* of paucity—proof that the four paradigms are peculiar to paucity—other paradigms *pls.* of multitude—number of such formations—distinction between *pl.* of paucity and *pl.* of multitude found only in the *tril.*—*pls.* common to paucity and multitude—*pl.* of paucity when turned into *pl.* of multitude—each sometimes used instead of the other—*pl.* of paucity subject to many predicaments of *sing.* 885—888
- § 236. The *ŷ* sometimes made the seat of inflection in irregular *pls.* with the *ŷ* and *ŷ*—mostly in poetry—and not universally in *perf. pl. masc.* and its co-ordinates—but only in what is improperly pluralized with the *ŷ*

and ى as a compensation for a deficiency—
 explanation of apparent instances to the
 contrary—two *dials.* in *cat.* of سَنِينٌ—two
 more mentioned by Syt—the ى or , why
 inseparable from it—this inflection allow-
 able in prose in irregular *pls.* with the , and
 ى when used as proper names—usual
 inflection of *du.* and *pl.* analogous to it,
 and of their co-ordinates, when used as
 proper names—*exs.*—the ى allowably made
 the seat of inflection when the word has
 not more than seven letters—the ! then
 usually inseparable from the *du.*, and the
 ى from the *pl.*—three *dials.* in the name
 formed from this *pl.* and its co-ordinates—
 criticism on an *ex.* cited by R ...

888—894

- § 237. The *sing.* generally mentioned, and then its *pl.*
 —paradigms of unaugmented *tril.* substan-
 tive—and of its broken *pl.*—some of these
 formations regular—and the rest anomalous
 —broken *pls.* of (1) فَعْلٌ, (a) regular—(b)
 anomalous—(2) فَعْلٌ, (a) regular—(b) ano-
 malous—*pl.* of the reduplicated فَعْلٌ—(3)
 فَعْلٌ—(4) فَعْلٌ—(5) فَعْلٌ, (a) regular—for-
 mations sometimes used in paucity and multi-
 tude—(b) anomalous—(6) فَعْلٌ—(7) فَعْلٌ
 —(8) فَعْلٌ, (a) regular—formation some-

times used in paucity and multitude—(b)
 anomalous—فُعَلٌ (10)—فُعَلٌ (9)—فُعَلَانٌ
 comparative frequency of these paradigms of
 broken *pl.*—dispute as to whether فُعَيْلٌ and
 فُعَلَةٌ are *quasi-pl. ns.* or broken *pls.*—فُعَلَى
 —its plurality disputed ...

894—903

- § 238. Unaugmented *tril.* substantive made *fem.*
 with the ة —its formations—paradigms of
 its broken *pl.*—*pl.* of (1) فُعَلَةٌ, (a) in pau-
 city—(b) in multitude—*pl.* of paucity some-
 times used in multitude—(2) فُعَلَةٌ, (a) in
 paucity—(b) in multitude—أَفْعُلٌ —the
 فُعَلَةٌ unsound in the ل —or reduplicated—
 (3) فُعَلَةٌ, (a) in paucity—(b) in multitude—
 (4) فُعَلَةٌ, (a) in paucity—(b) in multitude
 —the فُعَلَةٌ unsound in the ع or ل —or
 reduplicated—حُجْرٌ (5) فُعَلَةٌ, (a) in
 paucity—(b) in multitude—*pl.* with the ا
 and ت —the فُعَلَةٌ unsound in the ع —or
 reduplicated—أَفْعُلٌ (6) فُعَلَةٌ —number
 of formations of broken *pl.*—فُعَالٌ the
 commonest—which regular, and which ano-
 malous

903—911

- §. 239. *Pl.* of *ep.* usually sound—sometimes broken
 —formations of *tril. ep.* that has a broken

pl.—paradigms of its broken *pl.*—broken *pls.*

of (1) فَعْلٌ —number of their paradigms—
which regular, and which anomalous—cause

of their formation—عَبِيدٌ and عَبَادٌ —(2)

فَعْلَانُ and فَعْلَانُ —(3) فَعْلٌ —(4) فَعْلٌ —(5) فَعْلٌ —(6) فَعْلٌ

فَعْلَانُ —(7) فَعْلٌ —comparative frequency of these

pls.—remaining paradigms of *tril. ep.*—no

broken *pl.* in them—sound *pl. masc.*—sound

pl. fem.—no broken *pl.* of any *fem.* but فَعْلَةٌ

—and, according to S, فَعْلَةٌ ...

911—917

- § 240. فَعْلَةٌ substantive or *ep.*—treatment of its ع
in sound *pl.* (1) of the substantive, (a) when
the ع is sound—*exs.* of فَعْلَةٌ —and of فَعْلَةٌ
—(b) when the ع is unsound—*exs.* of فَعْلَةٌ
—formations excluded by condition that
the ع should be sound—جَوَزَاتٌ and بَيْضَاتٌ
—*pl.* of فَعْلَةٌ unsound in the ع —and of
فَعْلَةٌ —(c) when the ل is unsound—*pl.* of
such as دَعْدٌ or جَفْنَةٌ when either unsound
in the ل or a *quasi-ep.*—(2) of the *ep.*—
كَهَلَاتٌ —الْعَبَلَاتُ —رَبَعَاتٌ and لَكَبَاتٌ
—the ع why made quiescent in the *ep.*, and
pronounced with Fath in the substantive ...

917—924

- § 241. Predicament of *fem.* which contains no ة —
 عَيْرَات and أَهْلَات ... 924—925
- § 242. In broken *pl.* of the *tril.* whose ع is unsound,
 أَفْعَل not formed in *cat.* of either و or ي —
 nor فُعُول in *cat.* of و — nor فَعَال in *cat.* of
 ي — فَعَال in the فَعْل whose ف
 is a Hamza or و — and in the reduplicated
 فَعْل ... 925—929
- § 243. Formation of فُعُول and أَفْعَل from *tril.* un-
 sound in the ل — قَسِي — *pls.* of فَتَى —
 فُعُول irregular as *pl.* of فَعْل unsound in the
 ل ... 930—932
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THE RELATIVE NOUN.

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du. (R, BS), a synecdoche being meant to be understood, as جَبَّ مَدَاكِيرُهُ *He cut off his penis* and قَطَعَ اللَّهُ خُصَاهُ *God cut off his two testicles!* (R); and the substitutions of the *sing.* and *pl.* for the *du.* are combined in the saying of the Hudhali [Abù Dhu'aib (N)]

فَالْعَيْنُ بَعْدَهُمْ كَأَنَّ حِدَاتِهَا * سَمِلَتْ بِشَوْكِ فَهَى عُرٍّ قَدَمَعُ
Then the eye after the death of them is as though its
blacks were put out with thorns, so that they are blind,
shedding tears. (BS).

CHAPTER VII.

THE PLURAL NOUN.

§ 234. Pluralization is the addition of a thing to more than [one of] it (IY). The *pl.* is a form constructed to indicate *number exceeding two* (A Arb). It is that [*n.* (Jm)] which indicates [an aggregate of (Jm)] units intended [and indicated (R)] by the letters of its *sing.* with some alteration (IH), either apparent or assumed, in those letters. The apparent [alteration] is [produced] by consonants, as in مُسْلِمُونَ; or vowels, as in أُسْدٌ; or both, as in رَجَالٌ and غُرَفٌ: and the assumed alteration is like [that in] هِجَابٌ [246] and فُلُكٌ [below], which in the *sing.* are like جِمَارٌ and قَفْلٌ; and in the *pl.* are like رَجَالٌ and خُضْرٌ, the vowels and *aug.* consonant being assumed to be different from the [corresponding] vowels and consonant of the *sing.* (R). Such as تَنْزٌ [254] and رَكْبٌ [257] are not *pls.*, according to the soundest [opinion, which is that of S; but the first is a generic *n.*, and the second a *quasi-pl.* (Jm)]: while such as فُلُكٌ [below] is a *pl.* (IH). The *pl.* is [of two kinds (IY, Jm),] sound and broken (IY, IH). The sound *pl.* is that *pl.* whose *sing.* is not altered except by affixion of the sign of the *pl.* to its final (R). The sound is also called *perf. pl.*, because the form of its *sing.* is preserved from alteration (IY). The sound [*pl.* (IY, Jm)] is [of

two kinds (IY),] *masc.* and *fem.* (IY, IH). The [sound *pl.* (Jm)] *masc.* is that [*pl.*] to the final [of the *sing.* (Jm)] of which [in the *nom.* (Jm)] a , preceded by Damm, or [in the *acc.* and *gen.* (Jm)] a ى preceded by Kasr, and [in all three cases] a ى pronounced with Fath are affixed, in order that it may indicate that the [*sing.* of (Jm)] it is accompanied by more than it (IH) of its kind (Jm). This *pl.* is [also] called *perf. pl. masc.*, because the formation of its *sing.* is preserved (A). The *perf. pl. masc.* is what indicates more than two, while the formation of its *sing.* is preserved (Fk), literally and constructively ; so that the broken *pl.*, the *sing.* of which is altered literally, like رَجَالٌ, or constructively, like صِنَوَانٌ [237], is excluded (YS). It is also called (1) *pl.* analogous to the *du.* (IY, A), because its first part is preserved, as in the *du.* [235] (IY), [or] because each of them is *infl.* with an unsound letter followed by a ى that is elided [16] because of prothesis [below] (A) ; (2) *pl.* with two spellings, because it is sometimes [spelt] with the , and ى, and sometimes with the ى and ى (IY). The predicament of the two augments in مُسْلِمِينَ is the counterpart of their predicament in مُسْلِمَانِ [228], the first being a sign of the addition of two or more to the *sing.*, and the second a compensation for the two things (M), the vowel and Tanwin in the *sing.* [110, 236] (IY). The ى is elided (1) on account of prothesis [110] (M, IH) ; (2) by poetic license, as in the *du.* [228] ; (3) for abridgment of the *conj.*, as

وَالْحَاظُ عَوْرَةَ الْعَشِيرَةِ لَا * يَأْتِيهِمْ مِنْ وَرَائِهِمْ نَظْفٌ

[by 'Amr Ibn Imra alKais alKhazraji, a heathen, ancestor of 'Abd Allah Ibn Rawāḥa, And (we are) they

that guard the breach of the tribe, so that a cause of reproach for neglect of their frontier comes not to them from behind them (AKB) : and is sometimes dropped before a quiescent J in a case of choice, as in the anomalous reading
 اِنَّكُمْ لَذَاتِقُو الْعَذَابِ الْاَلِيمِ XXXVII. 37. *Verily ye shall taste the grievous chastisement*, by assimilation to the Tanwin in such as

حَيْدَةُ خَالِي وَلَقِيْطٌ وَعَلَى * وَحَاتِمٌ اَطَّيْتُ وَهَابُ الْبَيْتِ

(R), from a Rajaz cited by AZ in his *Nawādir* in two places, in the first of which he says that it is by a woman of the Banū 'Āmir, and in the second that it is by a woman of the Banū 'Uḡail boasting of her maternal uncles of AlYaman, *Haida is my maternal uncle, and Laḡiṭ, and 'Alī, and Hātim at Ṭā'ī, the lavish bestower of the hundred or hundreds* [316] (AKB), like لَا ذَاكِرَ اَللّٰهُ اَلْح [609] (K,B). The *sing.* of the *perf. pl. masc.* is either sound [in the final] or not (R). The [*sing.*] sound in the final has the sign [of the *pl.*] affixed to it without alteration, as زَيْدُونَ from زَيْدٌ (IA). The unsound is defective, abbreviated, or otherwise unsound. That which is otherwise unsound is in the predicament of the sound, as ظَبْيُونَ and دَلُورُونَ in the case of the rational being named ظَبْيٌ and دَلُورٌ (R). The ى of the defective is elided in this *pl.* with its Kasra [before it (Sn)] ; and what precedes the ى is then pronounced with Damm, and what precedes the ى with Kasr, as جَاءَ الْقَاضُونَ and رَأَيْتُ الْقَاضِيْنَ [720]. The ا of the abbreviated is elided because of the concurrence of two quiescents, [the

abbreviated † and the , or *ى* of the *pl.* (Sn) ; while the Fatha before the elided † is retained as a notification of what is elided, vid. the †, as *أَنْتُمْ الْأَعْلَوْنَ* III. 133. *When ye are the superiors* and XXXVIII. 47. [115]. The looseness of IM's language implies that there is no difference in what has been mentioned between the abbreviated whose † is *aug.*, [like *حُبْلَى* when used as a name (Sn) for a male,] and the abbreviated whose † is *unaug.*, [like *الْمُصْطَفَى* (Sn) ;] and this is the opinion of the BB(A). The KK allow the [abbreviated] possessed of the *aug.* † to be coordinated with the defective, saying *الْعِيسُونَ* with Damm, and *الْعِيسِينَ* with Kasr of the *س* (R). As for the KK, it is transmitted from them that they allow what precedes the , and *ى* to be pronounced with Damm and Kasr respectively, without restriction [of augmentativeness in the †] : while IM [in the CT (Sn)] transmits this pronunciation from them [as necessary (Sn)] in the case of the [non-foreign (Sn) abbreviated] possessed of the *aug.* †, [because it is the non-foreign the augmentativeness of whose *aug.* † is known (Sn),] like *حُبْلَى* when used as a name [for a male ; contrary to the *rad.* †, before which the retention of the Fatha is necessary according to them, because the solicitude for the *rad.* is stronger than the solicitude for the *aug.* (Sn)] : he says in the CT "and, if the abbreviated be foreign, like *عَيْسَى* , they allow both pronunciations, because its † may be *aug.* or *unaug.*" The predicament of the prolonged is exactly the same as in the *du.* [230] : so that you say *وَضَّارُونَ* with the Hamza sounded true from *وَضَّاءَ* , and *حَمَرَّارُونَ* .

with the , from حَبْرَاء when a proper name for a male ; and both pronunciations, [the Hamza sounded true and the , (Sn),] are allowable in [the *pls.* of] such as عَلْبَاء

and كِسَاء when proper names for a male (A). What is pluralized with this *pl.* is [of two kinds (IA),] substantive and *ep.* (IA, A). This *pl.* is found [only (IY, MAd)] in the proper names and *eps.* of rational beings (IY, Sh), as الزَّيْدُونَ *The Zaid*s and الْمُتَسَلِّمُونَ *The professors of Al-Islām*.

Z says "That [*pl.*] which is [formed] with the , and ن belongs to him that knows, in his *eps.* and proper names," not "to him that reasons," because this *pl.* is applied to the Ancient (extolled be His perfection !), as LI.48. [473] and LVI. 59. [543], which is frequent ; so that Z deviates from prescribing reason as a condition to [prescribing] knowledge, since the Creator is characterized by knowledge, not by reason : and Z says "to him that knows," not "to the possessors of knowledge," because the Creator (extolled be His perfection !) is knowing by Himself, not by means of knowledge in His possession (IY). The same conditions are prescribed for this *pl.* as for the *du.* [228], with an addition, that its *sing.* be (1) a proper name for a rational male, devoid of the *ṣ* of feminization other than the *ṣ* of [such as (YS)] عِدَّةٌ and قُبَّةٌ [below] when proper names : (2) an *ep.* of a rational male, devoid of the *ṣ* of feminization, [but] susceptible of it [in the *fem.*] ; or [not susceptible of it, but (YS)] indicative of superiority [356] (Fk). Its [additional] conditions are [therefore] of two kinds, (1) common to substantives and *eps.*, vid. (a) being

denuded of the ة of femininization ; (b) being [denotative of] a possessor of knowledge : (2) peculiar (a) to substantives, vid. the quality of proper name ; (b) to *eps.*, vid. susceptibility of the ة of femininization [in the *fem.*];

though the أَفْعَلُ of superiority deviates from this rule, being pluralized with the , and ن notwithstanding that the ة is not affixed to it (R). Such [*ns.*] then as the following are not pluralized with the , and ن (R, Fk) :—

(1) among substantives (R), (a) رَجُلٌ [1] ; (b) ذَيْنَبٌ [18] (Fk) ; (c) أَعْرَجٌ (R) [and] وَاشِقٌ [6] (Fk) ; (d) طَلْحَةُ [18] (R, Fk) ;

(e) سَيَبَوِيَّةٌ [4] and بَرَقُ نَحْرَةٍ (Fk), a name of a

man (IY on §. 4) : (2) among *eps.* (R), (a) حَائِضٌ [268] (Fk) ;

(b) [طَوِيلٌ in] فَرَسٌ طَوِيلٌ *A long-bodied horse* (R),

[and] سَابِقٌ (Fk) when *ep.* of an irrational [object] (YS) ;

(c) عَلَامَةٌ [265] (R, Fk) ; (d) صَبُورٌ and جَرِيحٌ [269] ; (e)

سَكَرَانٌ [272] ; (f) أَحْمَرٌ [273] (Fk). But [some of these

conditions are relaxed or disputed, for] (1) the *dim.*

stands in the place of the *ep.*, [because it indicates *con-*

tempt and the like, according to the context (Sn),] as رَجِيْلٌ

[25], *pl.* رَجِيْلُونَ (A) : (2) the substantive possessed of the

ة (R), such as طَلْحَةُ (A), may be pluralized with the , and

ن according to the KK (R, A), who allow طَلْحُونَ with

quiescence of the ع of the word ; and to IK, who allows

طَلْحُونَ with Fath of the ع by analogy to the *pl.* with the

ت [240] : but what they say is contrary to usage, as

رَحِمَ اللَّهُ أَعْظَمًا دَفَنُوهَا بِسَيِّدَتَانِ طَلْحَةَ الطَّلَحَاتِ

[by 'Ubaid Allāh Ibn Kais arRuḳayyāt, *God have mercy upon bones that they have buried in Sijistān, the Ṭalḥa of the Ṭalḥas!* (AKB)] ; and to analogy, because their elision of the ʾ is a suppression without anything to indicate it [1], and, if allowable in the substantive, would be allowed in the *ep.*, as عَلَّامُونَ, which is not allowable by common consent (R) : (3) the *tril.* in which the ʾ of feminization is made a compensation for its ف, as عِدَّةٌ, or its ل, as نُجْبَةٌ [above], when made a proper name, is excepted from [the prohibition applied to] what contains the ʾ, for it may be pluralized with this *pl.*, [according to the majority ; while Mb disallows this, and requires it to be pluralized in such a form as عِدَاتٌ (Sn)] : (4) some allow the synthetic *comp.* to be pluralized with this *pl.* (A), unrestrictedly : or, as is said, if it end in وَيَّةٌ, in which case the sign is said to be affixed to its final, as سَيِّبِيَّهُونَ [below] ; or to the first member, the second being elided, as سَيِّبُونَ (Sn) : (5) objects not possessed of knowledge are sometimes assimilated to beings possessed of knowledge in the *eps.*, when the *inf. ns.* of those *eps.* are [denotative of] *acts of beings possessed of knowledge*, as أَتَيْنَا طَائِعِينَ XI.I. 10. *We* [the heaven and the earth] *have come, obedient*, XXVI. 3. [449], and XII. 4. [442] ; and like it in the *v.* is كُلٌّ فِي مِثْلٍ يَسْبَحُونَ XXXVI. 40. *And all of them* [the sun, moon, and stars] *swim in a firmament* (R) : (6) the KK do not prescribe the condition that the *ep.* should not be of common gender, citing as evidence مِمَّا أَلَدِي هُوَ الْخ [571] ; for

عَانِسٌ is one of the common *eps.*, which do not receive the ة when feminization is intended, because they are applied to the *masc.* and *fem.* in one form : but the KK have no proof in the verse, because it is anomalous (A) : (7) since عَدُوٌّ and مَسْكِينَةٌ, in accordance with صَدِيقَةٌ and فَاقِيَةٌ respectively, occur extraordinarily among the *eps.* of common gender, some say that عَدُوْنٌ and مَسْكِينُوْنَ are allowable ; but this is analogy, not hearsay, as S says of نَدْمَانُوْنَ [below] : (8) the *ep.* of five *rad.* letters, like صَهْصَلِقٌ, deviates from this rule ; for it is of common gender, notwithstanding that صَهْصَلِقُوْنَ is said [245] : (9) IK allows سَكْرَانُوْنَ and أَحْبَرُوْنَ [below], citing as evidence

فَمَا وَجَدَتْ بَنَاتُ بَنِي نِزَارٍ * حَلَالٌ أَحْمَرِينَ وَأَسْوَدِينَ

[by Ḥakīm alA'war Ibn 'Ayyāsh alKalbī, one of the poets of Syria, satirizing Muḍar, and accusing the wife of AlKumait Ibn Zaid of misconduct with the keepers of the prison, when he had fled from it in her clothes, leaving her in his place, *Then the daughters of the Banū Nizār (the father of Muḍar) have not found husbands, red and black* (AKB)] ; but, according to others, this [verse] is anomalous. S allows by analogy, not by hearsay, نَدْمَانُوْنَ [above], because [the *sing.* of] it is susceptible of the ة [in the *fem.*], as نَدْمَانَةٌ ; and similarly سَيْفَانُوْنَ, because they say سَيْفَانَةٌ [18] : S says "They do not say that," because the general rule in the *ep.* فَعْلَانٌ is that the ة should not be affixed to it, so that نَدْمَانَةٌ and سَيْفَانَةٌ are, as it were, anomalous ; and therefore it is better that they should not be pluralized with this *pl.*, in accordance with the gene-

ral rule. But عُرْيَانُونَ *naked* and خُمْصَانُونَ *lank-bellied* are allowable by common consent, because the general rule of the *ep.* فَعْلَانٌ with Damm of the ف is not non-affixion of the ة (R). The *perf. pl. masc.* is that in which the formation of the *sing.* is preserved, and in which the conditions before mentioned are found ; and therefore that [*pl.* with the , and ن] which has no *sing.* of its form, or has a *sing.* not fulfilling the conditions, is not a *perf. pl. masc.*, but is coordinated with it [in inflection] (IA). The coordinates of the *perf. pl. masc.* in its inflection [16] are of four sorts, (1) *quasi-pl. ns.*, vid. those which have no *sing.* of their form, whence (a) أُؤْلُو [below], i. q. أَصْحَابُ, a *quasi-pl.* having no *sing.* of its form, but [only] of its sense, vid. ذُو, [contrary to ذُوو, which is really *pl.* of ذُو (YS)], as وَلَا يَأْتِلِ أَوْلُوا الْفَضْلِ مِنْكُمْ وَالسَّعَةِ أَنْ يُؤْتُوا أُولَى الْقُرْبَى XXIV. 22. And let not the possessors of abundance among you, and of means, swear that they will (not) give unto kindred, [i. e., لَا يُؤْتُوا (B),] and إِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ (c) لَذِكْرٌ لِّأُولَى الْأَلْبَابِ XXXIX. 22. Verily in that is an admonition for the possessors of understandings : (b) عَشْرُونَ [below], a *quasi-pl.*, عَشْرَةٌ not being its *sing.*, otherwise it would be applicable to *thirty*, because the *pl.* must be applicable to *three quantities of the sing.*, and عَشْرُونَ with Bath of the ع and ش would necessarily be said ; and its sisters from ثَلَاثُونَ to تِسْعُونَ, the last included : (c) عَالَمُونَ [below], a *quasi-pl.* of عَالَمٌ, not a *pl.* of it, because عَالَمُونَ is peculiar to the rational, whereas الْعَالَمُ *The World or Universe* is

a proper name for the rational and irrational, and the *pl.* is not more peculiar than its *sing.* : this is the saying of IM and his followers ; but, according to what others say, it is a sound *pl.* that does not satisfy the conditions, because عَالَمٌ is a generic *n.*, and is not a proper name nor an *ep.* : (2) sound *pls.* that do not satisfy the conditions, whence أَهْلُونَ [below] *pl.* of أَهْلٌ, and وَابِلُونَ *pl.* of وَابِلٌ heavy rain, because they are neither proper names nor *eps.* : (3) broken *pls.*, vid. those [*pls.*] in which the formation of their *sing.* is not preserved, whence (a) أَرْضُونَ [below] *pl.* of أَرْضٌ, which is pluralized with this *pl.* because it is sometimes employed on an occasion of great moment, [and, says IHsh (in the Sh), may be pronounced with quiescence of the ر in poetry (YS),] as

لَقَدْ ضَجَّتِ الْأَرْضُونَ إِذْ قَامَ مِنْ بَنِي هَدَادٍ خَطِيبٌ فَوْقَ أَعْوَادٍ مَنبَرٍ
[Assuredly the people of the lands shouted when there stood up, from the Banū Hādād, a preacher above the boards of a pulpit (MAd)] : (b) سَنُونَ [below], *pl.* of سَنَةٌ, the ل of which is a و or ة, because they say in the *pl.* سَنَوَاتٍ [below] or سَنَهَاتٍ, and because the *v.* is سَانَيْتُ or سَانِهْتُ, and سَانَيْتُ is *orig.* سَانَوْتُ [727]; and its *cat.* [244], vid. every *pl.* of a *tril.* the ل of which is elided, the ة of femininization being made a compensation for it, and which has no broken *pl.* [*infl.* with vowels (YS)], like عَرَّةٌ *pl.* عَرُونَ and عِصَّةٌ *pl.* عِضُونٌ, contrary to such as (α) تَمَرَةٌ, because there is no elision ; (b) رَنَّةٌ and رَنَّةٌ, because the elided is the ف [below] ; (c) دَمٌ and يَدٌ, because there is no compensation, while أَبُونَ [below] and أَخُونَ are anomalous ;

(d) **إِسْمٌ** [667] and **بِنْتُ** [689], because the compensation is not the **س**; (e) **شَاءَ** and **شَفَعُ** [below], because they have a broken *pl.* [*infl.* with vowels], vid. **شَيَاءُ** and **شَفَاعُ** [260]: (c) **بَنُونٌ** [below] *pl.* of **أَبْنٌ**: (4) *perf. pls. masc.* or their co-ordinates used as [proper] names, whence (a) **زَيْدُونَ** when a proper name [of a man]; (b) **عَلِيُّونَ** [below], a name for the *Highest part of Paradise* [236], which is *orig. pl.* of **عَلِيٌّ** with Kasr of the **ف**, its measure being **فَعِيلٌ** from **الْعُلُوُّ** (Fk), but does not satisfy the conditions, because its *sing.* is neither a proper name nor an *ep.*, so that it is co-ordinated with the *pl.* before it is made a proper name (YS). Anomalous *pls. masc.* with the **و** and **ن** are numerous, whence (1) **أَبِينُونَ** [286], as

رَعِمَتْ تَبَايُرُ أَتْنِي إِمَّا أَمْتُ * يَسُدُّدُ أَبِينُوهَا الْأَصَاغُرُ خَلَّتِي
[by Sulmī {or Salmā (AKB)} Ibn Rabī'a, of the Banu-s Sid {Ibn Mālik Ibn Bakr Ibn Sa'd (AKB)} Ibn Ḍabba, *Tumāḍīr* asserts that, if I die, her youngest little sons will stop my gap, i. e., fill my place (T,AKB)], which, according to the BB, is *pl.* of **أَبِينٌ** *dim.* of **أَبْنَى** assumed, on the measure of **أَفْعَلٌ**, like **أَضْحَى**; so that, according to them, it is anomalous as being *pl.* of a *dim.* whose *non-dim.* does not exist: while the KK say that it is *pl.* of **أَبِينٌ** *dim.* of **أَبْنٍ** assumed, which is *pl.* of **أَبْنٌ**, like **أَدَلٌ** *pl.* of **دَلُوٌ**; so that, according to them, it is anomalous in two ways, its being a *pl.* of a *dim.* whose *non-dim.* does not exist, and the occurrence of **أَفْعَلٌ** as *pl.* of **فَعَلٌ**, [because

إِبْن is orig. بَنُو or بَنَى (KF),] which is anomalous, like أَجْبَل and أَرْمَن as pls. of جَبَل and رَمَن [237]: but Jh says that it is anomalous as being pl. of أَبِين dim. of إِبْن, by making the conj. Hamza disj. [669]; and AU says that it is an irregular dim. of بَنُونَ (2): دُهَيْدُهُونَ and أَبْيَكُرُونَ [285] in

قَدْ شَرِبْتَ إِلَّا الدَّهَيْدِيَيْنَا

إِلَّا ثَلَاثِينَ وَأَرْبَعِينَ * فَلْيَصَاتِ وَأَبْيَكِرِينَا

[from a Rajaz cited by AUd, whose author is not known, *They have drunk, except the little young camels, except thirty and forty, little young she-camels and little young he-camels* (AKB)], for the first is pl. of دُهَيْدٌ

dim. of دَهْدَاهُ, which means *young camels*, [and these are irrational objects]: while the second, according to the BB, is pl. of أَبْيَكُرٌ dim. of أَبَكُرٌ assumed, like أَصْحَى,

so that it is anomalous in two ways, its being [pluralized] with the و and ن in the case of irrational objects, and its being pl. of a dim. of an assumed non-dim.: but, according to the KK, it is pl. of the dim. of أَبَكُرٌ

pl. of بَكُرٌ a *young he-camel*; so that it is anomalous only as being pluralized with the و and ن [in the case of irrational objects], like دُهَيْدُهُونَ (3): أُولُو [above],

which is a heteromorphous pl. of ذُو (4): عَلَيُّونَ [above], which is a name for the *Record of Good* [236], as appar-

ently expounded by God in His saying كِتَابٌ مَرْقُومٌ LXXXIII. 20. *A written book*; and, according to this, there is no anomaly in it, because it is a proper name

transferred from the *pl.* of the *rel. n.* of عَلِيَّةٌ, which means *an upper chamber* : whereas, if we say that عَلَيَّوْنَ is not a proper name, but is *pl.* of عَلِيَّةٌ, and is not a *rel. n.* of it, but means *elevated places*, it is anomalous from the want of masculinization and reason ; and in that case the full phrase in LXXXIII. 20. is مَوَاضِعُ كِتَابٍ مَرْقُومٍ (*The places of a written book*, by suppression of the *pre. n.* : (5) الْعَالَمُونَ [above], because it is neither an *ep.* nor a proper name : (6) أَهْلُونَ [above] because it is not [a proper name or] an *ep.* ; while in

وَلِي دُونَكُمْ أَهْلُونَ سَيِّدٌ عَمَلَسٌ * وَأَرْقَطٌ زُهْلُولٌ وَعَرْفَاءٌ جَيَّالٌ
[by AshShanfarà, a Kaḥṭānī heathen poet of AlAzd, *And I have kinsfolk other than you, a swift wolf, and a sleek leopard, and a shaggy-necked beast, a she-hyæna* (AKB),] it is pluralized with the , and ن notwithstanding the irrationality [of the animals mentioned (BS)], because the poet makes the *wolf, leopard, and she-hyæna* the substitute for his kinsfolk : (7) أَرْضُونَ [above], where the , is pronounced with Fatḥ either because the , and ن stand in the place of the ا and ت, so that it is as though أَرْضَاتُ [241] were said, or to intimate that it is not really a sound *pl.* ; and the , of أَرْضُونَ may be made quiescent : (8) عِشْرُونَ to تِسْعُونَ [above] : (9) أَبُونَ [above], أَخُونَ, and هَنُونَ, which are anomalous, because they are neither *eps.* nor proper names ; whereas [ذُو in] ذُو مَالٍ is an *ep.* : (10) بَنُونَ [above], because by rule it ought to be ابْنُونَ ; and it is pluralized according to the *o. f.* of ابْنٍ, vid. بَنُو

[689], by elision of the *J* as clean forgotten : (11) their saying *بَكَتْ مِنَّا الْبُغَيْنِ* *Thou hast extremely distressed us* and *الْدُّرُخَيْنِ* with *Damm* of the *ف* in both, and *لَقِيتُ مِنْهُ الْبَرَحَيْنِ* *I experienced from him, or it, disasters* with *Damm* and *Kasr* of the *ف*, and similarly *الْفِتْكَرَيْنِ*, all of which mean *calamities* and *distresses*; and their saying *لَيْتُ عِفْرَيْنِ* *The lion of 'Ifirrīn or A lion of lions* may be an anomaly of this *cat.*, the *ن* being made the seat of inflection [236] (R). A poet [of the Banū Janāb of Bal-Kain (MN)] says [to his wife] about a son of his [by a handmaiden (MN)]

لَا تَعْذُلِي فِي حُنْدُجٍ إِنْ حُنْدُجًا * وَلَيْتُ عِفْرَيْنِ لَدَى سَوَاءٍ
 [Upbraid me not about *Hunduj* : verily *Hunduj* and the lion of 'Ifirrīn are equal before me ! (MN)] ; and they say in the *prov.* *أَشَجُّ مِنْ لَيْتُ عِفْرَيْنِ* *Braver than the lion of 'Ifirrīn or than a lion of lions*, cited by *As* and others : some say that *عِفْرَيْنِ* is [a name of (MN)] a place [celebrated for huge lions (MN)] ; but *عِفْرَيْنِ* may be *pl.* of *عِفْرٌ* [236] meaning the *lion*, because he *يَعْفِرُ الْقَرْنَ* *throws the adversary down in the dust*, so that this expression is like their sayings *لَيْتُ لَيْتٍ* and *أَسَدٌ أَسَدٍ* : and this verse is related with *Tanwīn* ; but the *prov.* with *Fath* of the *ن*, not otherwise (T). The *pl.* with the *و* and *ن* is common, notwithstanding that it is irregular, in those *ns.* which have no broken *pl.*, and in which the *ة* of femininization preceded by *Fath* is made a compensation for their *J*, the initials of some of these *pls.* being altered as an intima-

tion that they are not really sound *pls.* : thus, in the case of the *n.* pronounced with Fath of the ف , like سَنَةٌ , they say سِنُون [above] with Kasr of it ; while سُنُون with Damm of it occurs, but is rare : and, in the case of the *n.* pronounced with Damm of the ف , Kasr occurs with Damm, like قُلُون and ثُبُون ; though it is not universal, since Kasr has not been heard in طُبُون and كُرُون : but in the case of the *n.* pronounced with Kasr of the ف , no alteration has been heard, as عِضُون and مِثُون [244]. And sometimes the like of this *pl.* occurs in the case of (1) the *n.* which has a broken *pl.* also, like ثُبُون *pls.* ثُبُون and آثَابِي : (2) the ن whose ف is elided [above], as رِقُون *pl.* رِقَّة and لِدُون *pl.* لِدَّة : (3) the *n.* whose ل is converted into ا , like أَصَانَةٌ and قَنَانَةٌ : but [in forming the *pl.*] its ل is elided as clean forgotten, so that أَضُون and قُنُون are said ; whereas, if their ل s were regarded, أَصُون and قُنُون would be said, like الْأَعْلُون [above], because after the elision of the ة [in the *sing.*] they are abbreviated : and in accordance with this the poet [AlKumait Ibn Zaid (AKB)] says, [satirizing the people of AlYaman (AKB),]

فَلَا أَعْنِي بِذَلِكَ أَسْفَلِيكُمْ * وَلَكِنِّي أُرِيدُ بِهِ الدَّوِينَ

[Then I mean not by that, i.e., by my satirizing you, your lowest ; but I mean by it the Dhù's, i.e., the Kings of AlYaman named Dhù Yazan, Dhù Jadan, Dhù Nuwās, and the like (AKB)] ; whereas, if the ل were regarded, he would say الدَّوِينَ , like الْأَعْلِينَ , because دُو is pro-

nounced with Fath of the ع according to S, [its *o.f.*, says ABZ, being ذَوًّا, like قَفًّا-(AKB)]: (4) the reduplicated, like ذَوِّزَوِّ *geese* and حَرَوِّ *stony tracts*; while إِحْرَوِّ with Fath and Kasr of the Hamza is transmitted from Y: some say that أَحْرَةً occurs in the *sing.*; and some that it does not, but that the Hamza is added in the *pl.* as an intimation of its being irregular. The *masc.* gender prevails over the *fem.*, so that it suffices for some [of the beings mentioned] to be *masc.*, as زَيْدٌ وَالْهِنْدَاتُ ضَارِبُونَ *Zaid and the Hinds are striking*; and similarly reason in some of them is sufficient, as زَيْدٌ وَالْكَامِرُ مُقْبِلُونَ *Zaid and the asses are approaching*. The *comp.* proper name whose 1st member is *uninfl.* because of the composition may, if its 2nd member be not *uninfl.*, as in بَعْلَبَكْ and مَعْدِيكَرْبُ [215], be dualized [228] and pluralized, as أَبْعَلْبَكُونَ and أَبْعَلْبَكُونَ, because the two members are like an *infl.* word. If, however, the 2nd member be *uninfl.* because of the composition, as in خَمْسَةَ عَشَرَ, or of something else, as in سَيَبَوِيَّةِ, the rule is that ذَوَّا سَيَبَوِيَّةِ and ذَوُّ *The two possessors*, and *The possessors*, of the name Szabawaih [122], should be said, and similarly ذَوُّ and ذَوَّا خَمْسَةَ عَشَرَ; just as in the case of *props.* used as names ذَوَّا تَابَطُ شَرًّا and ذَوُّ are said by common consent, and ذَوَاتُ and ذَوَاتَا شَابَ قَرْنَاهَا, because *props.* must be imitated, so that the sign of the *du.* and *pl.* is not affixed to them. And similarly in the case of the *du.* and *pl.* [with

the , and [ن] used as names, when you do not make their two ن the seat of inflection [236], you must say ذَوَا مُسْلِمَيْنِ [or ذَوُو مُسْلِمَيْنِ] in order that two inflections with the consonant may not be combined at the end of the *n.* But Mb allows السَّيْبَوِيَّهَانِ and السَّيْبَوِيَّهَوْنَ [above], notwithstanding the uninflectedness of the 2nd member ; and ought to allow the like in خَمْسَةَ عَشَرَ when a proper name. The prothetic *comp.* proper name has its *pre. n.* dualized and pluralized, as عَبْدَا مَنَايَ and عَبْدُو مَنَايَ : and, when it is a surname, the *pre.* and *post. ns.* may be dualized [and pluralized] together, as أَبَوَا الزَّيْدَيْنِ and آبَاءُ الزَّيْدَيْنِ ; though here also it is better to restrict oneself to dualization and pluralization of the *pre.* As for the *pl.* of كَذَا and ذُو كَذَا , whether proper names or not, (1) if they denote a rational being, you say بَنُو كَذَا and ذَوُو كَذَا or أَبْنَاءُ كَذَا and أَذْوَاءُ كَذَا : (2) if not, then, whether they have a *fem.* بِنْتُ كَذَا and ذَاتُ كَذَا , as فَاقَةُ ذَاتُ جَمَلٍ ذُو عُثْنُونٍ and بِنْتُ اللَّبُونِ and ابْنُ اللَّبُونِ , or have not, as ذُو الْقَعْدَةِ and ابْنُ عَرَسٍ , they are pluralized in the forms بَنَاتُ اللَّبُونِ , as بَنَاتُ كَذَا [below] and بَنَاتُ عَرَسٍ , and ذَوَاتُ كَذَا , as ذَوَاتُ عَثَانِينَ [below] and ذَوَاتُ الْقَعْدَةِ , because irrational objects are coordinated with the *fem.* in the *pl.*, as الْأَيَّامُ مَضَيْنَ [270] ;

but Akh transmits *بَنُو نَعَشٍ* and *بَنُو عَرَسٍ* also, from regard to the letter of *ابْنُ*, even though it be irrational : the poet says *إِذَا مَا بَنُو نَعَشٍ أَلْحِ* [161], as though he made it *apl.* of *ابْنُ نَعَشٍ*, although the latter is not used (R). The [sound *pl.* (R,Jm)] *fem.* is that [*pl.* (Jm)] to the final [of the *sing.* (Jm)] of which an *ا* and a *ت* are affixed (IH). The GG dispute about this *ا* and *ت* : some of the ancients say that the *ت* denotes *pluralization* and *femininization*, the *ا* being introduced to distinguish the *pl.* from the *sing.*; and some say that the *ت* denotes *femininization*, and the *ا* *pluralization* ; but most hold that the *ا* and *ت* denote *pluralization* and *femininization* without distinction. This kind of *pl.* is like the *perf. pl. masc.* in preservation of its *sing.* (IY). That [*sing.*] whose final is a *ة* [of femininization], whether the *sing.* be abbreviated [16] or unabbreviated, [or better, whether the *ة* be preceded by an *ا* or not., because there is no abbreviated whose final is a *ة* (Sn),] has its *ة* elided in this *pl.*, in order that two signs of femininization may not be combined. The *ا* of the abbreviated is converted in the same way as in the *du.* [229] : so that you say *حُبْلَيَاتُ*, [*pl.* of *حُبْلَى* (Sn),] *مُسْتَدْعَاةٌ*, *مُصْطَفَاةٌ*, *فَتَيَاتُ*, [*pls.* of *مُسْتَدْعَاءٌ*, *مُصْطَفَاءٌ*, and *فَتَيَاتٌ*, though these are not abbreviated, except according to the *o. f.*, i. e., the *masc.* (Sn),] and *مَتَيَاتُ*, *pl.* of *مَتَى* when used as a name of a female, with the *ي* ; and you say *عَصَوَاتُ*, *أَلَوَاتُ*, and *إِدَوَاتُ*, *pls.* of *عَصَا*, *أَلَا*, and *إِذَا* when used as names of females, with the *ا*, [639,686]. The predicament of the prolonged and defective also

is like their predicament in the *du.* [230,229] (A). In the *pl.* of بِنْتٌ and ابْنَةٌ you say بَنَاتٌ, which is the *pl.* of their *o. f.* بَنَوْتُ [689], by elision of the *l* as clean forgotten : and similarly أَخَوَاتٌ is the *pl.* of the *o. f.* of أُخْتُ, i. e. أَخَرْتُ [689], without elision of the *l*. The *tril.* of which the *l* is elided, and which is compensated for it by the *ṣ*, is of 3 kinds, (1) pronounced with Fatḥ of the *ف*, in which kind the restoration of the *l* in the *pl.* with the *l* and ت is most frequent, as هَنَوَاتٌ and سَنَوَاتٌ [above] in [the *pl.* of] هَنَةٌ and سَنَةٌ, because of the lightness of the Fatha ; though it occurs with elision of the *l* also, as دَوَاتٌ and هَنَاتٌ ; and in some cases it is not pluralized with the sound *pl.* either with the , and ن or with the *l* and ت, the broken *pl.* serving instead, like شَاةٌ and شَفَّةٌ [above] : (2) pronounced with Kasr of the *ف*, in which kind the omission of the restoration is more frequent, as مَثَاتٌ and رَثَاتٌ, because of the heaviness of the Kasr ; though عِصَوَاتٌ *great thorn-trees* [244] occurs : (3) pronounced with Damm of the *ف*, in which kind the restoration does not occur, as طَبَاتٌ and ثَبَاتٌ, because Damm is the heaviest of the vowels (R). The [*perf. pl.* (IY)] *fem.* is made to accord with the [*perf. pl.* (IY)] *masc.* in having the same form for the *gen.* and *acc.* [17] (M) : and this ت may not be pronounced with Fatḥ [in the *acc.*] according to us ; but the Bdd allow it [646], citing the verse of Abū Dhu'aib

فَلَمَّا اجْتَلَاهَا بِالْأَيَّامِ تَكَيَّرَتْ * ثَبَاتًا عَلَيْهَا ذُلُّهَا وَانْكَسَارُهَا

And, when he drove them forth from the hive with smoke, they withdrew in swarms, their humiliation and rout being upon them (IY). The sound *pl.* with the **ا** and **ت** belongs to the *fem.* in its substantives and *eps.* (M). This *pl.* is (1) regular, like **بَنَاتٌ** *pl.* of **بِنْتُ** ; (2) confined to hearsay, like **سَمَوَاتٌ** *pl.* of **سَمَاءٌ** (Fk). The only *fem.* substantives regularly pluralized with this *pl.* are (1) the proper name of the *fem.*, whether the sign [of femininization] be expressed in it, as **عَرَّةٌ** , **سَلَمَى** , and **خَنَسَاءٌ** , or supplied, as **هِنْدٌ** [264] : (2) the [substantive] possessed of the expressed **ة** of femininization, whether it be a proper *masc.*, as **حَمْرَةٌ** ; or not, as **غُرْفَةٌ** , whence **اِكْرَامَاتٌ** , **تَخْرِيبَاتٌ** , and the like, because the *sing.* is **اِكْرَامَةٌ** and **تَخْرِيبَةٌ** with the **ة** of unity [336] : (3) the [substantive] possessed of the **ا** of femininization, as **الْبَشَرَى** and **الْضَّرَاءُ** , when it is not used as a name for the proper *masc.*, in which case it is pluralized with the **و** and **ن** : (4) what may be *fem.* or *masc.*, when it has no broken *pl.* and may not be pluralized with the **و** and **ن** , as **الْأَلِفَاتُ** , **الْبَاءَاتُ** , etc., because [all] the *cats.* of the *pls.* are closed except this (R). Those letters of the alphabet which contain a [final (YS)] **ا** may by common consent be abbreviated or prolonged (Fk) : so that **بَيَاتٌ** is said by conversion of the abbreviated **ا** into **ي** , and **بَاءَاتٌ** by retention of the Hamza (YS). The proper name of the irrational object, when headed by the prefixion of **اِبْنُ** or

ذُو , as اِبْنُ عَرِيسٍ and اَلْقَعْدَةُ [above], is universally pluralized with this *pl.*, even if it be not *fem.*, as we have mentioned. And two sorts of substantives are mostly, not universally, pluralized with this *pl.*, (1) the *masc.* irrational generic substantive, when it has no broken *pl.*, as جَمَامَاتُ [17] and سُرَادِقَاتُ [261]; and similarly every *quin.* whose letters are *rad.*, as سَفَرَجَلَاتُ [245]: but, according to Fr, this sort also is universal: (2) *pls.* that have no broken *pl.*, as رِجَالَاتُ , صَوَاحِبَاتُ , and بَيْوتَاتُ ; but not اَكْلِبَاتُ , because they say اَكْلِبُ [256]. If, however, the *fem.* be an *ep.*, then, (1) if it contain the sign of feminization, it is pluralized with the ا and ت, whether it be an *ep.* of a proper *masc.*, as رِجَالُ رِبْعَاتٍ *men of middle height* and عَلَامَاتُ [265]; or not, as حُبْلِيَّاتُ , ضَارِبَاتُ , and نَفْسَاوَاتُ [273]: unless it be the فَعْلَى of فَعْلَانُ or the فَعْلَاءُ of اَفْعَلُ ; for they are not pluralized with the ا and ت, being made to accord with their *mascs.*, which are not pluralized with the , and ن : but IK allows سَكْرِيَّاتُ and حَمْرَاوَاتُ , as he allows سَكْرَانُونَ and اَحْمَرُونَ [above]; and, if the quality of substantive predominate in either of them, this *pl.* is allowable by common consent, as in the saying of the Prophet لَيْسَ فِي الْخَضِرَاءِ رَاةٌ *There is no poor-rate on greens* [248]; and similarly in the case of every فَعْلَى or فَعْلَاءُ used as a name for the proper *masc.*: (2) if it do not contain the sign of feminization expressed, whether it be of common gender or peculiar to the *fem.*, then, (a) if it be not a *quin.* whose

letters are *rad.*, like صَبُورٌ and جَرِيحٌ [269], and like حَائِضٌ [268], طَالِقٌ, and مُطْفِلٌ *having a young one with her*, it is not pluralized with the ا and ت ; (b) if it be a *quin.* whose letters are *rad.*, like الرَّجُلُ الصَّهْلُ and الْمَرْأَةُ *The clamorous man and woman* and الْمَرْأَةُ الْجَحْمَرُشُ *The decrepit woman*, it is pluralized with the ا and ت, as نِسْرَةٌ صَهْلَقَاتٌ and جَحْمَرَشَاتٌ [245]. The *ep.* of the irrational *masc.* also is universally pluralized with this *pl.*, whether the *masc.* be proper, as الصَّافِنَاتُ *standing upon three legs and the point of the toe of the fourth leg for the males of horses* and جِمَالٌ سَبْكَلَاتٌ [261] and سِبْطَرَاتٌ, and similarly جِمَالٌ ذَوَاتُ عَثَانِينَ and بَنَاتُ اللَّبُونِ [above] ; or improper, as الْأَيَّامُ الْكَالِيَاتُ [270] ; and similarly the *dim.* of the irrational [*masc.*], as جُمَيْلَاتٌ [289] and حُمَيْرَاتٌ, because the *dim.* contains the sense of qualification : and in both these cases the *masc.* is pluralized with the *pl.* of the *fem.* because in both they intend to distinguish between the rational and irrational ; and the irrational is subordinate to the rational, as the *fem.* is subordinate to the *masc.* ; so that the irrational is coordinated with the *fem.*, and pluralized with its *pl.* (R). The broken *pl.* is that [*pl.* (Jm)] the formation of whose *sing.* is altered [otherwise than by affixion of the sign of the *pl.* to its final (R)], like رَجَالٌ and أَفْرَاسٌ (IH). It is of 4 kinds :—(1) the *pl.* has more consonants than the *sing.*, as رَجُلٌ and رَجَالٌ :

(2) the *sing.* has more consonants than the *pl.*, as كِتَابٌ and كُتُبٌ : (3) the *pl.* is like the *sing.* in consonants, not vowels, as أُسْدٌ and أُسْدٌ : (4) the *pl.* is like the *sing.* in consonants and vowels, as فُلُكٌ [above], which is *sing.* as in XXVI.119. [539]; and *pl.* [237], as in X.23. [1] (A Arb). It is common to him that knows and others, [to the rational and irrational (IY),] in their substantives and *eps.* (M); and to the *masc.* and *fem.* (IY). When you pluralize a man's name, you have an option : if you will, you affix to it the , and ن in the *nom.*, and the ي and ن in the *gen.* and *acc.*; and, if you will, you break it for the *pl.* in the same way as substantives are broken for the *pl.* And when you pluralize a woman's name, you have an option : if you will, you pluralize it with the [and] ت ; and, if you will, you break it in the same way as substantives are broken for the *pl.* The poet Ru'ba says أَنَا ابْنُ سَعْدِ الْحَمَحِ [13]; and the *pl.* so formed in these names is frequent, which is the saying of Y and Khl : and the poet Zaid AlKhail says

أَلَا أَبْلَغُ الْأَقْيَاسَ قَيْسَ بْنَ نَوْفَلٍ * وَقَيْسَ بْنَ أَهْبَانَ وَقَيْسَ بْنَ جَابِرٍ

Now tell thou the *Kais*es, *Kais Ibn Naufal*, and *Kais Ibn Uhbān*, and *Kais Ibn Jābir* ; the poet says

رَأَيْتُ سُعُودًا مِنْ شُعُوبٍ كَثِيرَةٍ * فَلَمْ أَرِ سَعْدًا مِثْلَ سَعْدِ بْنِ مَالِكٍ

I have seen *Sa'ds* from many tribes, and have not seen a *Sa'd* like *Sa'd Ibn Mālik* ; the poet AlFarazdaq says

وَشَيْدَ لِي زُرَّارَةً بِأَذْخَاتٍ * وَعَمْرُو الْخَيْرِ إِذْ ذُكِرَ الْعَمْرُ

And *Zurāra* raised for me lofty eminences, and 'Amr *AlKhair* when the 'Amrs were mentioned, and he says

فَأَيْنَ الْجُنَادِبُ *Then where are the Jundubs ?* of a number of men every one of whom was named جُنْدُبٌ *Jundub* ; and the poet says

رَأَيْتُ الصَّدْعَ مِنْ كَعْبٍ وَكَانُوا * مِنْ الشَّانِ قَدْ صَارُوا كَعَابَا
I repaired the breach of Ka'b, when they had, from fierceness of hatred, already become Ka'bs. The poet Jarir says

أَخَالِدَ قَدْ عَلِقْتُكَ بَعْدَ هِنْدٍ * فَشَيَّبَنِي الْكُوَالِدُ وَالْهُنُودُ
O Khālida, I have become attached to thee after Hind ; and the Khālidas and the Hinds have made me hoary ; and they say الْهُنُودُ, as they say الْكُذُوعُ ; and, if you will, you say الْأَهْنَادُ, as you say الْأَجْدَاعُ (S). The broken *pl.* has 27 formations (Aud).

§ 235. The broken *pl.* is of 2 kinds, *pl.* of paucity and *pl.* of multitude. The *pl.* of paucity properly indicates *three [and upwards] (IA\)* to ten ; and the *pl.* of multitude [properly (A)] indicates *what is above ten to infinity (IA,A)*. The *pl.* of paucity is not a regular *pl.*, because it is not mentioned except where explanation of *paucity* is meant, and is not used to denote mere *plurality* and *genericity*, as the *pl.* of multitude is : one says فَلَانٌ حَسَنُ الثِّيَابِ *Such a one is well-clothed* in the sense of حَسَنُ الثَّوْبِ, while حَسَنُ الْأَثْوَابِ is not good ; and كَمْ عِنْدَكَ مِنَ الثَّوْبِ or الثِّيَابِ *How many clothes thou hast got !*, while مِنَ الْأَثْوَابِ is not good ; and هُوَ أَعْبَلُ الْفَتَيَانِ *He is the smartest of the youths*, not الْفَتِيَّةِ when explanation of the *genus* is intended (R on the SH). The paradigms of the *pl.* of paucity are four, (1)

أَفْعَالٌ, [as فَصِيَامٌ ثَلَاثَةَ أَيَّامٍ II. 192. (*Upon him shall be incumbent a fast of 3 days* (D)) ; (2) أَفْعُلٌ, [as XXXI. 26. (79,585) (D)) ; (3) أَفْعِلَةٌ, [as أَحْمِرَةٌ *Asses* (D)) ; (4) فَعْلَةٌ (D, 1A, A), as عَشْرَةُ غُلَمَةٍ *Ten young men* (D). Fr holds the following to be *pls.* of paucity, (5) فَعَّلٌ, as ظَلَمٌ ; (6) فَعَّلٌ, as نَعَمٌ ; (7) فَعْلَةٌ, as قِرْدَةٌ [237] ; and some, as IDn transmits, hold (8) فَعْلَةٌ, as بَرَّةٌ ; and AZ, as T transmits from him, holds (9) أَفْعَلَاءٌ, as أَصْدِقَاءٌ : but the truth is that these are all *pls.* of multitude (A). The two sound *pls.* also are formations of paucity (IY, R, A), according to the GG (R), because they resemble the *du.* (IY, R) in preservation of the *sing.* [234] (R), and the *du.* denotes *few* (IY) : but this is of no account, since the resemblance of one thing to another in letter does not exact resemblance to it in sense also ; though, if the story were authentic that, when Ḥassān [Ibn Thābit alAnṣārī (AKB)] recited his saying لَنَا الْكَفَنَاتُ الْغُرُّ الْحَمَّ [below] to An Nābigha [adhDhubayānī (AKB)], the latter said to him قَلَّلْتَ جِفَانَكَ وَسُيُوفَكَ *Thou hast made thy bowls and thy swords few!*, it would contain a proof that the *pl.* with the ل and ت is a *pl.* of paucity : while IKh says that the two sound *pls.* are common to paucity and multitude ; and apparently they denote *unrestricted pluralization*, without regard to paucity or multitude, so that they are applicable to both. For proof that these four paradigms of the broken *pl.* are peculiar to paucity the GG refer to the prevalence of their use in the *sp.* of 3 to 10 [317], and to the

preference shown for them in it, if they be found, above the rest of the *pls.* (R). The other paradigms of the broken *pl.* are *pls.* of multitude (IA). The *pl.* of multitude has 23 formations (Aud, A). This distinction between the formations of the few and the many occurs only in the *tril.*, because of the lightness of its form and the extent of its circulation (IY). When the *n.* has only a *pl.* of paucity, as رَجُلٌ *pl.* أَرْجُلٌ [237], or of multitude, as رَجُلٌ *pl.* رِجَالٌ [237], this *pl.* is common to paucity and multitude; and so is every broken *pl.* of the *quad.* whose letters are *ra l.* [245], or of what is pluralized only in the same way, as أَجَادِلٌ and مَصَانِعُ [253] (R). When the *pl.* of paucity is conjoined with the *ال* denoting *totality* [599], or is *pre.* to what indicates *multitude*, it is turned by that into a *pl.* of multitude, as إِنَّ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَالْمُسْلِمَاتِ XXXIII. 35. *Verily the Muslim men and the Muslim women*; and both matters are combined by the saying of Hassān [above]

لَنَا الْجَفَنَاتُ الْغَرُ يَلْمَعْنَ بِالضُّحَى
وَأَسْيَانُنَا يَقْطُرْنَ مِنْ نَجْدَةٍ دِمَا

[238] (A) *We have the bright bowls (meaning shields) gleaming in the early forenoon, and our swords drop blood from battle* (Jsh). Each of the two [*pls.* (K on II. 228)] is sometimes metaphorically used instead of the other, notwithstanding the existence of that other, as وَالْمُطَلَقَاتُ يَتَرَبَّصْنَ بِأَنْفُسِهِنَّ ثَلَاثَةَ قُرَى II. 228. *And the divorced women shall compel themselves to wait during*

three menstruations [317, 406, 503], notwithstanding the existence of [^{نُفُوسٌ} and (K)] أَقْرَأَ (R). The formations of paucity being nearer [in sense] to the *sing.* than those of multitude, many predicaments of the *sing.* apply to the *pl.* of paucity, whence the allowability of (1) the formation of its *dim.* according to its letter [285] ; (2) the qualification of the *sing.* by it, as ثَوْبٌ أَسْبَلُ [146] ; (c) the relation of the *pron.* literally in the *sing.* to it, as XVI. 68. [146] (IY).

§ 236. The ن is sometimes made the seat of inflection in some of the irregular *pls.* with the و and ن [234], as a notification of their irregularity, in consequence of which they are, as it were, broken, and therefore follow the inflection of the broken *pl.* ; so that the Tanwīn is affixed to them, and the ن is not elided on account of prothesis, as

ذَرَانِي مِنْ نَجْدٍ فَإِنَّ سِنِينَ * لَعَيْنَ بِنَا شَيْبًا وَشَيْبَنَا مُرْدًا

[by Aṣṣimma Ibn 'Abd Allāh alKushairī, *Spare ye two me (the mention of) Najd; for verily its years, or its droughts, made sport of us when hoary, and made us hoary when beardless* (AKB)],

وَمَاذَا يَبْتَغِي الشُّعْرَاءُ مِنِّي * وَقَدْ جَاوَزْتُ حَدَّ الْأَرْبَعِينَ

[by Suhaim Ibn Wathīl arRiyāhī, *And what is this (thing which) the poets seek from me, when I have passed the limit of the forty (years)?* (Jsh)],

حَسَانُ مَوَاضِعِ النَّقَبِ الْأَعَالِي * غَرَاتُ الْوُشَحِ صَامِتَةُ الْبُرَيْنِ

[by AtTirmāh Ibn Ḥakīm atTā'i, *Fair in the exposed places of the faces, slender in the waists, silent in the anklets* (AKB)], and

وَأَنَّ لَنَا أَبَا حَسَنِ عَلِيًّا * أَبٌ بَرٌّ وَنَحْنُ لَهُ بَنِينَ

[by Sa'id Ibn Kaïs alHamdānī, spoken by him on one of the days of Šifīn, *And that Abū Ḥasan 'Alī is a good father to us, while we are (good) sons to him* (AKB)]: and the *ي* is then inseparable from them, as in the case of the sound *pl. masc.* used as a name [below]. That mostly occurs in poetry (R). The universality of this is disputed (IA): according to many of the GG, and among them Fr, it is universal in the *perf. pl. masc.* and its coordinates; and thus they explain

رَبِّ حَيٍّ عَرْنَدَسٍ ذِي طَلَالٍ * لَا يَزَالُونَ ضَارِبِينَ الْقَبَابِ

[*Many a tribe mighty, possessed of goodliness, that cease not to be pitching the tents* (Sn)] and وَقَدْ جَاوَزْتُ آلَ حَجَّ [above] (A): whereas the truth is that it is not universal, but confined to hearsay (IA, A); and hence the saying of the Prophet اللَّهُمَّ اجْعَلْهَا عَلَيْهِمْ سِنِينَ كَسِنِينَ يُوسُفَ O God [52], *make Thou them to be upon them years like the years of Joseph*, [an imprecation of drought and famine upon the people of Makka (MKh),] in one of the two versions, [the other being سِنِينَ كَسِنِي يُوسُفَ (MKh)]; and like it is دَعَانِي مِنْ نَجْدِ آلِ حَجَّ (IA), a version of دَعَانِي آلِ حَجَّ [above] (AKB); and like دَعَانِي آلِ حَجَّ is the saying of the poet, as cited by AZ,

سِنِينَ كُلِّهَا لَا قَيْتُ حَرْبًا * أُعِدُّ مَعَ الصَّالِدِمَةِ الدُّكُورِ

In my years, all of them, I have encountered war, I being reckoned with the hardy, valiant warriors; and the other says

وَلَقَدْ وَلَدْتُ بَنِينَ صِدْقٍ سَادَةٍ * وَلَئِنْ بَعَدَ اللَّهُ كُنْتَ السَّيِّدَا

And assuredly thou didst beget sons of goodness, lords; and assuredly thou, after God, wast the lord. It occurs only in what is [improperly (AAz)] pluralized with the

و and ن as a compensation for a deficiency, like سِنُونَ,

[بُرُون, and بَنُون], the inflection of the ن being allowable in this kind of pl. only because the ن here stands in the place of the departed letter, so that they make it like

the ل of the word. As for وَمَاذَا يَبْتَغِي الْح [above],

some hold that the ن in الْأَرْبَعِينَ is the letter of inflection,

and the Kasra in it the sign of the gen.: but the truth is that the ن is not a letter of inflection, nor the Kasra a sign of the gen., but only the vowel of the concurrence

of two quiescents [664], vid. the ي and ن; because the vowel of the concurrence of two quiescents occurs some-

times as a Kasra, which is the o. f., sometimes as a Damma, and sometimes as a Fatha; and, since the poet

is constrained, he pronounces with Kasr: and one proof

that the Kasra in the ن of الْأَرْبَعِينَ is not a sign of the

gen., but only the Kasra of the concurrence of two quiescents, is the saying of Dhu-Ilṣba' [al'Adwānī (Mb, T)]

إِنِّي أَبِي أَبِي ذُو مَحَافَظَةٍ * وَأَبْنُ أَبِي أَبِي مِنْ أَبِيَيْنِ

Verily I am unyielding, unyielding, scornful, and a son of an unyielding, unyielding father, sprung from unyielding

sires, where it is undoubted that the Kasra of the ن in

أَبِيَيْنِ is on account of the concurrence of two quiescents,

because it is a [regular] sound pl., like مُسْلِمِينَ; and

like it is the saying of the other, [vid. AlFarazdaq (Mb, AKB),]

مَا سَدَّ حَتَّى وَلَا مَيِّتٌ مَسَدَهُمَا ۖ إِلَّا الْخَلَائِفُ مِنْ بَعْدِ النَّبِيِّينَ

*Not a living being, nor a dead, has filled their place, save the Khalīfas after the Prophets, the ن of the pl. being pronounced with Kasr only by poetic license [16](IY). There are then two dials. in the cat. of سَنِينَ, (1) pronunciation of Tanwīn, [the dial. of the Banū 'Āmir (MKh)]; (2) absence of it, [the dial. of Tamīm (MKh),] as though its omission were from observance of the form of the pl., while I have seen IUK say in his Commentary on the *Tushāh* that IM gives as the reason for omission of the Tanwīn that its presence with this ن is like the presence of two Tanwīns in one word [110, 234]: and, in the latter dial., as IM appears to say, the gen. is with Kasra expressed; but, as Fr appears to say, it is declined as a diptote, so that the gen. is with Fatha. And there remain two other dials. mentioned by Syt, (1) inseparability of the , and of the ن pronounced with Fatha, in which dial. the inflection is apparently with vowels assumed upon the ,; (2) inseparability of the , , and inflection with vowels upon the ن (Sn). They make the ي inseparable from it only in order that it may become like غَسْلَيْنِ and similar sing. ns., غَسْلَيْنِ being فَعْلَيْنِ from الْغَسَاةِ; and Mb allows inseparability of the , , in which case it is like زَيْتُونِ [below] (IY). This is before the word is used as a proper name, after which the ن may be the seat of inflection by choice in this sort, as in the regular pls. when used as proper names (R). When you mean to use an*

expression as a [proper] name, then, if that expression be a *du.* or a *pl.* analogous to it, like ضَارِبَانِ and ضَارِبُونَ, or co-ordinated with them, like اِثْنَانِ and عَشْرُونَ [234], it is mostly *infl.* with the inflection that belonged to it before it was used as a [proper] name (R on the proper name). You say هَذِهِ فَلِسْطُونِ This is Palestine (Mb, Jk), رَأَيْتُ فَلِسْطِينَ I saw Palestine (Mb), and مَرَرْنَا بِفِلِسْطِينَ We passed by Palestine (Jk) : this saying is the best ; and similar are يَبْرُونَ and يَبْرِينَ, and all that resembles this, like قَسْرُونَ and قَسْرِينَ : and the best [saying] is in this verse [of AlA'shà (Akh, Jk)]

وَشَاهِدُنَا الْجُلُ وَالْيَاسُ * نَ وَالْمُسِيعَاتُ بِقَصَابِهَا

And our witness is the rose and the jasmīn and the songstresses with their flutes ; and the K̄ur contains a passage which verifies that, مَا أَذْرَاكَ مَا عَلَيْنَ وَابْرَارٍ كَفَى XXXIII. 18, 19. Now [598], verily the record of the pious is in 'Il̄yūn, [the proper name of the Record of Good (234), in which all that is done by the angels and the righteous men and Jinn is recorded (K)]. And what hath made thee know what 'Il̄yūn is? (Mb). But the ن may be made the seat of inflection [234], provided that the letters of the word do not exceed 7, because the letters of such as قَرَعَبَلَانَّة are the extreme number of the letters of the word, so that the ن in مُسْتَعْتَبَانِ and مُسْتَعْتَبُونَ is not made the seat of inflection. And, when the ن is

infl., the **ا** is inseparable from the *du.*, because it is lighter than the **ي**, and because there is no *sing.* ending in an *aug.* **ي** and **ن** with a Fatha before the **ي**, as

أَلَا يَا دِيَارَ الْحَيِّ بِالسَّبْعَانِ * أَمَلَّ عَلَيْهَا بِأَلْيَلَى الْمَلَوَانِ

[by Tamīm Ibn Mukbil, *Now, O abodes of the tribe at AsSabu'ān, the night and the day have wearied them* (an enallage from the 2nd to the 3rd pers.) *with wear and tear* (AKB)] ; and the **ي** is inseparable from the *pl.* [above], because it is lighter than the **و** ; but **الْبَكْرَيْنِ** occurs in the *du.* contrary to analogy ; though, says Az, some of them say **الْبَكْرَانِ** according to analogy : and the **و** sometimes occurs in the *pl.* [alternatively] with the **ي**, as **قَتْسَرَيْنِ** or **قَتْسَرُونِ**, and **يَبْرَيْنِ** or **يَبْرُونِ**, because the like of **زَيْتُونِ** [above] is found in their language ; while Zj says, quoting from Mb, that the **و** is regularly allowable before the **ن** of the *pl.* when it is made the seat of inflection : he says “and I do not know any one that has anticipated us in saying this :” but F says that there is no evidence of it, and that it is remote from analogy ; and he says on

وَلَهَا بِالْمَاطِرُونَ إِذَا * أَكَلَ النَّمْلُ الَّذِي جَمَعَ

خَرْقَةً حَتَّى إِذَا ارْتَبَعَتْ * ذَكَرْتُ مِنْ جِلْقِ بَيْعَا

[by Yazīd Ibn Mu'āwiyā Ibn Abī Sufyān alKurashī alUmayyī in a love-song about a Christian nun, who had shut herself up in a ruined cell near AlMāṭirūn, which was a garden on the outside of Damascus, *And she has at AlMāṭirūn in the days of winter, when the ant eats what he has collected, some gathered fruit, until, when*

she passes the spring, she remembers churches of Jilliḥ (MN)], with Kasr of the ن, that it is a foreign name (R on the proper name). The name formed from this *pl.* and from its coordinates may be treated like غَسْلِينَ in inseparability of the ي and in inflection with vowels upon the ن pronounced with Tanwīn; and worse than this is that it should be treated like عَرَبُونَ ^o ^o ^o earnest-money in inseparability of the , and in inflection with vowels upon the ن pronounced with Tanwīn, as in

طَالَ لَيْلِي وَبِتْ كَأَلْمَجْنُونِ * وَاعْتَرَقَنِي الْهَمُّومُ بِالْمَاطِرُونَ

[by Abū Dahbāl alJumālī, *Long was my night, and I spent the night like the possessed; and cares assailed me at AlMāfirūn* (MN)]; and worse than this is that the , and Fath of the ن should be inseparable from it (Aud), by imitation in the *nom.* case, which is the noblest of the cases of the *n.*, as they say مَعَاوِيَةُ بْنُ عَلِيٍّ and أَبُو طَالِبٍ and أَبُو سُفْيَانَ, and as some read تَبَّتْ يَدَا أَبُو لَهَبٍ CXI.1. [110] (MN), in order that nothing of it may be altered, so as to confuse the hearer (K). The verse وَكَلَهَا بِالْمَاطِرُونَ is related with Kasr of the ن (Akh, Jh on نطر); but the well-known version is with Fath (Akh): and, if R had cited in evidence طَالَ لَيْلِي الْح, as IHsh has done in the Aud, it would have been more appropriate; for the Kasr of the ن is plain, because of its occurrence in the rhyme (AKB).

§ 237. The conventional practice of [most (Sn)] GG is to mention the *sing.*, and then say that its *pl.* is such

and such (A). The unaugmented *tril.* [368] substantives have 10 paradigms, (1) فَعْلٌ, like كَعْبٌ; (2) فَعْلٌ, like فَرَسٌ; (3) فَعْلٌ, like فَيْحٌ; (4) فَعْلٌ, like عَضٌ; (5) فَعْلٌ, like عَدْلٌ; (6) فَعْلٌ, like عَنبٌ; (7) فَعْلٌ, like إِبِلٌ; (8) فَعْلٌ, like قُفْلٌ; (9) فَعْلٌ, like صُرْدٌ; (10) فَعْلٌ, like عُنُقٌ (IY). The broken *pl.* of the unaugmented *tril.* [substantive] has 10 paradigms, (1) أَفْعَالٌ; (2) فَعَالٌ; (3) فُعُولٌ; (4) فِعَالِكُنْ; (5) أَفْعُلْ; (6) فُعَلَانْ; (7) فِعَالَةٌ; (8) فُعْلٌ; (9) فِعَالَةٌ; (10) فُعْلٌ (M). Five of these formations are regular, universal, vid. (1) أَفْعُلْ; (2) أَفْعَالٌ; (3) فُعُولٌ; (4) فَعَالٌ; (5) فِعَالِكُنْ : (a) أَفْعُلْ and أَفْعَالٌ are formations denoting *few* [235] : (b) فُعُولٌ and فَعَالٌ are fellows, denoting *many*; and their *fems.* فُعُولَةٌ and فَعَالَةٌ [265] are used in the same way : but أَفْعُلْ and أَفْعَالٌ are not fellows, because فَعَالٌ occurs in [the *pl.* of] the very same [paradigms] as فُعُولٌ [242]; whereas أَفْعُلْ and أَفْعَالٌ are not like that. And the rest of the paradigms are anomalous in respect of usage, though some of them are more frequent than others (IY). The regular [broken (IY)] *pls.* of فَعْلٌ are, (1) in paucity, أَفْعُلْ (IY, R), as أَكْلِبْ and أَصْكُ (IY), except in the hollow [242] (R) : (2) in multitude, فَعَالٌ [except in the *cat.* of سَيْلٌ (R)] and فُعُولٌ [except in the *cat.* of ثَوْبٌ (R)], as كِعَابٌ and كُعُوبٌ (IY, R), whence وَكُنْتُ إِذَا غَمَزْتُ الْحَمَامَ [411] (IY); and sometimes one of the two is isolated from its fellow, as

بِغَالٍ and بِطُورٍ : and similarly [these two paradigms occur] in the reduplicated, as مَكَانٌ and مَكْرُورٌ ; and the defective, as دِلَالَةٌ [683] and دِلَالِيٌّ [243], طِبَابَةٌ, and ثِدْدِيٌّ (R).

The anomalous [broken (IY)] *pls.* of فَعْلٌ are, (1) in paucity, (a) أَعْعَالٌ, as أَرْنَادٌ (IY), أَفْرَاحٌ, آفَافٌ (IY, R), and أَرَادٌ (IY), except in the hollow, where أَعْعَالٌ is regular [242] (R) : while the two formations [أَفْعَلٌ and أَعْعَالٌ] are sometimes concentrated upon one substantive, whence أَرْنَدٌ and أَرْنَادٌ, as

وَجَدْتَ إِذَا أَصْطَلَكُمُوهَا خَيْرُهُمْ * وَزَنْدُكَ أَتَقَبُّ أَرْنَادَهَا

[by AlA'shà (S), *Thou hast been found to be the best of them when they make peace, while thy fire-stick is the quickest of their fire-sticks to kindle fire, a met. for the quickness of his hastening to do good (MN)*] ; أَفْرَحٌ and أَفْرَاحٌ, as

لَوْلَا هُبَاشَاتُ مِنَ التَّهْشِيشِ * لِصَبِيَّةٍ كَأَفْرَحِ الْعُشُوشِ

But for earnings from collecting industriously for boys like the young birds of the nests [below], and

مَاذَا تَقُولُ لِأَفْرَاحٍ بِدَى مَرَحٍ * زَغَبِ الْكَوَاصِلِ لَا مَاءَ وَلَا شَجَرٍ

[by AlHuṭai'a, addressing 'Umar, who had imprisoned him, *What is this that thou sayest of young birds (meaning children) at Dhū Marakh (a valley near Fadak), downy in the crops? Neither water is there nor trees (MN)*] ; and آفَافٌ and آفَافٌ : whereas only أَرَادٌ [below] has been heard (IY) : (b) أَفْعَلَةٌ, as أَنْجِدَةٌ *pl.* of نَجْدٌ, which is a high place (R), like أَفْرَحَةٌ *pl.* of فَرَحٌ (T) : the poet [Muḥammad (T, KF), or] Ḥumaid, Ibn Abi Shihādh ad-Dabbī says

وَقَدْ يَقْصُرُ الْقُلُّ الْفَتَى دُونَ هَيْبَةٍ * وَقَدْ كَانَ لَوْلَا الْقُلُّ طَلَّاعٌ أَنْجِدٍ
 [And sometimes poverty holds the youth back from attaining his purpose, when he would have been, but for poverty, an ascender of high places (T)] ; and another, Ziyād [Ibn Ḥamal, or (T)] Ibn Munqidh, says

يَعْدُو أَمَامَهُمْ فِي كُلِّ مَرَبَّاتٍ * طَلَّاعٌ أَنْجِدَةٌ فِي كَشْحِهِ هَضْمٌ
 (Jh) An ascender of high places, in whose flank is slenderness, goes before them in the early morning in every peak of observation (T) : Jh says (R), it is *pl.* of نَجْدٌ (Jh, R) *pl.* of نَجْدٌ (R), *pl.* of the *pl.* [256] (Jh), فُعُولٌ being pluralized on the measure of أَفْعَلَةٌ by assimilation to فُعُولٌ, like عَمْرٌ *pl.* أَعْبَدَةٌ [246] (R) ; and it is not impossible that أَنْجِدَةٌ may be *pl.* of نَجَادٌ *pl.* of نَجْدٌ, in which case [also] أَنْجِدَةٌ is *pl.* of the *pl.* (T) : (2) in multitude, (a) فُعْلَانٌ, as ظَهْرَانٌ and عَيْدَانٌ (R), and رَثْلَانٌ, as جِحْشَانٌ, فِعْلَانٌ ; (b) بَطْنَانٌ (IY) ; (c) فِعْلَةٌ, as, جِبَاةٌ, غِرْدَةٌ (R), and فِقْعَةٌ [below], denoting [kinds of (IY)] truffles, [and قَعْبَةٌ (IY)] ; (d) فُعْلَةٌ, as [عَيْدٌ and (IY)] كَلِيبٌ [below] ; (e-f) فُعْلَةٌ and فِعَالَةٌ [265], as عُمُومَةٌ (IY, R), فُكُورَةٌ (R), and فِحَالَةٌ ; while some say that فِعْلَةٌ is contracted from فِعَالَةٌ, so that فِقْعَةٌ [below] is orig. فِقَاعَةٌ (IY) ; (g) فُعْلٌ, as رُهْنٌ and سُقْفٌ, which [formation], according to the Banū Tamīm, may be abbreviated, [as رُهْنٌ and سُقْفٌ (T)], like عُنُقٌ [246] : but فِعِيلٌ is rarer than فِعْلَةٌ, and فِعْلَةٌ than

فَعْلَانُ with Kasr , which is rarer than فَعْلَانُ with Damm. And sometimes فَعْلُ is restricted to أَعْلُ or أَعْلَانُ in paucity and multitude, as أَكْفُ and أَرَادُ [above] (R). The regular [broken] *pls.* of فَعْلُ are, (1) in paucity, أَعْلَانُ [in the hollow or anything else, as أَجْبَالُ , أَتَوَاجُ , and أَنْيَابُ (R)] : (2) in multitude, [(a) in everything but the hollow (R,)] فَعْلَانُ and فُعُولُ , [as جَمَالُ and أُسُودُ (IY),] فَعْلَانُ being more frequent (IY,R) than فُعُولُ (IY) ; (b) in the hollow, فَعْلَانُ , as تَيْبَجَانُ , جَيْرَانُ , قَيْعَانُ , and سَيْبَجَانُ (R). The anomalous [broken] *pls.* of فَعْلُ are, (1) in paucity, (a) أَعْلُ [242], as أَرْمُنُ [234,246] (IY,R), whence أَمْنَرَلْتَنِي مَيِّ سَلَامٍ عَلَيْكُمَا * هَلِ الْأَرْمُنُ اللَّاتِي مَضَيْنَ رَوَاجِعَ by Dhu-rRumma, *O two abodes of Mayya, peace be upon you ! Are the times that have passed about to return ?* (IY), أَجْبَلُ [transmitted by S (IY)], and أَعِصُ (IY,R) ; (b) فَعْلَةُ , as جِيرَةُ , قَيْعَةُ , and إِخْوَةُ (R) : (2) in multitude, [(a) in everything but the hollow (R,)] (a) فَعْلَانُ , as حَمَلَانُ and سَلَقَانُ ; (b) فَعْلَانُ , as بَرَقَانُ , [خَرَبَانُ , and شَبَثَانُ (R)] ; (c) فَعْلُ , as أُسْدُ [246] and وُقْنُ (IY,R) , whence the reading of 'Atā Ibn Abi Rabāh لَا أَتْنَأُ IV. 117. [550] *Save idols*, meaning وُقْنَا , the ع being made quiescent, as in كُتِبَ and رُسِلَ [246], and the , converted into Hamza, as in أَجْوَةُ [683] (IY), where 'Ā'isha read أَوْثَانَا (K) ; (d-e) فَعَالَةٌ and فُعُولَةٌ [265], as ذِكَارَةٌ and ذُكُورَةٌ حِجَارَةٌ (IY,R), and أُسُودَةٌ (IY) ;

(f) سُوقٌ, as فُعِلَ (a) : (b) in the hollow, حَجَلِي, as فَعَلِي (f) [246] and نِيْبٌ [710] ; (b) سُووقٌ, as فُعُولٌ [683] and نِيُوبٌ [714] (R). But in the reduplicated فَعْل there is only one *pl.*, which serves for paucity and multitude, vid. أَفْعَالٌ, as أَلْبَابٌ and أَفْنَانٌ, as is the case with [some of the sound, like (R)] أَرْسَانٌ, [أَغْلَاقٌ (R),] and أَقْلَامٌ [242]. The broken *pl.* of فَعْل [in paucity and multitude (R)] is أَفْعَالٌ, [as أَكْبَادٌ, أَفْخَادٌ, and أَنْمَارٌ (IY)] : but they say نُمُورٌ [and وَعُولٌ (IY)] by assimilation to [the *cat.* of (R)] أُسُودٌ (IY, R) ; and نُمْرٌ is contracted from it (R) : the Rājiz [Hukaim Ibn Mu'ayya at Raba'i, describing his قَنَاة *came spear-shaft* (Jsh),] says

حَفَّتْ بِأَطْوَادِ جِبَالٍ وَسَمَرٍ * فِي أَشْبِ الْغَيْطَانِ مُلْتَفِ الْخَطَرِ
فِيهَا عَيَائِدُ أُسُودٍ وَنُمُرٍ

[715] (S) *That was surrounded by mountains, hills and gum-acacia trees, in the tangled copses of wide low grounds, intertwined in branches, حَطَرٌ being pl. of خَطَرٌ, wherein were prowling beasts, lions and leopards* (Jsh). The [broken] *pl.* of فَعْل [in paucity and multitude (R)] is أَفْعَالٌ, [as أَعْبَازٌ and أَعْضَادٌ (IY)] : but sometimes فَعَالٌ occurs, as رَجَالٌ [235] and سِبَاعٌ, by assimilation [of فَعْل to فَعَال] ; whereas رَجَلَةٌ [with Fath of the ر (R)] is not a broken *pl.* [of رَجُلٌ (IY)], but a *quasi-pl. n.* (IY, R), because فَعْلَةٌ is not one of the measures of the *pls.* (R). The regular [broken (IY)] *pls.* of فَعْل are, (1) in paucity, أَفْعَالٌ [in the sound, hollow,

or anything else (R), as أَحْمَالُ, أَعْدَالُ, and أَبَارُ (IY) : (2) in multitude, فُعُولُ and فِعَالُ, [as حُمُولُ, عُدُولُ, and بِشَارُ, and ذَنَابُ (IY)] ; فُعُولُ, [says S (R),] being more frequent (IY,R) : while فُعُولُ is always used if its medial be a ي , as فَيُولُ and جَيُولُ ; and فِعَالُ if its medial be a و , as رِيَّاحُ [242] (R). Sometimes أَفْعَالُ is used in paucity and multitude, as أَخْمَاسُ and أَشْبَارُ (IY,R) ; and similarly فُعُولُ or فِعَالُ (R). The anomalous [broken] *pls.* of فَعْلُ are (1) أَفْعَلُ [in paucity, which is rare (IY)], as [أَذُوبُ and (IY)] أَرْجَلُ [235] : (2) فِعْلَةٌ, as قِرْدَةٌ [235] (IY,R), used in paucity, as ثَلَاثَةُ قِرْدَةٍ *Three apes*, instead of أَقْرَادُ (IY) : (3) فِعْلَانُ, as صِنَوَانُ [234], قِنَوَانُ, both sometimes pronounced with Damm [of the ف (R), and شِقْدَانُ (IY)] : (4) فُعْلَانُ, as دُوبَانُ and ضُرْمَانُ (IY,R) : (5) فَعِيلُ, as ضَرِيرُسُ (R). The [broken] *pls.* of فَعْلُ are (1) أَفْعَالُ in paucity (IY,R) and multitude (R), as أَعْنَابُ and أَمْعَاءُ ; and [in paucity alone,] as أَضْلَاعُ and آرَامُ (IY) : (2) أَفْعَلُ in paucity, as أَضْلَعُ : (3) فُعُولُ in multitude, as ضُلُوعُ and أُزُومُ (IY,R) ; but not غُنُوبُ nor مُعِي [243], because they use the paradigm of paucity instead (IY). The [broken (IY)] *pl.* of فَعْلُ is أَفْعَالُ in paucity and multitude (IY,R), as أَبَالُ and آطَالُ (IY). The regular [broken (R)] *pls.* of فَعْلُ are, (1) in paucity, أَفْعَالُ, [in the hollow, as أَكْوَابُ and أَكْوَارُ ;

[broken] *pl.* of فَعَلَ is أَفْعَالٌ in paucity and multitude (IY,R), as أَعْنَانٌ and آذَانٌ (IY). The commonest of these paradigms of the broken *pl.* is أَفْعَالٌ, [because it occurs in the 10 formations (of the *sing.*), being anomalous in two of them, as أَفْرَاحٌ and أَرْطَابٌ, regular in the rest (IY)] ; next فِعَالٌ, [because it occurs in 6 paradigms, فَعَلٌ , فُعِلَ , خِفَافٌ , قِدَاحٌ , زِنَادٌ , فُعِلَ , فُعِلَ , فُعِلَ (IY),] as رِبَاعٌ , رَبَاعٌ , and سَبَاعٌ ; next فِعْلَانٌ and فُوعُلٌ which are equal, [because they occur in 5 paradigms (IY),] as عِرْقٌ , فَلَسٌ , فُمُورٌ , أُسُودٌ , جُرُوحٌ , عُروُقٌ , فُلُوسٌ , عِيدَانٌ , صِنَوَانٌ , رَحْلَانٌ (IY),] and نَمِرٌ , نَمِرٌ , أَاسَدٌ , جُرْحٌ , صَرْدٌ , خَرَبٌ , عَوْدٌ , صِنُوٌ , رَأَالٌ , [pls. of فَعَلَ and فُعِلَ (IY)] ; next أَفْعَلٌ , [because it occurs in 4 paradigms (IY),] as أَفْلُسٌ , أَزْجَلٌ , أَزْمَنٌ , and أَصْلَعٌ , [pls. of فَعَلَ and فُعِلَ (IY)] ; next فِعْلَانٌ and فِعْلَةٌ , which are equal, as دُتْبٌ , بَطْنٌ , [pls. of فَعَلَ and فُعِلَ (IY)] ; next غِرْدَةٌ [pl. of غَرْدٌ (Jh, KF), says Fr (Jh)], and قِرْدَةٌ , قِرْطَةٌ , [pls. of فَعَلَ and فُعِلَ (IY)] ; next فُعِلَ , as سُقْفٌ and فُلْكٌ ; next فِعْلَةٌ and فُعِلَ , as جِيرَةٌ and فُمُرٌ (M). The opinion of S is that كَلِيبٌ [above] and the like are *gausi-pl. ns.*, like جَامِلٌ and بَاقِرٌ [257], and similarly فَعَّةٌ [above] and تَعَبَةٌ , not broken *pls.* ; but Akh holds

that all of them are broken *pls.*, though seldom used (IY). And حَجَلَى [above] occurs as *pl.* of حَجَلٌ, [being the only *pl.* of this measure in the *tril.* (IY, AAz), for which reason Z does not mention it with the paradigms of the *pls.* (IY)]: the poet ['Abd Allāh Ibn AlḤajjāj (IY), (or) AlḤuṭai'a (AAz),] says

أَرْحَمُ أَصْيَبِيَّتِي الَّذِينَ كَانَتْهُمْ * حَجَلَى تَدْرَجُ فِي الشَّرْبَةِ وَقَعُ

(M) *Have mercy upon my little boys* [286], *who are as weak as though they were partridges stepping along in AshSharabba*, a place [belonging to the Banū Ja'far Ibn Kilāb (Bk)], *falling from their inability to fly* (IY). حَجَلَى does not occur as a *pl.* except in [two words (Jh),] حَجَلَى *pl.* of حَجَلٌ *A partridge* and طَرَبَى *pl.* of طَرَبَانٌ *A polecat* (Jh, A); and IS holds that it is a *quasi-pl. n.*, not a *pl.* (A): As says that حَجَلَى is a *dial. var.* of حَجَلٌ (IY, A); but the truth is that it is a *pl.*, like طَرَبَى: and what proves that حَجَلَى and طَرَبَى are *pls.* is their femininization, as هِيَ الْحَجَلَى *They are the partridges* and الطَّرَبَى *the polecats* and هُوَ الْحَجَلُ *It is the partridge*, that being transmitted by AZ; whereas, if حَجَلَى were a *dial. var.* of حَجَلٌ, as As says, it would be *masc.*, like the latter: and Akh says that حَجَلَى is *sing.* and *pl.*, like فُلْكَ and هَبْجَانُ [234] (IY).

§ 238. Having finished the *pl.* of the formations of the unaugmented *tril.*, when it is a *masc. substantiv.*, [Z

followed by] IH enters upon the explanation of its *pls.* when it is [a substantive] made *fem.* with the ة (R). The *tril.* [substantive] that the ة is affixed to has 6 formations, (1) فَعْلَةٌ ; (2) فَعْلَةٌ ; (3) فَعْلَةٌ ; (4) فَعْلَةٌ ; (5) فَعْلَةٌ ; (6) فَعْلَةٌ (IY). The paradigms of its broken *pl.* are (1) فَعَالٌ ; (2) فُعُولٌ ; (3) أَفْعُلٌ ; (4) فِعْلٌ ; (5) فُعْلٌ ; (6) فُعْلٌ (M). The *pl.* of فَعْلَةٌ in paucity is with the ا and ت , as قَصَعَاتٌ and جَفَنَاتٌ [240] ; and the unsound and reduplicated are like the sound in that : they say, in the case of (1) the unsound in (a) the ضَيَّعَاتٌ and رَوَّضَاتٌ , as فِي رَوَّضَاتِ الْبَنَاتِ XLII.21. In the lawns of the gardens [240] ; (b) the ل , ظَبْيَاتٌ and رَكَوَاتٌ : (2) the reduplicated, جَرَّاتٌ and رَبَّاتٌ (IY). The broken *pls.* of فَعْلَةٌ [in multitude (IY)] are (1) فَعَالٌ , regularly, in the sound, unsound, and reduplicated, as قَصَاعٌ , [جَفَانٌ , ضَيَّاعٌ , رِيَّاضٌ (713), طِبَّاءٌ (IY), رَكَاءٌ , دَبَابٌ (R), جِرَارٌ , and رَبَابٌ (IY)] : (2) فِعْلٌ , [as though it were (R)] contracted from فَعَالٌ , as هَضَبٌ , [حَلَقٌ (R), جِفْنٌ , and خَيْمٌ (IY)] ; but that is not regular [in the sound or anything else (R)] : (3) فُعُولٌ , as بُدُورٌ and مُرُورٌ , because فُعُولٌ and فَعَالٌ are fellows in the *pl.* of فَعْلٌ [the *masc.* of فَعْلَةٌ (R)], except that فُعُولٌ in the *pl.* of فَعْلَةٌ is rare, and in the *pl.* of فَعْلٌ is frequent [237] : (4) فُعْلٌ , [when فَعْلَةٌ is hollow, of the *cat.* of the و (R),] as نُوبٌ

[and دُرُج (R)] ; and [similarly (IY), though anomalously, when it is defective (R),] as قُرَى , [and, says F, بُرَى *pl.* of بُرَّة which, says he, is *what is put in the nose of the camel*, whereas the well-known (form) in this sense is بُرَّة (R)] : but that is not regular, فَعَلَّة [here (R)] being [only (IY)] made to accord with فَعَلَّة (IY,R) ; and, when فَعَلَّة is hollow, of the *cat.* of the ي, its ف may not be pronounced with Damm in the *pl.*, but is pronounced with Kasr, as خَيْم [above] and ضَيْع (R). Sometimes, however, they content themselves with the *pl.* of paucity, and do not exceed it : S says (IY), And they sometimes pluralize with the [ا and] ت when they mean *multitude* (S,IY) ; and the poet Ḥassān says لَنَا الْجَفَنَاتُ الْخ [235], where he does not mean *paucity* (S). فَعَلَّة is pluralized in paucity with the [ا and] ت, as رَقَبَاتٌ and رَحَبَاتٌ *courts* ; and the unsound is similar, as نَاقَاتٌ (IY). The [broken] *pls.* of فَعَلَّة [in multitude (IY)] are (1) فِعَالٌ, [regularly (R),] as رِقَابٌ , [رِحَابٌ (IY),] and نِيكَاتٌ [256] : (2) فِعَلٌ, as تَبِيرٌ [713] and قِيمٌ (IY,R), as says the Rājiz

يَقُومُ تَارَاتٍ وَيَمْشِي تَيْرًا

He stands at times, and walks at times (IY) ; the *o. f.* of which is فِعَالٌ (R), فِعَلٌ here being contracted from فِعَالٌ (IY) : (3) فُعَلٌ, as نُوقٌ (IY,R) and قُرٌّ, as in the saying of the Rājiz [cited by As (Jh)]

هَذَا تَعْرِفُ الدَّارَ بِأَعْلَى ذِي الْقُرُورِ * قَدْ دَرَسَتْ غَيْرَ رِمَادٍ مَكْفُورٍ

Dost thou know the dwelling at the top of the mountain full of knolls ? It has become effaced, except ashes covered with dust (IY) ; and [similarly in the sound (IY)] بُدُنٌ and رَأْبُدُنٌ جَعَلْنَاهَا لَكُمْ مِنْ شَعَائِرِ اللَّهِ (IY,R), as in XXII 37. *And (We have made) the sacrificial camels, We have made them for you to be of the signs of the religion of God,* [read by HB رَأْبُدُنٌ with two Dammās, like نُمرٌ pl. of ثَمَرَةٌ (K),] and in لَخْنَهُمْ خُشْبٌ مُسْتَدَّةٌ LXIII.4. [516], read with quiescence [of the ش by IAl, Ks, and, as is reported, Ibn Kathīr (B),] and with Damm : but that [quiescence] is not the *o. f.*, فَعْلٌ being only abbreviated from فَعْلٌ contracted from فَعُولٌ (IY) : فَعْلٌ is not frequent ; and, in the sound, the ع may be pronounced with Damm, on the ground that the Damm is either a *deriv.* of the quiescence or its *o. f.* [711]. And [in paucity] it is pluralized upon the measure of أَفْعَلٌ, as أَكْمٌ in the sound, أَيْنَقٌ [256] in the hollow, and آم [244] in the defective. فَعْلَةٌ from the defective, [i.e., the unsound in the ج,] is frequent (R) : as for the unsound in the ج (IY), like قَنَاءٌ and حَصَاءٌ, it, when in [the sense of (R)] the *pl.*, mostly occurs [curtailed of the ʾ (R), like the *pl.* of generic *ns.* (254) (IY),] as قَنَاءٌ, أَصَاءٌ, and حَصَيٌّ (R) ; or [like the sound *pl.* (IY)] with the ا and ت, [as قَنَوَاتٌ and حَصَيَّاتٌ (IY)] : but is sometimes pluralized upon the measure of فَعُولٌ, as دُرُيٌّ and صُفَيٌّ [722] ; and فَعَالٌ, as إِصَاءٌ and إِمَاءٌ [244] (IY,R), as says the poet [AnNābigha (Jh, ABk, Jk) adhDhubaynī (ABk), describing coats of mail (Jk),]

عُلِينَ بِكَدْيُونٍ وَأُبْطِنَ كَرَّةً * فَهِنَّ إِضَاءَ صَافِيَّاتِ الْعَلَّائِلِ

*That have been rubbed over with dregs of oil, and scour-
ed inside with rotten camel's dung; so that they are
bright, like pools of water, clean as to the linings (IY);*
and [فَعْلَانُ, for] إِمَوَانُ occurs, like إِخْوَانُ (R), [as] says
[the poet (S)] AlKattāl [alKilābī (S)]

أَمَّا الْأَمَاءُ فَلَا يَدْعُونَنِي وَلَدًا * إِذَا تَرَامَى بَنُو الْأَمَوَانِ بِالْعَارِ

*As for the bondswomen, they call me not child, when the
sons of the bondswomen upbraid one another with shame*
(S,Jh). The predicament of the reduplicated is the same
as that of the sound; but it is scarce. The *pl.* of فَعْلَةٌ
in paucity is with the ا and ت, as نَقِيبَاتُ and مَعْدَاتُ (IY).
The [broken (IY)] *pl.* of فَعْلَةٌ [in multitude (IY)] is فَعْلٌ
(IY),] with Kasr of the ف and Fath of the ع, as نِقَمٌ and
مَعْدٌ (IY,R); but that is not regular (IY): Sf says, And the
like of it is rare, not invariable; for كَلِمٌ and خَلْفٌ are
not said in the case of كَلِمَةٌ and خَلْفَةٌ a pregnant she-camel
(R): while نَقِيبَةٌ and مَعْدَةٌ are so pluralized only because
they say نَقِيبَةٌ and مَعْدَةٌ, [with quiescence of the 2nd (IY)
rad.,] like كِسْرَةٌ (IY,R) and خِرْقَةٌ (IY), according to the
Banū Tamīm and others [468]; so that نِقَمٌ and مَعْدٌ are
really *pls.* of فَعْلَةٌ [below], not of فَعْلَةٌ: whereas other

words, like **كَلِمَةٌ** and **خَلِيفَةٌ**, [whose 2nd *rad.* is not a guttural letter,] do not occur upon the measure of **كِسْرَةٌ**, except according to the Banū Tamīm [758](R). **فَعْلَةٌ** is pluralized in paucity with the **ا** and **ت**, as **رُكْبَاتٌ** and **ظُلُمَاتٌ** [240], whence **مِنْ وَرَاءِ الْحُجُرَاتِ** XLIX.4. *From outside the chambers*, [also read **الْحُجُرَاتِ** (K,B),] and **ظُلُمَاتٌ بَعْضُهَا فَوْقَ بَعْضٍ** XXIV.40. (*These are*) *darknesses, some of which are above others* (IY). The [broken (R)] *pls.* of **فَعْلَةٌ** [in multitude (IY)] are (1) **فَعْلٌ**, [mostly (R), regularly, as **رُكْبٌ**, **ظُلَمٌ**, and **غُرَفٌ** (IY)] ; which is sometimes used in paucity also, as **ثَلَاثُ غُرَفٍ** *Three upper-chambers*, [though this is rare (R)] : (2) **فِعَالٌ**, [except in the hollow (R),] as **نِقَارٌ**, [(IY), **نِقَارٌ**,] and **جِفَارٌ** (R),] and **بِرَامٌ** ; which is frequent in the reduplicated, as **حِلَالٌ**, **بِرَاقٌ** ; while in the reduplicated, as **حِلَالٌ**, **قِلَابٌ** (R),] and **جِبَابٌ** (IY,R) ; while in the hollow they restrict themselves to **فَعْلٌ**, as **سُورٌ** and **دُولٌ** (R). In the **فَعْلَةٌ** unsound in the **ع** they say **دُولَاتٌ** and **خُطَرَاتٌ** and in the one unsound in the **ل** they say **دُولٌ** and **خُطَيٌ** ; while the one whose unsound **ل** is a **ي** is similar in multitude, as **مُدَى** and **كُلَى** ; but they hardly ever pluralize it with the **ت**, contenting themselves with the formation of multitude instead. And the reduplicated

is similar, as سُرَّاتٌ and سُرَّرٌ and مَدَّاتٌ and مَدَدٌ (IY). As for حُجْرٌ *pl.* of the حَنْجَرَةٌ *waistband* of the trousers, i.e., *place of tying* them, it is anomalous (R). فَعْلَةٌ is pluralized in paucity with the ا and ت, as سِدْرَاتٌ and كِسِرَاتٌ [240] (IY). The broken *pl.* of فَعْلَةٌ [in multitude (IY)] is فَعَلٌ, [in the sound or anything else (R),] as سِدْرٌ and (IY) [239], كِسْرٌ [and عِدَدٌ and دِيمٌ and قِيمٌ (IY)], and رَشَى and لَحَى ; which is sometimes used in paucity also, as ثَلَثٌ كِسْرٌ *Three fragments* (IY,R) : and others than S mention فَعَلٌ with Damm of the ف, like لَحَى and حَلَى ; but Kasr is better in both of them : and sometimes فَعَلٌ occurs, like لِقَاعٌ and حِقَاقٌ ; so S mentions, but it is extremely rare. S says that the *pl.* with the ا and ت is rare, whether in the sound or in anything else, because, in this *pl.*, [vocalic] alliteration of the ع to the ف is the rule [240] ; whereas فَعَلٌ, like اِبِلٌ, is a scarce formation (R) : and [S says that (R)] they hardly ever pluralize [the defective (R), (i. e.) the unsound in the ج (IY), whether it belong to the *cat.* of the , or ي (R),] with the ا and ت (IY,R), because its 2nd [*rad.*] would then be pronounced with Kasr, as رَشَوَاتٌ, and, since they dislike the combination of two Kasras in the sound, they dislike it more in the unsound (IY) ; so that they content themselves with فَعَلٌ in paucity and multitude (R). But the unsound in

the ع is pluralized [in paucity (IY)] with the ا and ت, as دِيَمَات and قِيَمَات, because [its ع must be made quiescent, so that (R)] two Kasras are not combined (IY,R) in it. And they say in the reduplicated عِدَّات and قِدَّات (IY). S says (R), And فَعْلَةٌ sometimes has a [broken (S,IY)] *pl.* [of paucity] upon the measure of أَفْعُلُ, as أَنْعَمُ *pl.* نَعْمَةٌ and أَشَدُّ *pl.* شِدَّةٌ [255]; but that is rare, [scarce (S,R),] not the rule. فَعْلَةٌ, [if not pluralized with the (ا and) ت (S), (i.e.) in multitude (IY),] has a [broken (S,IY)] *pl.* upon the measure of [فَعْلٌ, as (S)] تُخَمُّ and تُهَمُّ, [being assimilated to فَعْلَةٌ (IY,R), like طَلَبَةٌ and غُرْفَةٌ (IY), and therefore pluralized upon the measure of فَعْلٌ (R)] : but that is not like [رُطَبٌ and (S,R)] رُطَبٌ [254], because رُطَبٌ is *masc.*, [like بُرٌّ and تَمْرٌ (S,R)] ; while this is *fem.* (S,IY,R), like [ظَلَمٌ and (S)] غَرَفٌ (S,R) : and [because] the *dim.* of رُطَبٌ is رُطَيْبٌ ; while the *dim.* of تُخَمُّ [and تُهَمُّ (R)] is تُخَيْبَاتٌ [and تُهَيْبَاتٌ (R)], the word being restored to the *sing.* (IY,R), and then pluralized with the ا and ت, because it is a broken *pl.* [285]. Thus the whole number of formations of the [broken] *pl.* of these substantives is 6, as above mentioned. The commonest of them is فِعَالٌ, because it occurs in 4 substantives, فَعْلَةٌ, فَعْلَةٌ, فَعْلَةٌ, and فَعْلَةٌ : and فِعَالٌ is regular, universal, in فَعْلَةٌ and فَعْلَةٌ, anomalous in the [two] others ; فَعْلٌ is

regular in **فَعْلَةٌ** and **فَعْلَةٌ**, any other [broken *pl.*] being anomalous in them] ; and **فَعْلٌ** is regular in **فَعْلَةٌ**, any other [broken *pl.*] being anomalous in it, while the predicament of [**فَعْلٌ** in] **فَعْلَةٌ** has been mentioned above (IY).

§ 239. The rule in *eps.* is that they should not receive a broken *pl.*, because they bear a resemblance to, and exercise the same government as, *vs.* ; so that their finals receive the same affix for the *pl.* as the finals of the *v.*, vid. the **و** and **ي** ; and it is then followed by the **ا** and **و**, which are subordinate to it : and also [because] the latent *prons.* are attached to them, and the rule is that their form should contain something to indicate those *prons.*, whereas that is not found in the broken *pl.* ; so that it is better that they should be pluralized with the **و** and **ي** to indicate the latency of the *pron.* of *rational males* [below], and with the **ا** and **و** to indicate a *plurality of other objects*. Notwithstanding this, however, some *eps.* receive a broken *pl.*, because they are *ns*, like substantives, although they resemble the *v.* : and the broken *pl.* is more frequent in the assimilate *eps.* than in the *act. part.* of the *tril.*, since the former resemble the *v.* less than the latter does ; and more frequent in the *act. part.* of the *tril.* than in the *pass. part.* of the *tril.* and the *act.* and *pass. parts.* of the *non-tril.*, because the two last resemble their *aors.* in form more than the *act. part.* of the *tril.* resembles its *aor.*, while the *pass. part.* of the *tril.* is treated like the *act.* and *pass. parts.* of the *non-tril.* in rarity of the broken *pl.* on account of the **م** in its beginning (R). The formations of the *tril. eps.* [that have a

broken *pl.* (R)] are 7 (IY,R), (1) فَعْلٌ ; (2) فَعِلٌ ; (3) فُعْلٌ ; (4) فَعَلٌ ; (5) فَعِلٌ ; (6) فَعْلٌ ; (7) فُعْلٌ (IY). The paradigms [of the broken *pl.* (IY)] of the *tril. eps.* are like the paradigms [of the broken *pl.* (IY)] of the *tril.* substantives [237] (M). The broken *pls.* of فَعْلٌ are (1) فِعَالٌ , mostly, [universally, as صِعَابٌ , فِسَالٌ *mean*, كِتَابٌ , and وِرَادٌ (IY)] : (2) فُعُولٌ , as كُهُولٌ (IY,R) and شُيُورٌ [242] (R) : (3) فُعْلٌ [or فَعْلٌ , one of these two formations being apparently a *deriv.* of the other (R)], as سُحُلٌ [white garments (IY) or سُحُلٌ , and صُدُقُ الْلِقَاءِ *Steady in the encounter* or صُدُقُ الْلِقَاءِ (R)], and [sometimes only one of them being used (R),] as كُتٌ , [جُونٌ (R),] and وَرْدٌ *bright bay horses* (IY,R) ; but this is rare (IY) : (4) [فُعَلَاءٌ , as سُبَحَاءٌ , [by assimilation of فَعْلٌ to فَاعِلٌ (R), because سَمِيحٌ *munificent* is i. q. the *act. part.* (IY),] like كُرَمَاءٌ *pl. كُرَمَاءُ* [247] (IY,R) ; or to فَعِيلٌ , like كَرِيمٌ *pl. كَرَمَاءُ* [246] (R) : (5) [أَفْعُلٌ , as أَعْبُدُ] أَفْعُلٌ is [ordinarily] not used as a broken *pl.* of [the *ep.*] فَعْلٌ [in paucity (IY), because the *ep.* in most cases has a qualified explaining the *paucity* and *multitude*, and the *o. f.* in *pls.* is the *pl.* of *multitude* (R) ; so that, when a *pl.* of *paucity* is needed, they use the sound *pl.* (IY)] : but, since some *eps.* are used as substantives, like عَدُوٌّ , they are pluralized [in paucity (R)] upon the measure of أَفْعُلٌ , as أَعْبُدُ ; and, if [فَعْلٌ or

(R)] any [other (R)] *ep.* be used as a name [for a man (IY)], it is pluralized as a substantive [240] (IY,R) : (6) **أَفْعَالٌ**, which is the [formation of paucity] prevalent in the hollow belonging to the *cat.* of the **ي**, as **أَضْيَافٌ** and (R) **أَشْيَاخٌ** [242] (IY,R) : (7) **فَعْلَانُ**, in the hollow and anything else, as (R) **ضَيْفَانٌ**, [**شَيْخَانٌ** (IY),] and **وَعْدَانٌ** (IY,R), like **وَعْدَانُ**, **فَعْلَانُ** [237] (IY) : (8) as **وَعْدَانُ** (IY,R) ; while such as **ضَيْفَانٌ** and **شَيْخَانٌ** may be *orig.* pronounced with Damm of the **ف**, which is then pronounced with Kasr for preservation of the **ي** : (9) **فَعْلَةٌ**, as **رَطْلَةٌ** *delicate* (R) [and] **شَيْخَةٌ** (IY) ; while **فَعْلَةٌ** with quiescence of the **ع** occurs, as **شَيْخَةٌ** (R). Thus the paradigms of the broken *pl.* of **فَعْلٌ** have 9 formations, of which one, *vid.* **فَعْلٌ**, is regular ; and the remainder are anomalous, heard, but not copied, though some of them are more frequent than others. That is because they are treated as substantives ; for they are hardly ever used with their qualifieds, so that **رَجُلٌ عَبْدٌ** and **رَجُلٌ شَيْخٌ** are not said (IY). And they say **عَبِيدٌ** [and **عَبَادٌ** (S)], as they say **كَلِيبٌ** [237] (S,IY) and **كِلَابٌ** (S). The broken *pl.* of **فَعْلٌ** is **أَفْعَالٌ**, as **أَجْلَافٌ** *skinned carcasses of sheep without heads or legs*, [**أَنْقَاضٌ** *jaded* (S,R),] and **أَنْضَاءٌ** *emaciated* (S,IY,R) ; while AZ transmits **أَحْلَاءٌ** *free or*

quit (IY) : أَفْعَالٌ [here (IY)] is made a substitute for فَعُولٌ and فِعَالٌ [in multitude] (S,IY) ; and therefore does not occur 'with [either of] them, so that جُلُوفٌ or جِلَافٌ is not said (IY) : while أَجْلَفٌ is said [by some of the Arabs (S,IY), upon the measure of أَفْعَلٌ (S)], by assimilation to substantives, like أَذْوَبٌ [237] (S,IY,R) ; but it is extraordinary in *eps.* (R). The broken *pl.* of فَعُولٌ is أَفْعَالٌ, as أَمْرَارٌ and أَحَرَارٌ. The broken *pl.* of فَعْلٌ is (1) فِعَالٌ (IY,R), mostly, as S appears to say (R), as حِسَانٌ *fair*, سِبَاطٌ *lank* hair, and فِطَاطٌ *very curly* hair (IY) : (2) أَفْعَالٌ sometimes, [says S (R),] used instead of فِعَالٌ (IY,R), as أَبْطَالٌ, أَعْرَابٌ, أَخْلَاقٌ, and أَسْبَالٌ [146,235] : Labīd says

تَهْدِي أَوْ آتِلِهِنَّ كُلَّ طَبْرَةٍ * جَرْدَاءَ مِثْلِ هِرَاوَةِ الْأَعْرَابِ

(IY) *Whose van shall be led by every fleet mare, short-haired, like the mare Hirāwa of the unmarried men, as though they used to borrow this mare to go hunting on, or like the staff of the herdsmen going far afield with their camels to pasture* (Dw). But فِعْلَانٌ and فَعْلَانٌ, like إِخْوَانٌ and دُكْرَانٌ, are because أَخٌ and دَكْرٌ are used as substantives ; so that they are like خِرْبَانٌ *male bustards* and حَمَلَانٌ *lambs* [237] : and similarly [فَعْلٌ and فَعْلٌ, like] نَصْفٌ and نَصْفٌ, because نَصْفٌ *middle-aged* is like a substantive, and is reckoned by S among sub-

stantives ; so th at they are like أُسْدٌ and أُسْدٌ [237,246], according to him (R). The broken *pls.* of فَعَلٌ are (1) أَفْعَالٌ , as أَكْنَادٌ (IY,R), while Jr transmits أَفْرَاحٌ (IY) : (2) [فَعَالٌ , as] وَجَاعٌ (IY,R) and فِرَاحٌ : the poet says

وَجُوهُ النَّاسِ مَا عُمِرَتْ بَيْضٌ * طَلِيقَاتٌ وَأَنْفُسُهُمْ فِرَاحٌ

The faces of men, so long as thou art preserved alive, are white, cheerful ; and their spirits are joyful (IY) :

(3) فَعَالِي , as وَجَعِي (IY,R) : (4) وَجَاعِي , as فَعَالِي (R) : (5)

خُشْنٌ , فَعْلٌ (6) : (6) وَجَاعِي [فَعَالِي , as]

(R). The broken *pl.* of فَعْلٌ is أَفْعَالٌ , as أَفْقَاطٌ (IY,R) and

أَنْجَابٌ (R) : the poet [AlKumait Ibn Zaid (MN,EC) alAsadi (MN)] says

لَقَدْ عَلِمَ الْأَيْقَاطُ أَخْفِيَةَ الْكَرَى * تَزَجَّجَهَا مِنْ حَالِكٍ وَاتَّحَاَهَا

(IY) *Assuredly the wakeful as to the coverings of drowsiness, meaning the lids of the eyes, have known their being adorned and anointed with black [collyrium]* (MN,EC) :

يَقْطُ and نَجْدٌ are said to be the only two words of this *cat.*

that have a broken *pl.*, the remainder being pluralized with

the sound *pl.* : and AAsh transmits يَقْطُ *pl.* يَقَاطُ , like سَبْعُ *pl.*

سَبَاعٌ in the substantive [237]; but the truth is that يَقَاطُ

is *pl.* of يَقْطَانُ , because فَعَالٌ is prevalent in [the *pl.* of]

أَجْنَابٌ [250] (R). The broken *pl.* of فَعْلٌ is أَفْعَالٌ , as أَجْنَابٌ

(IY,R) ; but some of the Arabs put جُنُبٌ always into

the *sing.*, as *جُنُبًا فَاطَّهَرُوا* V. 9. *And, if ye be unclean, purify yourselves*, making it an *inf. n.* [143] (IY). The commonest of these *pls.* is *أَفْعَالٌ*, because it is applied to all [the formations of (IY)] the *eps.*, [vid. *أَشْيَاخٌ*, *فُعْلٌ*, *فُعِلٌ*, *فُعِلٌ*, *فُعِلٌ*, *فُعِلٌ*, and *فُعِلٌ* (IY),] as *أَشْيَاخٌ*, *أَجْنَابٌ* and *أَيْقَاطٌ*, *أَنْكَادٌ*, *أَبْطَالٌ*, *أَحْرَارٌ*, *أَجْلَافٌ* *فُعَالٌ*, because it is applied to 3 [formations (IY)] of them, [vid. *فُعَالٌ*, *فُعِلٌ*, and *فُعِلٌ* (IY),] as *صِعَابٌ*, *حِسَانٌ*, and *وَجَاعٌ*; while the rest of the *pls.* are equal (IY,R). As for the remaining paradigms of the [*tril.*] *eps.* [368], they are (1) *فُعْلٌ*, as *حُطْمٌ* and *خُتْعٌ* [*skilful guide* (Jh)]; (2) *فُعِلٌ*, as *بِدٌ* *prolific* she-ass and *بِلَرٌ* *stout* woman, there being no other; (3) *فُعِلٌ*, as *سَوَى* and *عِدَى*, there being no other: and no broken *pl.* has been heard in them, *أَعْدَاءٌ* being *pl.* of *عَدُوٌّ*, like *أَفْلَاحٌ* *pl.* of *فَلَوٌ* [246], not of *عِدَى* (R). The [sound (SH)] *pl.* [with the و and ن (M)] is allowable in all [of these *eps.* (M)] that denote *rational males* [234] (M,SH); nay, is the rule [above] (IY), as *صَنْعُونَ*, *صَعْبُونَ*, *حَذِرُونَ*, *حَسَنُونَ* (IY), *حُلُونٌ* (IY), *فَدِيسُونَ* *intelligent*, and *جُنُبُونَ* (M): the poet says

قَالَتْ سُلَيْمَى لَا أُحِبُّ الْبَجْعِدِينَ * وَلَا السِّبَاطَ إِنَّهُمْ مَنَاتِين
Sulaima said, I love not the frizzly-haired men, nor the lank-haired: verily they are stinkers [252] (IY). And as

for [the *pl.* of (M)] their *fem.*, it is with the ا and ت, not otherwise, as عَبَلَاتُ, [عَلَجَاتُ (IY), حُلَوَاتُ (M),] حَدِرَاتُ, and يَقَطَاتُ, except the paradigm of فَعَلَةٌ, [all of (R)] which, [says S (R),] receives the broken *pl.* فَعَالٌ, as [جَعَادُ (M,R),] كِبَاشٌ *quick, sharp*, and عِبَالٌ, [because this formation occurs so frequently that they allow themselves to vary it (IY,R) in the *pl.* (R)] ; while they say عَلِجٌ in the *pl.* of عَلَجَةٌ (M, SH), because they treat it as a substantive, like كِسْرَةٌ *pl.* كِسَرٌ [238] (IY,R). S says that فَعَلَةٌ, as حَسَنَةٌ, is pluralized upon the measure of [فَعَلَاتٌ, as] حَسَنَاتٌ, and not of فَعَالٌ, except when its *masc.* is pluralized upon that measure, as you say حَسَنٌ and حَسَنَةٌ, *pl.* حَسَانٌ ; but not بَطَالٌ *pl.* بَطَلَةٌ, since you do not say بَطَالٌ *pl.* بَطْلٌ : and therefore every *ep.* upon the measure of فَعَلٌ, which is pluralized [in the *masc.*] upon the measure of فَعَالٌ, is pluralized in the *fem.* also upon that measure ; so that this saying of S is contrary to the saying of [Z followed by] IH (R). [See §. 251.]

§ 240. The *fem.* [tril. n. (IY)] quiescent in the medial, [upon the measure of فَعَلَةٌ (IY), فَعَلَةٌ, or فَعَلَةٌ,] is either a substantive [238] or an *ep.* [239]. When it is a substantive, its ع, in the [sound (AAz)] *pl.*, is, when sound [below], (1) vocalized with (a) Fath

[for alliteration to the vowel of its ف (AKB)] in the [measure] pronounced with Fath of the ف, as جَمَرَاتٌ ; (b) Fath [for alleviation (IY)] or Kasr [for alliteration (IY)] in the [measure] pronounced with Kasr of the ف, as سِدْرَاتٌ [17,238] ; (c) Fath [for lightness (IY)] or Damm [for alliteration (IY)] in the [measure] pronounced with Damm of the ف, as غُرَفَاتٌ : (2) sometimes made quiescent, (a) by poetic license in the first, [though some say that this is a *dial. var.* (IY)] ; (b) in a case of choice in the remaining two, in the *dial.* of Tamīm (M), as سِدْرَاتٌ and غُرَفَاتٌ (IY). The *Kur* has II. 162. [434], and the poet [‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Umar Ibn ‘Amr al-‘Arjī (MN)] says

اَللّٰهُ يَا ظَبِيَّاتِ الْغَايِ قُلْنَ لَنَا * لَيْلَايَ مِنْكُمْ اَمْ لَيْلَى مِنْ الْبَشَرِ
(Aud) (*I adjure you*) by God, O doe-gazelles of the plain, say ye to us, Is my Lailà one of you, or is Lailà one of mortals ? (MN) : while the saying [of an Arab of the desert, of the Banū ‘Udhra (MN),]

وَحَمَلْتُ زَفَرَاتِ الضُّحَى فَطَاقَتْهَا * وَمَا لِي بِزَفَرَاتِ الْعِشِيِّ يَدَانِ
[And I was laden with the sighs of the early forenoon, and was able to bear them ; but I have not hands, i. e., strength, for the sighs of the late afternoon (MN)] is a [pretty (Aud, MN, Sn)] poetic license (IA, Aud, A), as also is the saying of the [unknown (FA)] Rājiz فَتَسْتَرِيحُ النَّفْسُ الْحَ [537] (A) cited by Fr (MN), because the ع is some-

times made quiescent by poetic license even in the *sing.* and *masc.* (Aud, MN, Sn), as

يَا عَمْرُو يَا أَبْنَ الْأَكْرَمِينَ نَسَبًا

(Aud) O 'Amr, O son of the noblest in lineage (MN), so that its quiescence is more appropriate in the *pl.* (MN, Sn) and *fem.* because of their heaviness (Sn) ; and Dhu-rRumma says, [addressing himself (AKB),]

إِذَا قُلْتَ وَدَّعَ وَصَلَ خُرْقَاءَ وَاجْتَنَبَ * زِيَارَتَهَا تَخْلُقُ حِبَالُ الْوَسَائِلِ
أَبَتْ دَكْرَ عَوْدِنَ أَحْشَاءَ قَلْبِهِ * خُفْرًا وَرَفَضَاتُ الْهَوَى فِي الْفَاصِلِ

(IY, R), and, in some MSS of the R, [as in the IY,] أَتَتْ, though I have not seen it in the MSS of the Diwān [of Dhu-rRumma], of which I possess (and to God be the praise !) four MSS, *When thou sayest, "Bid farewell to meeting with Kharḳá, and shun visiting her : (if thou shun visiting her,) thou wilt wear out the cords of the ties," memories refuse, or come, that have accustomed the sides of his heart to throbbing, while the loosenesses of love are in the joints* (AKB) ; and the other says تَسْتَرِيحُ النَّفْسُ أَوْ the soul will find rest etc. [537] (IY) ; and, says IJ, Labīd says

رُحِلْنَ لَشَقَّةٍ وَنُصِبْنَ نَصْبًا * لَوَغَرَاتِ الْهَوَاجِرِ وَالسَّمُومِ
(AKB) *That* (referring to camels) *were saddled for a long journey, and were urged to their utmost pace for the intense heats of the noons and the hot wind* (Dw). And [the saying of the poet (S)]

فَلَمَّا رَأَوْنَا بَادِيًا رُكَبَاتِنَا * عَلَى مَوَاطِنٍ لَا نَخْلُطُ الْجِدَّ بِالْهَزَلِ
And, when they saw us in such a state that our knees were showing, on a battle-ground wherein we mingle not earnestness with jest has been (S,IY) heard by us (S) recited [with the ع of رُكَبَاتٍ] pronounced with Fatḥ (IY) ; and in II. 16. [440] HB reads طُلُبَاتٍ with quiescence of the ل (K). But, when unsound, the ع is made quiescent, as بَيْضَاتٌ , جَوْرَاتٌ , دِيَمَاتٌ , and دُولَاتٌ , except in the *dial.* of Hudhail (M), who pronounce [the ع of فَعْلَةٌ in the *pl.* (AKB)] with Fatḥ (IY, AKB), which, IJ declares, is not a poetic license ; while, according to others than Hudhail, Fatḥ is a poetic license (AKB). The Kur has ثَلُثُ عَوْرَاتٍ لَكُمْ XXIV. 57. [(*They are*) *three times of exposing the person for you* (K,B)] and XLII. 21. [238] (IY) : while the poet [of Hudhail (M,A)] says, [describing his he-camel (MN,Jsh,Sn),]

أَخُو بَيْضَاتٍ رَأْتُمْ مُتَأَوِّبٌ * رَفِيقٌ بِمَسْحِ الْمُنْكَبَيْنِ سَبُوحٌ

(M,R,A) (*My he-camel in the swiftness of his journeying is like the male ostrich, who is) a possessor of eggs, going [home to his nest (Jsh)] at night, journeying in the beginning of the night, clever at moving the two shoulders in journeying, stretching the fore-legs in running* (MN, Jsh,Sn) ; and ثَلُثُ عَوْرَاتٍ لَكُمْ XXIV. 57. [above] is [anomalously (R, Sn)] read (R,A) in their *dial.* (A) by

AlA'mash (K) ; but that is rare, the first being the [pronunciation] frequently used (IY). The condition that the ع should be sound [above] is meant to exclude two things, (1) the reduplicated, as جَنَّۃٌ , جَنَّۃٌ , and جَنَّۃٌ , in [the pl. of] which the ع is only made quiescent, [because vocalization would necessarily involve dissolution conducive to heaviness (Sn)] : (2) that [substantive] whose ع is an unsound letter, which is of two kinds, (a) a kind in which the unsound letter is preceded by a vowel homogeneous [with it], as تَارۃٌ , دِيمۃٌ , and دُرۃٌ , [in the pl. of] which [the ع] remains in its state [of quiescence] ; (b) a kind in which the unsound letter is preceded by a Fatha, as جَوَرۃٌ and بَيَضۃٌ , in [the pl. of] which there are two *dials. vars.*, the *dial.* of Hudhail being alliteration, and the *dial.* of others being quiescence (A). The ع in such as جَوَرَاتٌ and بَيَضَاتٌ , according to Hudhail, is not converted into ا only because the vowel in the pl. is accidental [684], as the و of خُطَرَاتٌ preceded by a letter pronounced with Damm is not converted into ا because the Damma is accidental. If فُعَلۃٌ be unsound in the ع, which is only a ا, either *rad.*, as in بَيَعۃٌ , or converted, as in دِيمۃٌ [685], alliteration is not allowable by common consent ; nor Fath, except by analogy to the *dial.* of Hudhail. And, if فُعَلۃٌ be unsound in the ع, which is only a و, as in سُورۃٌ , allitera-

tion is not allowable by common consent : while, by analogy to the *dial.* of Hudhail, Fatḥ is allowable, as in رَوَّضَات and بَيَّضَات, because they account for it by the lightness of Fatha upon the unsound letter, and by its being accidental [684] ; but S says (R), “You do not vocalize the , ” (S,R) in دُولَات (R) “because it is second” (S), though he apparently means “with Damm” (R). As for the [substantive] unsound in the ِ [below], such as غَدَوَات and قَرِيَّة, you treat it like the sound, as غَدَوَات and قَرِيَّات (IY) : but they disallow alliteration [in the *pl.* (Sn)] of such as ذُرَّة and زَبِيَّة, [because Kasra before the , and Damma before the ِ are deemed heavy ; and there is no dispute about that (A),] the Kasr [of the , in جَرَوَات transmitted by Y as *pl.*(A)] of جَرَوَات being [extremely (A)] anomalous (IM) : while it is understood from the language of IM that quiescence and Fatḥ are allowable in such as ذُرَّة and زَبِيَّة, which he expressly declares in the CK ; and that the three *dial. vars.* are allowable in such as خَطَرَة and لَحِيَّة, though some of the BB disallow alliteration in such as لَحِيَّة, because it involves a succession of two Kasras before the ِ, and IM follows them in the Tashil. It is understood from his language that quiescence is not allowable in such as دَعْد [241] or جَفْنَة unrestrictedly, [i. e. whether it be unsound in the ِ or not,

and whether it be a *quasi-ep.* or not (Sn)] : but in the Tashil he excepts the unsound in the ج [above], as طَبِيَّاتٌ, and the *quasi-ep.*, as أَهْلَاتٌ [241], allowing quiescence in both of them as matter of choice (A). In the *ep.*, however, [as جَلْفَةٌ, صَخْمَةٌ, and حُلْوَةٌ (A),] the ع is always made quiescent (M,A) in the *pl.* (Sn), whether the ف be pronounced with Fath, Kasr, or Damm (AAz), as عَبَلَاتٌ [239] (IY), because the *ep.* is heavy [248] by reason of [its] derivation [142] and [consequent] assumption of the *pron.* [26] (Sn) : and it is vocalized in [لَجَبَاتٌ (IY,AAz,A) and رَبَعَاتٌ (AAz,A),] the *pl.* of لَجَبَةٌ and رَبْعَةٌ (M,A), only because they are, as it were, *orig.* substantives, which are used as *eps.*, as they say امْرَأَةٌ كَلْبَةٌ a depraved woman and لَيْلَةٌ غَمٌّ a murky night (M), meaning دَنِيَّةٌ and مُظْلِمَةٌ ; or (IY) because some of the Arabs say لَجَبَةٌ (IY,A) and رَبْعَةٌ (A) : while a people of Kuraish are named الْعَبَلَاتُ because their mother's name was عَبْلَةٌ, and the *ep.*, when used as a name, becomes excluded from the predicament of the *ep.*, and is pluralized as a substantive [239], for which reason they say الْأَحَارِصُ [249] (IY) ; and كَهَلَاتٌ [transmitted by AHm (A) as *pl.* of كَهْلَةٌ (R,Sn),] is extraordinary, [because it is an *ep.* (A)] ; and is not to be copied, contrary to the opinion of Ktb (R,A). The ع of the *ep.* is made quiescent, while the ع of the substantive is pronounced with Fath, only for the sake of distinction, the *ep.* being more fit for quiescence because of its heaviness [248], by reason of its requiring the qualified and of its resembling the *v.*,

on which account it is one of the causes of diptote declension [17,18] (R).

§ 241. The predicament of the *fem.* which contains no ة [264] is like [the predicament of (IY)] that which contains the ة [240] ; they say [دَعْدَاتُ (IY),] أَهْصَاتُ , and أَهْلَاتُ [below] in the *pl.* of [دَعْدُ a woman's name (IY),] أَهْضُ , and أَهْلُ , as says the poet [AlMukhabbal asSa'dī, describing, says Am, the gathering of the Banū Minkar and other clans of Sa'd round Kais Ibn 'Āṣim alMinkarī, their chief (AKB),]

فَهُمْ أَهْلَاتُ حَوْلَ قَيْسِ بْنِ عَاصِمٍ * إِذَا أَدْلَجُوا بِاللَّيْلِ يَدْعُونَ كَثْرًا
[Then they are kinsfolk around Kais Ibn 'Āṣim. When they journey by night, they call upon a bountiful lord, i. e. they sing his praise to the camels (AKB)] ; and they say عُرْسَاتُ and عَيْرَاتُ [below] in the *pl.* of عُرْسٌ and غَيْرٌ , as says AlKumait, [praising the family of the Apostle of God (AAz),]

*
عَيْرَاتُ الْفَعَالِ وَالسُّودِ الْعِدِّ إِلَيْهِمْ مَحْظُوطَةُ الْأَعْكَامِ

(M) The camels carrying provisions of generosity and inexhaustible princeliness are unloaded of the burdens beside them, إِلَيْهِمْ says IH, being dependent upon مَحْظُوطَةُ because it implies the sense of وَاصِلَةٌ arriving (AAz). أَهْلَاتُ , however, is *pl.* of أَهْلَةٌ with the ة , not, as Z thinks, of أَهْلُ , which is a *masc.* pluralized with the ,

and ن as وَلِي دُونَكُمْ أَهْلُونَ أَحْ [234] ; for, since they qualify with it, they treat it as an *ep.* in the affixion of the ة of femininization for distinction [265], saying رَجُلٌ أَهْلٌ a *worthy man* and امْرَأَةٌ أَهْلَةٌ a *worthy woman*, as says the poet [Abu-t-Tamahān alKainī (AKB)] وَأَهْلَةٌ رَدٌ قَدْ تَبَرَّيْتُ وَدَهْمٌ * وَأَبْلَيْتُهُمْ فِي الْكَيْدِ جَهْدِي وَنَأْتَلِي [And (many) a (جَمَاعَةٌ company) worthy of love have I applied myself to gain the love of, and have I conferred my diligence and my bounty upon in praise! (AKB)] ; and, since they say in the *masc.* أَهْلٌ and أَهْلُونَ and in the *fem.* أَهْلَةٌ and أَهْلَاتٌ, it resembles فَعَلَةٌ in the *eps.*, so that they make its second [*rad.*] quiescent, saying أَهْلَاتٌ [240], as they do in the rest of the *eps.*, as عَبَلَاتٌ ; while some of the Arabs say أَهْلَاتٌ, pronouncing the second with Fath, as they pronounce it in أَرْضَاتٌ, because أَهْلٌ is a substantive like أَرْضٌ, although it resembles the *ep.* (IY) : and عَيْرَاتٌ, *pl.* of عَيْرٌ, [which is *fem.* (A),] is anomalous (R, A), according to others than Hudhail (R), analogy requiring the ع to be made quiescent, because its *sing.* is unsound in the ع and pronounced with Kasr of the ف [240] (Sn).

§ 242. In the [*tril.*] unsound in the ع, they abstain from [forming] (1) أَفْعَلٌ (M, SH) from these 10 paradigms [of the *sing.*] mentioned [237], whether the hollow [*tril.*] be of the *cat.* of the , or ع (R), the *pl.* of paucity

being then [mostly (R)] أَفْعَالٌ, as أَثْرَابٌ [235], [251] أَثْرَاطٌ, أَثْرَابٌ, and أَشْيَاخٌ [239], because the Damma upon the unsound letter, even though preceded by a quiescent, is deemed heavy (IY,R); and similarly, when the unsound [tril.] has an ا for its ع [in the sing.] as أَثْرَابٌ and أَثْرَابٌ, because, its ا being converted from a , or ي orig. mobile [711], it is virtually of the cat. of [فَرَسٌ, like] فَرَسٌ and فَرَسٌ, the normal form of [the pl. of paucity in] which is أَفْعَالٌ, as أَفْرَاسٌ and أَفْلَامٌ [237], not أَفْعُلٌ (IY): while [such as (M)] أَثْرُوسٌ, أَثْرُوبٌ, أَثْرُوبٌ, أَثْرُوبٌ, أَثْرُوبٌ, أَثْرُوبٌ (R),] and أَثْرُوبٌ are anomalous (M,SH): AlAzrak al'Ambarī says

طَرَنَ أَنْقِطَاعَةَ أَوْتَارٍ مُخَضَّرَةٍ * فِي أَثْرُوسٍ نَارَعَتْهَا أَيْمَنُ شُمْلًا
[246] *They flew at a starting of strings firmly fastened on bows that right hands strove to pull away from left hands* (IY); the Rājiz [Ma'ruf Ibn 'Abd ArRaḥmān, or, as is said, Ḥumaid Ibn Thaur (MN),] says

لِكُلِّ دَهْرٍ قَدْ لَبِسْتُ أَثْرُبًا * رِيطًا وَبُرْدًا عَصَبِي الْمَنْشَبَا
[683] (S,Aud) *For every time, meaning eternal time, I have put on clothes, mantles and wrappers, my striped wrappers of AlYaman marked with the figures of arrows* (MN); and the other says

كَأَنَّهُمْ أَسِيفٌ بَيْضٌ يَمَانِيَّةٌ * عَضْبٌ مَضَارِبُهَا بَاقٍ بِهَا الْأَثَرُ
(Aud) *As though they were white Yamānī swords, whose edges are sharp, the scar left by which is lasting* (MN):

though some distinguish between the *masc.* and *fem.*, making the *pl.* of the *masc.* أَفْعَالٌ, as أَبَوَابٌ, and the *pl.* of the *fem.* أَفْعُلٌ, as أَدْوَرٌ and أَنْوَرٌ (IY); [for] Y says that أَفْعُلٌ is [regular as (R)] the [broken (S)] *pl.* of [paucity in (S)] فَعْلٌ, when *fem.* (S,R) without a ة, as it is regular in [the *pl.* of] فَعَالٌ and فَعِيلٌ when *fem.* [246] (R) : but that is not universal, according to S, nor regular, as is proved by أَنْيَابٌ (IY) : S says, Nay, أَفْعُلٌ is anomalous in فَعْلٌ [237], even though it be *fem.* (R) ; and, if it were [regular (R) only because of the feminization (S)], they would not say أَرْحَاءٌ, [أَرْحَاءٌ according to those who make قَفَا *fem.* (S).] أَقْدَامٌ, and أَغْنَامٌ (S,R) : (2) فُعُولٌ in [the *cat.* of (IY,R)] the و, not the ي (M,SH), the *pl.* of multitude being then [mostly (R)] فَعَالٌ, as حَيَاضٌ [713] (IY, R), سَيَاطٌ (IY), and ثِيَابٌ (R), on account of the Damma upon the unsound letter together with the و, of the *pl.* (IY), because Damma upon a و, followed by a و, is deemed heavy in the *pl.*; though not in the *inf. n.*, as غَوَوْرٌ [683,714] and سُورٌ; whereas in فَعَالٌ the word is lightened by conversion of the و, into ي (R) : while [such as (M)] فُرُوجٌ [*pl.* of فَرْجٌ (R)] and سُورُقٌ [714] are anomalous : (3) فَعَالٌ in [the *cat.* of (IY,R)] the ي, not the و, (M,SH), in the whole of the paradigms [of the *sing.*] mentioned [237] (R), the *pl.* [of multitude] being then [mostly (IY)] فُعُولٌ (IY,R), as بُيُوتٌ and شُيُوخٌ [239,714] (IY), like

فَيُجَّجُ *couriers*, [*pl.* of فَيَّج (Jh), which is Persian (Jh, Jk), not genuine Arabic (Jk), arabicized (Jh, KF) from بَيْد (KF),] and سَيُولُ (R), in order that the *cat.* of the ي may not be confounded with that of the و (IY), because, if بَيَّات were said, like حَيَّاصُ [above], the *cat.* of the و would be confounded with that of the ي (R), since the و in فَعَالٌ passes into ي [713]; while the Damma [on the ع in فَعُولٌ] is lighter with the ي than with the و (IY). The initial of [فَعُولٌ, when its ع is a ي, like] الْغُيُوبُ [247] in the saying of Ka'b

تَرْمِي الْغُيُوبَ بِعَيْنَيَّ مُفَرَّدٍ لَهَقٍ * إِذَا تَوَقَّدَتِ الْحِرَّانُ وَالْبَيْدُ

That [referring to the عِدَائَةٌ mentioned in a previous verse cited in § 253] *throws upon the hiding-places two eyes (in keenness of sight like the two eyes) of a (wild bull) separated (from his son), a white bull, even when the rugged grounds and the huge heaps of sand glow with heat, (and the eyes are dazzled,)* may be pronounced with Kasr, in order that it may become light, and may approximate to the ي; and Kasr is read among the Seven in such as بُيُوتٌ, [which IAl, Warsh, and Ḥafṣ read with Damm of the ب in II. 185, and the remainder with Kàsr (B),] and عُيُونٌ, [which Nāfi', IAl, Ḥafṣ, and Hishām read with Damm of the ع wherever it occurs, and the remainder with Kasr (B on XV. 45),] and غُيُوبٌ,

[which Abū Bakr and Ḥamza read with Kasr of the ع wherever it occurs (B on V. 108)] : though Zj mentions that most of the GG do not recognize this ; and that, according to the BB, it is very corrupt, because there is no فَعُولٌ in Arabic : while F points out, as evidence of its allowability, that in the *dim.* of بَيْتٌ, عَيْنٌ, and the like the initial may be pronounced with Kasr, S being one of those who transmit that, although فَعِيلٌ is not one of the formations of the *dim.* [274] (BS). Fr holds that اَفْعَالٌ is regular in the فَعْلٌ whose ف is a Hamza, as اَلْفٌ ; or a و, as وَهْمٌ : and IM shows by his language in the CK that he agrees with Fr in the second ; for he says that اَفْعَالٌ is more frequent than اَفْعُلٌ in the فَعْلٌ whose ف is a و, as اَوْقَاتٌ pl. اَوَقَاتٌ, وَصَفٌ pl. اَوْصَافٌ, and اَوْقَافٌ pl. وَقَفٌ, and اَوْهَامٌ pl. وَهْمٌ, because, deeming the Damm of the ع of اَفْعُلٌ heavy after the و, they deviate to اَفْعَالٌ, as they deviate to it in the فَعْلٌ whose ع is unsound ; and that, as اَقْرَبٌ and اَعْيُنٌ are anomalous in the [فَعْلٌ whose ع is] unsound, so اَوْجَةٌ is anomalous in the فَعْلٌ whose ف is a و : these are his very words : then he says that the reduplicated فَعْلٌ is like the فَعْلٌ whose ف is a و, in that اَفْعَالٌ is more frequent in its pl. than اَفْعُلٌ, as اَعْمَامٌ pl. عَمٌّ, اَرَبَابٌ pl. رَبٌّ, اَجْدَادٌ pl. جَدٌّ, اَفْنَانٌ pl. فَنٌّ : these also are his words (A).

§ 243. In ^{أَفْعُلْ} and ^{فُعُولْ} from the [tril.] unsound in the ل, [as ^{دَلُّوْ}, ^{حَقُّوْ} and ^{جَرُّوْ} (IY) or ^{جَرُّوْ} or ^{جَرُّوْ} (Jh, KF),] they say ^{أَدِلْ} [244, 685, 721] (M), ^{أَحِيْ}, ^{أَجِرْ} whence

لَيْتَ هَزَبٌ مُدِلٌّ عِنْدَ خَيْسَتِهِ * بِالرَّقَمَتَيْنِ لَهُ أَجِرٌ وَأَعْرَاسٌ

(IY), by Mālik Ibn Khālid alKhunā'ī, *A lion, mighty, bold, at his den in ArRaḡmatān, having whelps and mates* (DH), and ^{أَيْدٍ} [260]; and ^{دُلِّيْ} [237, 685, 722] and ^{دُمِيْ} [260] (M), and similarly ^{عَصِيْ} pl. of ^{عَصَا} (IY) :

and they say ^{نُكُوْ} [722] and ^{قُنُوْ}, [according to the o. f. (IY)]; though conversion [of the و into ي] is more frequent : and sometimes the initial [of ^{فُعُولْ}] is pronounced with Kasr, as ^{دِلِّيْ}, [^{عِصِيْ} (IY),] and ^{نَحِيْ} ;

while [^{قُسِيْ} or (IY)] ^{قِسِيْ} bows [transposed from ^{قُرُوْسْ}, its measure being ^{فُلُوعْ} transposed from ^{فُعُولْ} (IY),] is, as it were, constructively pl. of ^{قَسُوْ} [transposed from ^{قَرُوْسْ}] (M), the و in it being then converted into ي, as in ^{دُلِّيْ} pl. of ^{دَلُّوْ} (IY). The pls. of ^{فَتِيْ} are ^{فَتِيَّانْ}, ^{فَتِيَّةْ}

[upon the measure of ^{فُعُولْ} (Jh)], and ^{فَتِيْ}, like ^{عِصِيْ} (Jh, BS) : the two first are in the Book of God, ^{وَقَالَ لِفَتِيَّتِهِ} And he said to his young men [not traceable in the Kur, though ^{فَتِيَّةْ} occurs in XVIII. 12. and ^{الْفَتِيَّةُ} in XVIII. 9.,]

and ^{وَقَالَ لِفَتِيَّانِهِ} XII. 62. And he said to his young men ; but the third is anomalous, because its o. f. is ^{قُتُوْ}

upon the measure of ^{BS}فَعُولٌ , [the ل of فَعُولٌ being a ي , as is proved by فَعْيَانِ (229) (T),] so that they ought to charge its , into ي , and incorporate it into the ي (BS) : Jadhīma [Ibn Mālik Ibn Fahm {at Tanūkhī (AKB)} alAzdī, {the last of the Kings of Kuḏā'a at AlḤira (AKB),} called AlWaddāḥ (The Fair) and AlAbrash (The Speckled) in allusion to his being leprous (MN,AKB),] says

فِي فُتُوٍّ أَنَا رَابِعُهُمْ * مِنْ كَلَالٍ غُرُورٍ مَاتُوا

(Jh,BS), as Jh [followed by IHsh] quotes this verse (AKB), which comes after رُبَّمَا أَوْفَيْتُ الْحَجَّ [505,612] (MN), *Among youths that I was the scout of, that died, i. e., endured terrors and hardships, from the fatigue of a foray ; or*

فِي فُتُوٍّ أَنَا كَالِثُهُمْ * فِي بَلَايَا عَوْرَةٍ بَاتُوا

as Amd says, *Among youths that I was the guard of, that passed the night in the trials of a dreaded breach in a frontier* (AKB) : and the counterpart of it in anomalousness is فُتُوٌّ in the *inf. n.* (BS) : S says that they anomalously substitute the , in the *pl.* and *inf. n.* (Jh). فَعُولٌ is irregular as *pl.* of the فَعْلٌ unsound in the ل (Aud) : the regularity of فَعُولٌ as *pl.* of فَعْلٌ is subject to the condition that its ل be not a ي (A), as in مُدَى a *measure of capacity* used in Syria and Egypt [237] ; while فُتْيٌ [with Damm of the ي and Kasr of the Hamza

(Sn), or نَثِي (Jh, KF), orig. نُورِي (Sn),] *pl.* of نُورِي is anomalous, as

خَلَّتْ إِلَّا أَيَّاصِرَ أَوْ نَثِيًّا

(Aud, A) *It has become desolate, except short ropes used to fasten the bottom of the tent to the pegs, or shallow trenches dug round the tent to prevent the rain-water from coming in* (Sn).

§ 244. The [*tril.* substantive (IY) فَعْلَةٌ (R)] curtailed of the ج , [and containing the ة (M) of femininization (IY),] is pluralized (l) with the و , and ن , [as a reparation for what is elided from it (R),] its initial being (a) [sometimes (IY, R)] altered (M, R) by pronouncing with Kasr what is pronounced with Fath or Damm [in the *sing.*] (R), as سُنُون and قُلُون ; (b) [sometimes] unaltered, as ثُبُون and قُلُون (M) : (a) the ف in the *cat.* of سَنَةٌ [234], when pronounced with Fath [in the *sing.* (Sn)], is pronounced with Kasr in the *pl.*, as سُنُون ; and, when pronounced with Kasr [in the *sing.* (Sn)], is not altered in the *pl.*, as مَثُون : this being the chastest [usage] ; while سُنُون [234], مَوُون , and عَزُون are transmitted : and, when pronounced with Damm [in the *sing.* (Sn)], is pronounced with Kasr or Damm [in the *pl.* (Sn)], as ثُبُون and قُلُون (A), Damm being, in my opinion, preferable in the *nom.*, [as ثُبُون ,] for affinity to the و , and for avoidance of the transition from Kasr [of the ف] to Damm [of the ع] ; and Kasr in the *acc.* and *gen.*, [as ثُبِين ,] for affinity to the ي , and for avoidance of the transition from Damm [of the ف] to

Kasr [of the ع] (Sn) : (2) with the ا and ت, the ل being (a) restored, as سَنَوَاتٌ and عِصَوَاتٌ [234]; (b) not restored, as ثَبَاتٌ and هَنَاتٌ (M,R) : (a) Jr says that the pl. with the ا and ت denotes *few*, and with the , and ن denotes *many*, so that they say هَذِهِ ثَبَاتٌ قَلِيلَةٌ *These are few companies* and ثُبُونٌ كَثِيرَةٌ *many companies* ; but I see no foundation for that : (b) they sometimes pluralize with the ا and ت what they do not pluralize with the , and ن, saying طَبَاتٌ and سِيَّاتٌ [pl. of سِيَّةٌ *a curved part of a tip of a bow*, the : in the sing. being a compensation for the , (Jh)], but not طُبُونٌ [below] nor سِيُونٌ ; and in that is a proof that the pl. with the ا and ت is the o.f. in these ns., because you pluralize with the ا and ت all of them that you pluralize with the , and ن, but do not pluralize with the , and ن all of them that you pluralize with the ا and ت (IY) : (3) upon the measure of أَفْعَلٌ [in paucity (IY)], as آمٌ, [orig. آمُرٌ (IY,R),] like أَكْمٌ [238] (M,R), the , being converted into ي, and the Damma into Kasra, as in أَدِلٌ [243] (IY,R) and أَجِرٌ (IY), and the ي being [then] elided, as in قَاضٍ [16] (R) ; while in multitude they say إِمَاءٌ [238], as they say إِكَامٌ : but they do not say آمُونٌ, as they say سُنُونٌ, because it has a broken pl., and [in this cat.] the pl. with the , and ن is only a compensation for the broken pl. (IY) ; while طُبُونٌ [with

Damm and Kasr (KF),] *pl.* of ظَبَّةٌ *an edge* of an arrow-head, and of a sword, [and of a spear-head (T, KF) and the like (KF), or, as is said (T), *an end* of a sword (Jh, T), and of an arrow-head (Jh), or, as AFR mentions, *a striking-place* of a sword, and, when حَدّ *an edge* is *pre.* to it, *a whole sword*, or its *striking-place* (T), as in

تَعَارَزَ أَيْمَانُهُمْ بَيْنَهُمْ * كُؤُوسَ الْمَنَآيَا بِحَدِّ الظُّبِيَانَا

by Ka'b (Jh) Ibn Mālik, describing the day of Uhud, *Their right hands interchange among them the cups of the fates with the edge of the swords* (SR),] is anomalous, because it has broken *pls.* أَظْبَى and ظَبَى [243] (A), *orig.* أَظْبَرُ, like أَرْجُلٌ [235, 237], its J being a , (Sn) ; nor do they say أَمَوَاتٌ, as they say سَنَوَاتٌ, because they dispense with that by availing themselves of آمٍ, since it likewise is a *pl.* of paucity (IY).

§ 245. The [broken (IY)] *pl.* of the [unaugmented (IA, A)] *quad.* [n. (IA)] is upon the measure of [only (IY) one paradigm (M)] فَعَالِلُ (M, R, IA, A), in paucity and multitude [235] (IY, R), whether the *quad.* [392] be a substantive or an *ep.*, bare of the ة of femininization or not bare (M), as [فَعَالِبُ *foxes* and سَلَاحِبُ *long* (679), دِرَاهِمُ *dirhams* and هَجَارِعُ *tall* (679) (M),] بَرَانِئُ *claws* (M, IA, A) and جَرَاشِعُ *huge* [camels (IY)], ضَفَادِعُ *frogs* and خَضَارُمُ [*pl.* of خَضِرٌ *a sea having much water* and a boun-

isful man (IY)], and قَبَاطِرُ (M) *pl.* of قَبْطَرٌ *a book-case*, whence the saying of the poet

لَيْسَ يَعْلَمُ مَا يَعِي الْقَبْطَرُ * مَا أَعْلَمُ إِلَّا مَا وَفَاءُ الصَّدْرُ

What the book-case stores up is not knowledge : knowledge is not aught but what the breast has stored up (IY) and سَبَاطِرُ (M,A) *pl.* of سَبْطَرٌ (IY, A) *stretched out* (IY) at the spring, said of a lion (Jh, KF), [or] *sharp-tongued*, as in the KF (Sn), [which, however, has] *sharp-witted* (KF) : and similarly, [as is said, in multitude (R),] when it contains the ʾ of feminization, as زَّادِمٌ *pl.* of زَّادِمَةٌ *a wind-pipe* and (IY) جَمَاجِمُ *pl.* of جَمَجِمَةٌ *a skull*, [because the ʾ is an *aug.* that drops off in the formation of the broken *pl.* (IY)] ; while, in paucity, it is pluralized with the ا and ت as زَّادِمَاتٌ and (IY) جَمَجِمَاتٌ (IY,R). The measure of this [*pl.*], then, is فَعَالِلٌ, because its letters are all of them *rads.* [253] (IY)]. The broken *pl.* of the *quin.* [*n.* (IY)] is disapproved (M, SH), like its *dim.* [274] (SH), from dislike to the elision of any of the *rads.* (IY, R), these two formations being practicable only (MASH) by elision of its 5th [*rad.*] (SH) : and its broken *pl.*, if it have one, does not exceed this paradigm after elision of its 5th [and last letter, the last being elided for two reasons, because the *pl.* is complete by the time it is reached, so that there is no place for it, and because the last letter is what makes the word heavy, so that, but for the 5th, it

would not be heavy (IY)], as **فَرَزْدَقٌ**, [a collective generic *n.* (Sn), meaning *lumps of dough* (Jh, IKhn, Sn), AlFarazdak being so called (Jh, IKhn), says IKb, because he was *rough in the face*, having been attacked by small-pox in his face, which remained *rough, puckered* (IKhn),] **pl. فَرَاذِدُ**, [**سَفَرَجٌ** *quince*, **pl. سَفَارِجُ** (IY),] and **جَحْمَرِشٌ** *decrepit*, **pl. جَحَامِرُ** (M) ; and similarly, in the whole of the *quin.*, you elide the **ج**, and form it upon one of the paradigms of the *quad.*, as **جَعْفَرٌ** [392], **زَبْرَجٌ**, and the like, and then pluralize it in the same way as the *quad.* (IY). IM intimates by his saying "And, from an unaugmented *quin.*, the last remove by rule" that the [broken] **pl.** of the unaugmented *quin.* [401] is upon the measure of **فَعَالٌ** regularly, its 5th being elided, as **سَفَارِجُ** **pl.** of **سَفَرَجٌ** [above], **فَرَاذِدُ** **pl.** of **فَرَزْدَقٌ**, and **خَدَارِنُ** **pl.** of **خَدَرْنَقٌ** *a spider* (IA). The 4th of the [unaugmented (IA)] *quin.*, however, if *quasi-aug.*, [in form (A),] as being one of the letters of augmentation [671], like the **ن** of **خَدَرْنَقٌ**, or [in source (A),] as being from the same source [732] as one of the letters of augmentation, like the **د** of **فَرَزْدَقٌ** [below], may be elided, the 5th being retained, as **خَدَارِيقُ** and **فَرَارِيقُ** ; though [elision of the 5th, and retention of the 4th, as (IA)] **خَدَارِنُ** and **فَرَاذِدُ**, are (IA, A) more frequent (IA) [and] better (A) They say **فَرَارِيقُ** as **pl.** of **فَرَزْدَقٌ** [above], elid-

ing the و [for two reasons], because it is [*quasi-aug.*, as being] from the same source as the ت [732], which is one of the letters of augmentation [671], and because it is near the end (IY) : whereas, if the 4th be not *quasi-aug.*, it may not be elided, so that سَفَرَجَلٌ is not allowable as *pl.* of سَفَرَجَلٌ, [because the ج, though near the end, is not *quasi-aug.*] (IA) ; while جَحْمَرِشٌ is not said as *pl.* of جَحْمَرِشٌ, because the م, [though *quasi-aug.*, as being one of the letters of augmentation,] is far from the end (IY). This is the opinion of S ; while Mb says that only the 5th is elided, خَدَارِئِ and فَرَارِئِ being wrong ; and the KK and Akh allow elision of the 3rd, as though they regarded it as easier, because the ل of the *pl.* takes its place, so that they say خَدَانِئِ and فَرَادِئِ (A). The [unaugmented *quad.* or] *quin.* n., when it is a proper name, receives the sound *pl.* [with the و and ن], as [جَعْفُرُونَ and] فَرَزْدَقُونَ (IY) ; and [similarly when it is an *ep.* of a rational being, so that (IY)] دَهْشُونَ *easy-tempered*, هَجْرَعُونَ *tall* [and *slight* (KF)], and صَهْصَلِقُونَ *clamorous* [234] are said : and [the *quad.* and *quin. ns.*, when they contain the ة of femininization, are pluralized in paucity with the ا and ت, as (IY)] حَنْظَلَاتٌ *colocynths*, بُهْصَلَاتٌ *short women*, سَفَرَجَلَاتٌ *quinces* [234], and جَحْمَرِشَاتٌ *decrepit* [234] (M), جَحْمَرِشٌ a *decrepit* old woman being pluralized with the ت, because

it is *fem.*, though there is no sign [of feminization] in it (IY).

§ 246. Having finished the unaugmented *tril.*, [*quad.*, and *quin.*, Z followed by] IH commences the augmented [*tril.*], of which those kinds that have a broken *pl.*, according to what he mentions, are four [in number], because the augment is either a letter of prolongation [246-248] or a Hamza at the beginning [249], or an ا and و at the end [250], or a quiescent ع second [251] : and, if it be a letter of prolongation, it is either second [247], or third [246], or fourth [248], or fifth [247,248] ; and he gives precedence to the *tril.* whose augment is a letter of prolongation, third, because it involves many discussions. It is either a substantive or an *ep.* (Jrb). The [augmented *tril.*] substantives [of 4 letters (IY)], whose augment is third [374], a letter of prolongation, have 11 [or rather 12] paradigms in the [broken (IY)] *pl.*, (1) أَفْعَلَةٌ ; (2) فُعُلٌ ; (3) فِعْلَانٌ ; (4) فَعَاتِلٌ ; (5) فُعْلَانٌ ; (6) فَعْلَةٌ ; (7) أَفْعَالٌ ; (8) فِعَالٌ ; (9) فُعُولٌ ; (10) أَفْعَلَاءٌ ; (11) أَفْعُلٌ ; [(12) فَوَاعِلٌ] (M). The substantives of this formation that have a broken *pl.* are of 5 formations, (1) فِعَالٌ , like رَمَانٌ ; (2) فِعَالٌ , like حِمَارٌ ; (3) فُعَالٌ , like غُرَابٌ ; (4) فَعِيلٌ , like رَغِيفٌ ; (5) فُعُولٌ , like عَمُودٌ (IY). The [broken] *pls.* of فِعَالٌ are, (1) in paucity , أَفْعَلَةٌ , [univers-

ally (R), when فَعَال is *masc.* (IY),] as أَمْنَةٌ, [أَمَكْنَةٌ (R), أَفْدِنَةٌ (IY),] and أَفْدِنَةٌ; while it is sometimes used in multitude also, as أَمْنَةٌ and أَمَكْنَةٌ : (2) in multitude, (a) [فُعْلٌ, mostly, as (R)] فُذِّلٌ and فُذِّنٌ (IY,R); while, if you like, you abbreviate it, in the *dial.* of Tamīm [below], by making the ع quiescent (R): (b) فُعُولٌ, as عُنُقٌ [below] (IY) : (c) فِعْلَانٌ, as غِرْلَانٌ; though it is not a normal form [in the *pl.*] of فَعَالٌ, but is an assimilation of فَعَالٌ to فُعَالٌ, like غِرْبَانٌ and حِيرَانٌ, *pls.* of غَرَابٌ and حَوَارٌ [below] (R). The [broken] *pls.* of فِعَالٌ are the same as those of فَعَالٌ in paucity and multitude : so that you say أَحْبَرَةٌ [and أَخْبَرَةٌ (IY)] in paucity ; and حُمْرٌ, [حُمُرٌ, and أُزْرٌ (IY)] in multitude (IY,R), while فُعْلٌ is sometimes abbreviated among Tamīm; and sometimes the *pl.* of multitude supplies the place of the *pl.* of paucity, as جُدْرٌ and كُتُبٌ : and فِعْلَانٌ occurs, as صِرَانٌ *pl.* of صَوَارٌ a herd of wild cattle, [فِعَالٌ] being made to accord with فَعَالٌ (R) : and they say شِمَاكِلٌ (IY,R), upon the measure of فَعَاكِلٌ (IY), because شِمَالٌ is *fem.*, in the sense of يَدٌ a hand ; while the regular *pl.* is أَشْمَلٌ, like أَذْرَعٌ [below] ; but, شِمَاكِلٌ being the *pl.* of فِعَالَةٌ [below], شِمَالٌ, since the *š* is supplied in it [264], is treated as though the *š* were expressed in it (R). The [broken (S,IY)] *pls.* of

فُعَالٌ are, (1) in paucity, (a) أَفْعَلَةٌ, as أَغْرَبَةٌ, أَخْرَجَةٌ (S,IY,R), أَبْغَثَةٌ (S,R), أَدَبَةٌ, and أَحْوَرَةٌ (S) ; while أَفْعَلَةٌ is sometimes the only *pl.* used, [in paucity and multitude (R),] as أَفْعَلَةٌ (S,R); but they do not say أَغْلِبَةٌ (S,IY) : (b) فِعْلَةٌ, as (IY) غِلْمَةٌ, which is a substitute for أَغْلِبَةٌ (S,IY,R), as فِتْيَةٌ is for أَفْعَاءٌ (S), because of their resemblance in denoting *paucity* and in form (R) ; while [the proof that غِلْمَةٌ is a substitute for أَغْلِبَةٌ is that (R)] in the *dim.* it is [sometimes (IY)] restored to the regular form, as أُغْلِبَةٌ [286] (IY,R) :

(2) in multitude, (a) فُعْلَانٌ, [the normal form (R),] as غُرَبَانٌ, [خُرَجَانٌ (S,R), يَغْتَانٌ (S),] غِلْمَانٌ (S,IY,R), ذِبَابٌ (S,R), and حَيْرَانٌ (S), because, as is said, when the ا, which is *aug.*, is elided, فُعْلَانٌ becomes, as it were, [فُعْلٌ, as] غُرَبٌ and غُلْمٌ, like جُرْدٌ and صُرْدٌ, where they say صِرْدَانٌ and جِرْدَانٌ [237] (IY) : (b) فُعْلَانٌ, in two words only (R), حُورَانٌ, [which some say (S),] and رُقَّانٌ, [which we have heard the Arabs say (S),] *pls.* of حُورَانٌ [above] and رُقَّانٌ : (c) فُعْلٌ, as [فُعْلٌ *pl.* of قُرَادٌ, [like جُرْدٌ *pl.* of جِدَارٌ (R),] فُعَالٌ [with Damm (R)] being made to accord with فِعَالٌ [with Kasr, because of the affinity of the two vowels ; but it is rare, extraordinary (R)] ; and like it is [the saying of some (S)] ذُبٌ [below] (S,R), *orig.* ذُبُّبٌ, the incorporation being based upon the practice of the Bandū Tamīm in abbrevi-

ating such as عُنُق (R) ; while in سَوَّار those who say سَوَّار a bracelet agree with those who say سَوَّار [711] (S): (d) فَوَاعِلٌ anomalously, as دَوَاخِنُ and عَوَائِنُ, pls. of دُخَانُ smoke and its syn. عُثَانُ, which have no third (R). The [broken (S,IY)] pls. of فَعِيلٌ are, (1) in paucity, (a) أَفْعَلَةٌ, as أَغْفَةٌ, أَجْرَةٌ (S,IY,R), أَكْثَبَةٌ (S,IY), أَقْلَبَةٌ (S), and أَفْقَرَةٌ (R), and similarly, in the reduplicated, أَجْرَةٌ, أَسْرَةٌ, [and أَجِنَّةٌ (Jh,KF),] and, in [the unsound in the J belonging to] the cats. of the ى and و, أَقْرَبَةٌ and أَسْرَبَةٌ [247], but not أَصْبِيَّةٌ [below] (S) ; (b) فَعْلَةٌ, as صَبِيَّةٌ (S,IY,R), like غَلْمَةٌ [above] (IY), being a substitute for أَصْبِيَّةٌ [above] (S,R), as we said of غَلْمَةٌ, for which reason its dim. is أُصْبِيَّةٌ [286] (R) ; (c) أَفْعَالٌ, as أَيْمَانٌ (IY) ; (d) أَفْعُلٌ, anomalously, the masc. فَعِيلٌ being made to accord with the fem. [below], as

حَتَّى رَمَى مَنجُورَةً بِالْأَجْنَنِ

Until he accused a maiden of having young ones in the womb (R) : (2) in multitude, (a) فُعُلٌ (S,IY,R), regularly (IY), when فَعِيلٌ is a substantive or quasi-substantive (Mb), as رُغْفٌ (S, Mb, IY,R), قُلُوبٌ (S), قُصَبٌ (Mb, IY, R), كُتُبٌ (S, IY), عُصَبٌ (S), عُسْبٌ (S, R), صُلْبٌ, and أُمُلٌ noun-

tains of sand (S), and [similarly (Mb), in the reduplicated (S),] سُرَّر [below] (S, Mb, R), جُدُّ new [below], because it follows the course of substantives, and جُرر ropes (Mb) ; (b) فَعْلَانُ , [regularly (IY), as commonly as فَعْلٌ (R),] as فُضْلَانُ (S, IY, R), قُضْبَانُ (S), قُضْبَانُ (IY, R), فُضْلَانُ , رُغْفَانُ (S, IY, R), قُضْبَانُ (S), قُضْبَانُ (IY, R), قُضْبَانُ (IY), حُزْنَانُ , قُضْبَانُ , and سُرْيَانُ (S) ; (c) اَنْفَعَالٌ , [seldom (S, R),] as اَنْصَبَاءُ , اَخْمِسَاءُ (S, IY, R), and اَرْبَعَاءُ (S), as though they assimilated it to the *ep.*, where they say اَشْقِيَاءُ and اَنْقِيَاءُ [below] (IY), though اَسْرِيَاءُ has not been heard as *pl.* of [the substantive] سَرِيٌّ (Jh) ; (d) فَعْلَانُ , which also is rare, فَعِيلٌ here being [as it were (IY)] assimilated to فَعَالٌ , as (S, IY) ظِلْمَانُ *male ostriches* and عِرْصَانُ *he-goats*, [both transmitted by Th (R),] قُضْبَانُ (S, IY, R), فُضْلَانُ (S, IY), which we have heard some of them say (S), صَبِيَانُ , and حِرَانُ said by some as *pl.* of حَرِيْرٌ *rugged ground* (S, R), though here Damm is better known ; (e) فَعَالٌ , as (R) فِصَالٌ (S, R), and similarly (S) اِفَالٌ (S, IY), by assimilation to [فَعِيلٌ in (R)] the *ep.* [below] (S, R) ; (f) فَعَالٌ , as اَفَاتِلٌ (S, IY, R) and the like, the *masc.* فَعِيلٌ being made to accord with فَعِيكُ [below] (R), as they say شَمَاتِلٌ [above]. And they say اَبَمٌ [257] and

أَفْعُلُ ; but these are *quasi-pl. ns.*, not broken *pls.* of the *sing.* (IY). The broken *pls.* of فَعُولُ are, (1) in paucity, (a) أَفْعِلَةٌ (IY,R), as أَعْبِدَةٌ [237], أَخْرِفَةٌ, and أَتَعِدَةٌ ; (b) أَفْعَالُ, as أَفْلَاةُ (IY) : (2) in multitude (IY,R), (a, b) فَعُلُ and فَعْلَانُ, mostly (R), [as] عُمْدُ, عُنْدُ, and قُدْمُ, and [as] خِرْفَانُ, قِعْدَانُ, and عِتْدَانُ (IY), except in the defective belonging to the *cat.* of the , [below] (R) ; (c) [فَعَائِلُ, as] ذَنَائِبُ [below]. All of these [*pls.*] upon the measure of فَعُلُ may be made quiescent [in the medial] for abbreviation, as كُتِبَ for كُتِبَ, and رُسِلَ for رُسِلَ [711]. This is the *dial.* of Tamim [247], who say that every [medial] *orig.* mobilized may be made quiescent for abbreviation ; while it is transmitted from Akh that every فَعُلُ in the language may be mobilized [in the medial], except what is an *ep.*, as حُمُرُ [248,249], or unsound in the ع, as سُوقُ [237] : but the 1st, [i. e., quiescence of the ع in فَعُلُ,] is allowable in prose ; and the 2nd, [i. e., mobilization of the ع in فَعُلُ,] only in poetry. Thus (1) أَفْعِلَةٌ is regular in paucity, being common to the 5 formations, (a) فَعَالُ, as أَرْمَنَةٌ ; (b) فِعَالُ, as أَحْمِرَةٌ ; (c) فُعَالُ, as أَغْرِبَةٌ ; (d) فَعِيلُ, as أَرْغَفَةٌ ; (e) فَعُولُ, as أَعْبِدَةٌ : (2) فَعُلُ is regular in multitude, occurring in the 5 paradigms, (a) فَعَالُ, as قُدَالُ *pl.* of قَدَالُ, which is the *back* of a horse's

head, where the head-stall is fastened, [behind the forelock (Jh,KF)] ; (b) فَعَالٌ, as حُحْرٌ ; (c) فَعَالٌ, as قُرْدٌ tioks ; (d) فَعِيلٌ, as كُتْبٌ sand-heaps ; (e) فَعُولٌ, as زُبُرٌ books : (3) فَعْلَانٌ also occurs in the 5 paradigms, (a) [فَعَالٌ, as] غِرْلَانٌ ; (b) [فَعَالٌ, as] صِيرَانٌ pl. of صَوَارٌ a herd of [wild] cattle [above] and a musk-bag, as says the poet

إِذَا لَاحَ الصَّوَارُ ذَكَرْتُ لَيْلَى * وَأَذْكُرُهَا إِذَا نَفَحَ الصِّوَارُ

When the herd of wild cattle appears, I remember Lailā ; and I remember her when the musk-bag wafts its odour,

combining the two [senses] ; (c) فَعَالٌ, as غِرْبَانٌ ; (d) فَعِيلٌ, as ظِلْبَانٌ ; (e) فَعُولٌ, as قَعْدَانٌ : (4) فَعَائِلٌ occurs in

2 formations, (a) فَعِيلٌ as أَفَائِلٌ young camels ; (b) فَعُولٌ, as دَنَائِبٌ buckets full, [or, says ISk, nearly full, of water (Jh)] :

(5) فَعْلَانٌ is [found] in 2 formations, (a) فَعَالٌ, as رَقَانٌ ; (b) فَعِيلٌ, as قُضْبَانٌ : (6) فَعْلَةٌ [257] also is [found] in 2 formations,

(a) فَعَالٌ, as غَلْبَةٌ ; (b) فَعِيلٌ, as صَبِيَّةٌ : (7) أَفْعَالٌ is [found] in 2 formations, (a) فَعِيلٌ, as أَيْبَانٌ [below] ; (b) فَعُولٌ, as أَفْعَلَاءٌ

colts [below] : (8) فَعَالٌ occurs in only one paradigm, فَعِيلٌ, as فَصَالٌ young weaned camels [below] : (9) فَعُولٌ also is [found]

in one paradigm, فَعَالٌ, as عُرُقٌ she-kids [below] : (10) أَفْعَلَاءٌ also occurs in one formation, فَعِيلٌ, as أَنْصَبَاءٌ : (11)

أَفْعُلٌ [below] is not used as a pl. except for what is fem.

(1Y) ; while, in the *masc.*, اَعْتَدُ *pl.* of عَتَادُ *apparatus*, اَطْعَلُ *pl.* of طَحَالُ *spleen* [264], اَغْرَبُ *pl.* of غَرَابُ *raven*, اَجُنُّ *pl.* of جَنِينُ [above], and the like, [as اَشْهَبُ *pl.* of شَهَابُ *flame* (Sn),] are extraordinary : (12) فَوَاعِلُ also occurs anomalously in [one paradigm, فُعَالُ, as] دَوَاخِنُ (A). اَفْعُلُ occurs [only (M)] in the *fem.* (M,R) exclusively (M), whether the *fem.* be upon the measure of فُعَالُ, فِعَالُ, or فُعَالُ (1Y,R), as اَعْنُقُ [and اَتْنُ (Jh,KF),] اَذْرُعُ [and اَشْدُ (Jh,KF)], and اَعْقُبُ (M) and اَكْرُعُ (Jh,KF) ; while اَلْسُنُ is said because, لِسَانُ having two *dial. vars.*, *fem.* and *masc.*, he that makes it *fem.* says اَلْسُنُ, and he that makes it *masc.* says اَلْسِنَةُ (1Y) : and اَمْكُنُ [255] is anomalous (M,R), مَكَانُ being *masc.* ; but is allowed because the مَكَانُ *place* is اَرْضُ *ground*, which is *fem.* (1Y) ; and اَزْمُنُ may be like it, being *pl.* of زَمَانُ, not of زَمْنُ [234, 237] : while اَفْعُلُ is allowable as *pl.* of these two, only because they are made to accord with the *fem.* فُعَالُ, notwithstanding their being *masc.*, as the *fem.* شِمَالُ bare of the ة is made to accord (1) with the [*fem.* فِعَالُ] containing the ة, as رِسَالَةٌ, so that شِمَاتِلُ [above] is said, like رِسَاتِلُ [below] ; and (2) with the *masc.* فُعَالُ also, so that اَفْعُلُ is said, as نَارَعَتَهَا اَلْحُ [242] : and as

the *fem.* فَعَالٌ, like عُقَابٌ, is made to accord with the *masc.*, like غُرَابٌ, so that عِقْبَانٌ is said, like غِرْبَانٌ (R). And for that reason they say عُنُقٌ [above] in multitude, because فُعُولٌ and أَفْعُلٌ follow one another in the *tril.*, as فَلَسٌ, *pls.* أَفْلَسٌ and فُلُوسٌ [237] (IY) : there is a *prov.* أَلْعُنُقُ بَعْدَ النَّوْقِ *She-kids after she-camels*, applied to him that is reduced to want after wealth ; and similarly they say سُبَى [below] as *pl.* of سَمَاءٌ meaning *rain*, because it is *masc.* and *fem.*, and أَصَابَتْنَا سَمَاءٌ *Rain fell on us* is said, i. e., مَطَرٌ (R) : and sometimes they say عُنُقٌ, contracting فُعُولٌ, as they say أُسُودٌ for أُسُودٌ [237] ; and sometimes it also is abbreviated, so that they say عُنُقٌ [237], as they say أُسْدٌ (IY). And the *fem.* فَعِيلٌ bare of the *ʔ* is like the *fem.* of the three mentioned [242], as يَمِينٌ *pl.* [and طَرِيقٌ *pl.* أَطْرُقُ (KF)] ; and sometimes the broken *pl.* of يَمِينٌ is أَيْمَانٌ also [above], because أَفْعُلٌ and أَفْعَالٌ share many *cats.* of the *tril.* in common, like أَفْرَحٌ and أَفْرَاحٌ [237] (R) : while فَعَائِلٌ *pl.* of فَعِيلٌ of this class, [i. e., *fem.* without any sign expressed (Sn),] does not occur, so far as I know, as [*pl.* of (Sn)] a generic substantive ; but, according to analogy, it would be *pl.* of a *fem.* proper name, like سَعَائِدٌ *pl.* of سَعِيدٌ *Sa'id* when a woman's name (A). The [broken *pl.* of the] *fem.*

فَعُول is فَعَائِل , as ذَنَائِبُ , [قَدَائِمُ , and قَلَائِصُ (Jh, KF)] ; and sometimes فَعْل , [as قُلُوصُ and قُدُومُ (Jh, KF)] : so that فَعُول in the *fem.* is different from فَعَالُ and فَعِيلُ when *fem.* , being co-ordinated in the *pl.* with فَعُولُ [below], because it is heavier than its fellows on account of the و (R). فَعْلُ , as فُقُ pl. of فُقُوقُ a noisy female frog [248], is confined to hearsay (A). As for ذُنُوبُ pl. أَذْنِبَةٌ , it [is because ذُنُوبُ] has two *dial. vars.*, *masc.* and *fem.* ; so that he that makes it *masc.* says أَذْنِبَةٌ , while he that makes it *fem.* says ذَنَائِبُ : and it is related that, when [‘Amr Ibn. Sha’s (K on LI. 59), or rather] ‘Alḳama [Ibn ‘Abada (Mb, AAz, N, FDw) at Tamīmī (FDw),] said [to AlḤārith Ibn Abī Shamir, {or, as others say, Shimr, and, as some say, Shamr (Akh),} alGhassānī, to whom his brother Sha’s {Ibn ‘Abada (Mb)} was a prisoner (Mb, N), having been taken prisoner by him at the battle of ‘Ain Ubāgh (Mb), or, as IAr says, Abāgh (Bk), or, as others say, Ibāgh (Akh), between Ghassān led by AlḤārith and Lakhm led by AlMundhir Ibn Mā as Samā, who was killed on that day, while Lakhm were put to flight, and pursued by Ghassān to AlHīra with great slaughter (AF),]

وَبَنِي كُلِّ حَيٍّ قَدْ خَبَطْتَ بِنِعْمَةٍ * فَحَقَّ لِشَأْسٍ مِنْ نَدَاكِ ذُنُوبُ

[And upon every tribe hast thou lavished bounty. Then

a portion of thy largesse has been found due to Sha's (AAz,N)], he [the king (Mb,K) AlHārith (N)] said [بَلْ أَذْنِبَ Yea, and portions (Mb,K,N), or] نَعَمْ وَأَذْنِبَ Nay, portions, and set his brother Sha's [and the whole of the prisoners of the Banū Tamīm (N)] free, and was liberal to him (IY). As regards the regularity of فَعَلَ, however, there is [according to some authorities] no difference between the masc. and fem., as قَدَّالُ pl. قُدُّلُ [and أَتَانُ a she-ass, pl. أَتْنُ (A) or أَتْنُ (Jh,KF)], حِمَارُ pl. حُمَرُ IA,A) and ذِرَاعُ a forearm, pl. ذُرْعُ, [قَرَدُ pl. قَرَادُ (S)] and كُرْعُ pl. كُرْعُ [below], قَضِيبُ a branch or wand, pl. قُضْبُ, [and طَرِيقُ a road, pl. طُرُقُ (Jh,KF)], and عَمُودُ a pillar, pl. عُمْدُ (IA), and قُلُوصُ a young she-camel, pl. قُلُوصُ [above], فَعَلَ being regular in both of them (A); and it is deducible from this, together with what has passed, that أَفْعَلُ and فَعَلَ are regular in the masc., as قَدَّالُ, قَرَادُ, حِمَارُ, قَضِيبُ, and عَمُودُ; and أَفْعَلُ and فَعَلَ in the fem., as أَتَانُ [and أَتْنُ], ذِرَاعُ [and أَفْعَلُ and فَعَلَ], except in فَعُولُ, as قُلُوصُ, where أَفْعَلُ is replaced by فَعَّالٌ as a regular pl.] (MKh). The looseness of IM's language here seems to imply that فَعَلَ is regular in فَعَّالُ; and so he clearly states in the CK, since he gives قَرَادُ pl. قَرَدُ and كُرْعُ pl. كُرْعُ [above] as

exs. of the regular ; and he is followed by [his son BD,] the [earliest] Commentator [after IM himself upon the *Alfiya*] : but he mentions in the *Tashīl* that *فُعْلٌ* is extraordinary in *فُعَالٌ*, which is the truth ; so that *غُرْبٌ* is not said as *pl.* of [the *masc.*] *غُرَابٌ*, nor *عُقْبٌ* as *pl.* of [the *fem.*] *عُقَابٌ* (A). *فُعْلٌ* does not occur in (1) the reduplicated (M) : (a) the *pl.* of the reduplicated, in paucity and multitude, is only *أَفْعَلَةٌ*, as [*أَكِنَّةٌ* coverings (IY),] *أَعِنَّةٌ* reins, and *أَحِنَّةٌ* toothpicks (IY, R), because they deem the reduplication heavy, while incorporation is not allowable (R) : (b) the reduplicated of *فَعِيلٌ*, however, sometimes occurs upon the measure of [*فُعْلٌ*, like (Jrb)] *سُرْرٌ* [above] (SH) ; and AZ and AU relate that some people pronounce the *ع* of *سُرْرٌ* [731] with Fath, saying *سُرْرُ*, though Damm is better known (R) : [for] in the reduplicated exclusively a Fathā may be substituted for its [second] Damma, because the reduplication is deemed heavy ; while, Fathā being lighter than Damma, one may deviate to it for the sake of alleviation, saying *جُدْدٌ*, [*حُرْزٌ* (KF),] and *سُرْرٌ* ; and some of the Readers read *عَلَى سُرْرِ مَوْضُونَةٍ* LVI.15. *Upon couches embroidered with gold* (Mb) : some of the Tamīmīs and Kalbīs, deeming Damm of the *ع* of *فُعْلٌ* too heavy in the reduplicated, put a Fathā in its place, saying *جُدْدٌ* [731] and *دَلْدَلٌ*, [the substantive and *ep.* being alike in that, according to them, as

IJ and Shl say (Sn)] ; so that, according to this *dial.* [248], *فَعُل* is regular in this sort (A) : (c) as for the reduplicated, if its letter of prolongation be an ا , then *فَعُل* is irregular in its *pl.*, as *عِنَانٌ* a rein, *pl.* *عُنُنٌ*, and *حِجَاجٌ* [with Fath or Kasr of the ح , the bone that the eyebrow grows upon (MKh),] *pl.* *حُجُجٌ*, the only instances heard ; but, if its letter of prolongation be anything else than an ا , then *فَعُل* is regular in its *pl.*, as *سَرِيرٌ* a couch or throne, *pl.* *سُرُرٌ*, and *دُلُولٌ* a riding-beast easy to manage, [though this seems to be an *ep.*,] *pl.* *دُلُلٌ* (IA) : (d) such as (M) *دُبٌّ* [above] is anomalous (M, SH), because *فَعُل* ought not to be incorporated (R) ; and the *pl.* of *دُبَابٌ* in paucity is *أَدْبَةٌ*, and in multitude *دِبَابٌ* [above] : AnNābigha [adhDhubyānī] says

أَنَاثِمُ أَمْ سَامِعُ ذُو الْقَبَةِ * الْوَاهِبُ الْنُوقُ الْهَجَانُ الصُّلْبَةُ
ضَرَابَةٌ بِالْمِشْفَرِ الْأَذْبَةُ

Is the Lord of the Pavilion sleeping or listening, the giver of the hardy white, or thorough-bred, she-camels, wont to strike the flies with the lip? (Jh, IY) : (2) the unsound in the ل (M), such as *سَمَاءٌ* [and *دَوَاءٌ*], *كِسَاءٌ* and *رَدَاءٌ* (IY) : (a) the [broken] *pl.* of the defective [فَعَالٌ], like *سَمَاءٌ* meaning {sky, or heaven, and (Jh)} rain and *دَوَاءٌ*, and similarly of the defective فَعَالٌ, whether they be of the cat. of the و , or ي (R),] is only أَفْعَلَةٌ in paucity and multitude, as *أَسِيَّةٌ*

(IY,R) and أَذْيَّة (R), أَكْسِيَّة and أَذْيَّة (IY), from dislike to the alteration that the formation of فُعْلٌ would lead to, since, if they said سُم and دُو, like أَذِل [243], the *pl.* of multitude would be of [only] two letters (R) ; though سَمَاء, when it means *rain*, takes the broken *pl.* سُمِي [above] in multitude, which is فُعُولٌ treated like عَصِي and دُلِي [243] (IY) : while [Ns says in the Commentary on the Evidentiary Verses of S, quoting from Akh, and similarly IJ says in the Commentary on the Taṣrif of Mz, the wording being IJ's, that (AKB)] the poet [Umayya Ibn Abi-Sāṣalt 'Abd Allāh ath-Thaḡafī (AKB)] in his saying

لَهُ مَا رَأَتْ عَيْنُ الْبَصِيرِ وَفَوْقَهُ * سَمَاءُ الْإِلَهِ فَوْقَ سَبْعِ سَمَائِيَا
 [To Him, i. e., our Lord, belongs what the eye of the seer has seen ; and above it is the empyrean, or throne, of God above seven heavens, departs from established usage in three ways, because he (AKB),] (a) gives سَمَاءُ *sky* or *heaven*, [here meaning the عَرْشُ (AKB),] the *pl.* فَعَائِلٌ (Jh, AKB), assimilating it to شَمَائِلُ *pl.* شَمَائِلُ [above] (AKB), as you give سَكَابَةُ the *pl.* سَكَائِبُ (Jh) ; whereas the *pl.* [of multitude] known in it is only سُمِي upon the measure of فُعُولٌ, like عُنُقُ *pl.* of عَنَاقُ, because سَمَاءُ *sky* or *heaven* is *fem.*, as عَنَاقُ a *she-kid* is (AKB) ; (b) restores it to the *o. f.* (Jh), [i. e.] retains the Hamza supervening in the *pl.* notwithstanding that the J is unsound [726]

(AKB) ; (c) does not pronounce [it] with Tanwīn [in the *gen.*], as جَوَارٍ [18,720] is pronounced, but pronounces the last ی with Fath, because he treats it like the sound [in the ج], which is diptote [17] (Jh) ; [so that he] treats the ی in سَمَائِيَّ like the ب in ضَوَارِبَ, pronouncing it with Fath in the position of the *gen.* (AKB), as you say مَرَرْتُ بِصَكَاةٍ يَا فَتَى *I passed by letters, O youth* (Jh) : all of this is from the Uṣūl of IS, except that IJ has expanded what IS has summarized (AKB) : (b) the normal form of [broken *pl. in*] the defective فَعُولُ belonging to the *cat.* of the , [above] is اَفْعَالُ, as اَفْلَاحٌ [239,255] and اَعْدَاءُ [below] ; and فَعُولُ occurs, though rarely, as فُلَيْيُ with Ḍamm or Kasr of the ف [243] ; but they do not say فُعْلُ with two Ḍammas, because of what we mentioned in the *cat.* of سَمَاءَ and دَوَاءَ ; and فِعْلَانُ also, like فِلَوَانُ, does not occur, because it is deemed heavy (R). As for the unsound in the ع, (1) if it belong to the *cat.* of the , , [as خُورَانُ *a table* and رَوَاقُ *a portico*, its broken *pl. in* paucity is اَفْعَالُ, like that of the sound, as اَخُونَةُ and اَرْرَقَةُ : while in multitude (IY)] the ع [of its *pl.* فُعْلُ] is made quiescent, [according to the *dial.* of the Banū Tamīm (IY),] as خُونُ [and رَوَقُ, *orig.* خُونٌ and رَوَقٌ (IY), because the Ḍamma on the , is deemed heavy (R)] ; but sometimes the poet, being

constrained, restores [it to (R)] its *o. f.* [of Ḍamm (R)],
as [says 'Adī (IY) Ibn Zaid (AAz)]

قَدْ حَانَ لَوْ صَكَوَتْ أَنْ تَقْصِرَا * وَقَدْ أَتَى لِبَا عَهْدَتِ عَصْرُ
*
عَنْ مَبْرِقَاتِ بَالْبُرَيْنِ وَتَبَدُّوْ فِي الْأَكْفِ اللَّامِعَاتِ سُرُورُ

[711] (IY, R) *It has grown time, if thou hadst come to thy senses, that thou shouldst desist, when time has exhausted that pristine vigor which thou knewest, from the love of women brilliant with anklets, and of those on the arms of whose gleaming hands appear bracelets, i. e. وَآلَآتِي تَبَدُّوْ* , the *آل* in *الْأَكْفِ* being i. q. the *pron.* [599] , or rather *and* such that *on the arms of their gleaming hands appear bracelets*, an instance of the coupling of the *aor.* to the *act. part.*, to which the *pret.* also is sometimes coupled, as *وَالْعَادِيَاتِ ضَبْحًا فَالْمُرِّيَّاتِ قَدْ حَا فَالْبُغَيْرَاتِ ضَبْحًا* ,

الخ C. 1-4. *By those horses of the warriors that run panting, and that produce fire striking, and whose people make a sudden raid upon the foe at daybreak, etc.* [538] (AAz) ; and an [additional] *ex.* of Ḍamm of the ع in metric exigence is the saying

أَغْرُ الثَّنَايَا أَحْمُ اللَّثَاثِ * يَكْسِنُهَا سُورُ الْأَسْحَلِ

(A) *She is white in the front teeth, dark-red in the gums, which tooth-sticks of the tamarisk beautify* (MN) : (2) if it belong to the *cat.* of the ي , as *عِيَانُ* a ploughshare, [its

predicament is that of the sound : so that in paucity ^{أَعْيَنَ} is said : while in multitude (IY) the ^ي is [left (R)] pronounced with Damm, as ^{عَيْنُ}, [like ^{بَيْضُ} *pl.* of ^{بَيَوضُ} *laying many eggs* (R),] because the Damma on the ^ي is not so heavy as on the ^و ; but those [of the Banū Tamīm (R)] who abbreviate, [saying ^{رُسُلُ} for ^{رُسُلُ} (IY),] say ^{عَيْنُ}, as they say ^{بَيْضُ} [711] (IY, R) for ^{بَيْضُ} (IY). Such of these [substantives (IY)] as have the ^ة of feminization affixed to them, [which are upon the measure of ^{فَعَالَةٌ}, like ^{حَمَامَةٌ} and ^{دَجَاجَةٌ}, or ^{فَعَالَةٌ}, like ^{رِسَالَةٌ} and ^{عِمَامَةٌ}, or ^{فَعَالَةٌ}, like ^{دُرَّابَةٌ} and ^{دُبَابَةٌ}, or ^{فَعِيلَةٌ}, like ^{صَحِيفَةٌ} and ^{سَفِينَةٌ}, or ^{فَعُولَةٌ}, like ^{حُمُولَةٌ} and ^{رَكُوبَةٌ} (IY),] have two paradigms [of broken *pl.* (IY)], (1) ^{فَعَائِلُ}, [which is the normal form (IY),] as ^{حَمَائِمُ} [and ^{دَجَائِمُ} (IY)], ^{رَسَائِلُ} [and ^{عَمَائِمُ} (IY)], ^{دَوَائِبُ} [and ^{دَبَائِبُ} (IY)], ^{صَحَائِفُ} [and ^{سَفَائِنُ} (IY)], and ^{حَمَائِلُ} [and ^{رَكَائِبُ} (IY)] ; and (2) [sometimes (IY)] ^{فُعُلُ}, [which is rare (S),] as ^{سُفُنُ} (M) and ^{صُحُفُ} : and in paucity are pluralized with the ^ا and ^ت, as ^{حَمَامَاتُ}, ^{رِسَالَاتُ}, ^{دُرَّابَاتُ}, ^{صَحِيفَاتُ}, and ^{حُمُولَاتُ} ; though sometimes they say ^{ثَلَاثُ صَحَائِفَ} *three letters* and ^{رَسَائِلَ} *messages*, using this formation in paucity. The normal form in the [broken] *pl.* of these formations is ^{فَعَائِلُ}, only because the Arabs want to distinguish between the *masc.*

and *fem.* of these formations, as they distinguish between the *pls.* of قَصْعَةٌ [238] and فَلْسٌ [237], and of رَحْبَةٌ [238] and قَلَمٌ [237]; and therefore treat the *aug.*, vid. the letter of prolongation, in them as equivalent to a *rad.*; so that these formations become like *quads.*, such as جُنْدُبٌ *a green locust* and بُرْثَنٌ [245, 392]; and therefore, as they say جَخَادِبُ and بَرَائِنُ, so they say حَمَائِمُ and رَسَائِلُ; because فَعَالِلُ follows the course of فَعَالِلُ, being like it in the number [of letters] and the [arrangement of] vowels; although the two differ in measure, the measure of جَخَادِبُ [248] and بَرَائِنُ being فَعَالِلُ, while the measure of حَمَائِمُ and رَسَائِلُ is فَعَائِلُ; because the 3rd letter of these formations, being an *aug.* letter of prolongation, is represented in the paradigm [of the broken *pl.*] by its like [converted into Hamza], while the 3rd [letter] of جُنْدُبٌ, being a *rad.*, is represented in the paradigm [of the broken *pl.*] by the ج: and the letter of prolongation is converted into Hamza in the [broken] *pl.*, because the ا of حَمَامَةٌ, رَسَالَةٌ, and ذَوَابَّةٌ follows the ا of the broken *pl.*, and the ا of the broken *pl.* causes what follows it to be pronounced with Kasr, as in جَعَانِرُ [248], زَبَارِجُ, and بَرَائِنُ [245]; whereas the ا [of حَمَامَةٌ, etc.] is an *aug.* letter of prolongation, which has no share in any vowel; so that it is converted into the consonant nearest to it, whereby

its mobilization may become possible, vid. the Hamza, as حَمَائِمُ , رَسَائِلُ , and دَرَوَائِبُ : while the ى of سَفِينَةٌ and the و of حُمُولَةٌ , being [also] *aug.* letters of prolongation, which have no share in any vowel, are made to accord in the [conversion into] Hamza with the ا in حَمَامَةٌ , رِسَالَةٌ , and دُرُوبَةٌ , since they are like it in augmentation and prolongation : for you do not convert such as the ى of مَعِيشَةٌ [717] into Hamza, but leave it in the *pl.* in its [original] state as a ى , saying مَعَايِشُ , because the ى in مَعِيشَةٌ is *rad., orig.* mobile ; and conversion of it into Hamza is corrupt, though explained and justified by the [apparent] resemblance [of مَعِيشَةٌ] to صَحِيفَةٌ and كَتِيبَةٌ , whereas it is not [really] like them (IY). IM mentions in the Tashil that فَعَائِلُ is also *pl.* of such as بَرَائِكَةٌ [steadiness in fight (Sn)], قَرِيئَاتُ [an excellent kind of dried dates and of full-grown unripe dates (Sn)], and جُلُولَاتُ [a town in the country of Persia (Sn)] ; and apparently it is regular in what is commensurable with these words (A), because the prolonged ا of femininization is like its ة [248] (Sn). The *eps.* of this formation have 9 paradigms [of broken *pl.*], (1) فَعَلَاءُ ; (2) فُعُلُ [sometimes contracted into فُعْلُ] ; (3) فِعَالُ ; (4) فُعْلَانُ ; (5) فِعْلَانُ ; (6) أَفْعَالُ ; (7) أَفْعَلَاءُ ; (8) أَفْعَلَةٌ ; (9) فُعُولُ (M). The [broken] *pls.* of فَعَالُ are

[of 3 formations (IY),] (1) فَعْلٌ, which is [pronounced by S to bē (R)] regular in [the whole of (R)] فَعَالٌ, because, [says he (R),] it is like فَعُولٌ (IY, R) as respects qualification, number [of letters], and refusal of the ة of feminization (IY), as جُنْدٌ *niggardly* [men and (KF) women, and *droughly* years, and صُنْعٌ *skilful* women (IY)]; and [in the *cat.* of the , (R), in the unsound (IY) in the ع,] فَعْلٌ, [with quiescence of the ع (R),] as نُورٌ *modest* [711], عُرٌ *middle-aged*, [جودٌ *liberal*, the ع being made quiescent for alleviation, because of the heaviness of the Damma on the unsound letter (IY)] : (2) فَعْلَاءٌ, as جَبَنَاءٌ *cowardly* [247], فَعَالٌ, says S, being assimilated to فَعِيلٌ [below], because like it in qualification, measure, and augment, [the *aug.* in the two formations being a letter of prolongation and softness (IY)] : (3) فَعَالٌ, [rarely (R),] as جِيَادٌ *pl. of جَوَادٌ fleet* (IY, R), *masc. and fem.* (Jh), said of the horse or mare (R). فَعَائِلٌ is not found in the *pl.* of the *fem.* فَعَالٌ, like امْرَأَةٌ جَبَانٌ *a cowardly woman*; but the *masc. and fem.* of فَعَالٌ are alike in the *pl.* (R) : while امْرَأَةٌ جَبَانَةٌ *a cowardly woman* is transmitted [from S (IY)]; and, according to this, it is not forbidden to pluralize جَبَانٌ with the , and ن (IY, R), and, in the *fem.*, with the ! and ت (IY).

The [broken (IY)] *pls.* of فَعَالٌ , [which is like فَعَالٌ , the
 s of feminization not being affixed to its *fem.* (IY), like
 كِنَانٌ , which is of common gender (R),] as نَاقَةٌ كِنَانٌ [and
 جَمَلٌ كِنَانٌ (R)] a *she-camel*, [and *he-camel* (R),] *firm in*
flesh, [and similarly رَجُلٌ لِكَانٌ and اِمْرَأَةٌ لِكَانٌ a *man*, and
 woman, *spare in flesh*, and جَمَلٌ دِلَاسٌ (R)] and نَاقَةٌ
 دِلَاسٌ a *swift* [*he-camel* and (R)] *she-camel*, are [of 3
 formations (IY),] (1) فَعُلٌ (IY,R) in most cases, like the
pl. of فَعَالٌ (R), as كُنُزٌ, [لُكُكٌ (S),] and دُلُتٌ (IY) : (2)
 فَعَالٌ , as هِجَانٌ [234] *thorough-bred*, [هِجَانٌ being *sing.*
 and *pl.* (IY),] according to Khl [and S (R)] ; so that you
 say هَذَا هِجَانٌ *This is*, [and هَذَانِ هِجَانَانِ *These two are*
 (R),] and هَؤُلَاءِ هِجَانٌ *These are, thorough bred*, فَعَالٌ being
 here assimilated to فَعِيلٌ , and therefore taking the *pl.*
 فَعَالٌ ; while [Jr mentions that (R)] هَذَا هِجَانٌ and هَذَانِ
 هِجَانٌ and هَؤُلَاءِ هِجَانٌ are said, [the *sing.*, *du.*, and *pl.*
 being uniform (R),] because it is treated as an *inf. n.* :
 and [similarly (IY) there are the same two opinions upon
 (R)] دِلَاسٌ *glittering* (IY,R) as upon هِجَانٌ (R) ; and they
 say دِرْعٌ دِلَاسٌ a *glittering coat*, and دُرُوعٌ دِلَاسٌ *glittering*
coats, of mail, دِلَاسٌ , when *pl.*, being the broken *pl.* of
 دِلَاسٌ , which is *sing.* (IY) : and ISd relates that some of the

Arabs say *نُوقَ كِنَازُ* *she-camels firm in flesh*, in the form of the *sing.* ; so that *كِنَازُ* is of the *cat.* of *دَلَامُ* (A) : and [similarly, among substantives (R),] *شَمَالُ* meaning *characteristic* is *sing.* and *pl.*, [as Akh says (R),] whence the saying of the poet [‘Abd Yaghūth Ibn Waḳḳāṣ alḤārithī (MN)]

أَلَمْ تَعْلَمَا أَنَّ الْأَلَمَةَ نَفْعُهَا * قَلِيلٌ وَمَا لَوْمِي أَخِي مِنْ شِمَالِيَا
[*Know not ye two that the profit of censure is small ? Nor is censure of my brother one of my characteristics* (MN)], i. e., مِنْ شِمَائِلِي (IY, R), *شِمَالُ* taking the *pl.* *شِمَائِلُ*, as *هَجَانُ* takes the *pl.* *هَجَائِنُ* [below], because the *masc.* is made to accord with the *fem.* ; while both [*شِمَائِلُ* and *هَجَائِنُ*] may be *pls.* of the two *sings.* or of the two *pls.* [256] (R) : (3) *فَعَائِلُ*, [in the *fem.*, though it is rare (R),] as *هَجَائِنُ* *thorough-bred she-camels* (IY, R), *فَعَالُ* being made to accord with *فَعَالَةٌ* (R). *فَعَالُ*, [says S (R),] is on an equality with *فَعِيدُ* [below], because they are fellows [in some positions (R)], as *طَوَالُ* and *شَجِيعُ* and *شَجَاعُ* and *بَعِيدُ* and *بُعَادُ* *tall*, *طَوِيلُ* *distant*, [*شَجَاعُ* and *شَجِيعُ* *brave* (IY),] and *خَفِيفُ* and *خَفَافُ* *light*, and the *is* is affixed to the *fem.* of *فَعَالُ*, as to the *fem.* of *فَعِيدُ*, as *إِمْرَأَةٌ طَوِيلَةٌ* [below] and *طَوِيلَةٌ* *a tall woman* ; so that the [broken] *pls.* of *فَعَالُ* are like those of *فَعِيدُ* (1) [فَعَلَاءُ]

(R),] as شَجَعَاء [247] (IY,R) : (2) [فَعَالٌ ,] as طَوَالَ (IY):
 (3) فَعِلَانٌ, as شَجَعَانٌ [below] (R). The broken *pls.* of
 فَعِيلٌ are [of 9 formations,] (1, 2) فَعَلَاءٌ and فَعَالٌ, mostly,
 as كَرَمَاءٌ and كِرَامٌ, [ظُرَفَاءٌ (S, Jh, KF) and ظُرَافٌ (IY)] ;
 and, in the reduplicated, شَدَادٌ (IY,R) and شَحَاحٌ (R) :
 ' (a) فَعَلَاءٌ is regular in فَعِيلٌ when [an *ep.* of a rational
 male (IA,A),] neither reduplicated nor unsound [in the
 J (Aud,A)], and when [i. q. the *act. part.*, which includes
 what is (A)] i. q. فَاعِلٌ, like كَرِيمٌ *generous*, ظَرِيفٌ *witty*,
 and بَخِيلٌ *niggardly* (IA, Aud, A), and what is i. q. مُفَعِّلٌ,
 like سَمِعٌ *making to hear*, i. q. مُسَمِّعٌ, and what is i. q.
 مُفَاعِلٌ [247], like خَلِيطٌ *intimate*, i. q. مُخَالِطٌ, [and جَلِيسٌ
fellow-sitter, i. q. مُجَالِسٌ (Sn)], all of which take the *pl.*
 فَعَلَاءٌ (A), as كَرَمَاءٌ, ظُرَفَاءٌ, and بُخَلَاءٌ (IA, A), سَمَعَاءٌ,
 and خُلَطَاءٌ [and جُلَسَاءٌ (KF)] : while دَفَنَاءٌ *buried*, سَجَنَاءٌ
imprisoned, جَلَبَاءٌ *imported*, and سَتْرَاءٌ *veiled, modest*,
 all transmitted by Lh, are anomalous, [i. e., contrary to
 analogy, and little used (Sn)] ; and أُسْرَاءٌ [below] is extra-
 ordinary (A), i. e., contrary to analogy, but much used
 (Sn) : (b) فَعَالٌ is (a) regular in [every (IA)] فَعِيلٌ when an
ep. i. q. فَاعِلٌ, and in (IA, Aud, A) its *fem.* (Aud, A) فَعِيلَةٌ
 [below] (IA, A) also (A), as كَرَامٌ *generous, pl. of كَرِيمٌ* and

كَرِيمَةٌ, and مَرَأْسٌ *sick*, *pl.* of مَرِيضٌ and مَرِيضَةٌ (IA); provided that their *ج* be sound, as ظَرَّافٌ *witty* [below], *pl.* of ظَرِيفٌ and ظَرِيفَةٌ; so that قَرَّاءٌ is not said as *pl.* of قَرِيٌّ *strong* and قَرِيَّةٌ: and (b) dependent upon memory in فَعِيلٌ i. q. مَفْعُولٌ, as رِبَاطٌ *pl.* of رَبِيطٌ *tied up*, *bound* (A), i. e., مَرْبُوطٌ (Sn), like فَصَالٌ *pl.* of فَصِيلٌ [above] (B on VIII. 62): (3) أَفْعَلَاءٌ, which is [rare in the sound, as أَصْدَقَاءٌ, being (R)] used instead of فُعَلَاءٌ in the reduplicated, as أَشَدَّاءٌ, [أَلْبَاءٌ (IY), أَطْبَاءٌ (Jh, KF) *learned in physic*, the *pl.* of multitude (Jh),] and أَشْخَاءٌ: and [similarly (R)] in the unsound in the *ج*, [whether it belong to the *cat.* of the , or *ي* (R),] as أَشَقِيَاءٌ, [أَنْقِيَاءٌ, أَسْخِيَاءٌ, أَسْرِيَاءٌ (KF),] and أَغْنِيَاءٌ (IY, R); while تَقْوَاءٌ *pious* [properly تَقِيَاءٌ, because it belongs to the *cat.* of the *ي* (IY), سُخْرَاءٌ *liberal* (A),] and سُرَّوَاءٌ *noble*, [the last transmitted by Fr (IY, R), these being the only *pls.* of this kind (IY),] are anomalous (IY, R, A), for which reason they alter the *ي* of تَقْوَاءٌ into , (R): whereas, in the unsound in the *ع*, [whether it belong to the *cat.* of the , or *ي* (R),] neither أَفْعَلَاءٌ nor فُعَلَاءٌ occurs, but فَعَالٌ, as طَوَالٌ and قَوَامٌ (IY, R); or طِيَالٌ and قِيَامٌ which are rare, as says the poet

تَبَيَّنَ لِي أَنَّ الْقِمَامَةَ ذِلَّةٌ * وَأَنَّ أَعْرَآءَ الرِّجَالِ طِيَالُهَا

[713] (IY) *It has become plain to me that smallness is lowness, and that the mighty ones of men are their tall ones* (MN): **فَعَالٌ** is the only [broken (Sn)] *pl.* used in **فَعِيلٌ** [i. q. **فَاعِلٌ** (A)] and its *fem.* [**فَعَيْلَةٌ** (A)], when their ع is a و, and their ل is sound, like **طَوِيلٌ** and **طَوِيلَةٌ** (Aud, A); so that you say **طَوَالٌ** as *pl.* of both, except when you use the sound *pl.*, as **طَوِيلُونَ** and **طَوِيلَاتٌ** (A): (4) **أَفْعَلَةٌ**, in the reduplicated, [as **أَشْشَعَةٌ**, **أَعْرَةٌ**, and **أَذَلَةٌ**, whence **وَجَعَلُوا أَعْرَةَ أَهْلِهَا أَذَلَةً** XXVII. 34. *And make the mighty ones of its inhabitants low* (IY), and **أَطْبَةٌ** (Jh, KF), the *pl.* of paucity (Jh)]: (5) **فُعْلٌ**, by assimilation to the substantive [**فَعِيلٌ** (R)], as **نُذْرٌ**, [whence **كَأَنَّ عَذَابِي فَعِيلٌ** LIV. 16. *Then how severe were My chastisement and My warnings?* (IY),] and **سُدُسٌ** (IY, R), whence the saying of the poet [Manṣūr Ibn Miṣjāh ad-Dabbī (T)] **فَطَافَ كَمَا طَافَ الْبَصِيقُ وَسَطَهَا * يُخَيِّرُ مِنْهَا فِي الْبَوَارِ وَالسُّدُسِ** [Then he went round, as the collector of the poor-rate goes round, in their midst, being allowed to choose from them among the nine-year-old and the six-year-old camels (T)], and **ضُنُقٌ** and **فُضْمٌ** (IY); and [similarly in the reduplicated (R),] as

لُدُّ, abbreviated like رُسْدُ [above] (IY, R), and جُدُّ [above] (IY); and [in the defective belonging to the *cat.* of the ى (R),] as ثُنِي, *orig.* ثُنِي, [like سُدُس (R),] where he that abbreviates [فُعْلُ] says ثُنِي, [with retention of the ى (IY), like سُدُس (R)]: (6) فُعْلَانُ, as ثُنَيَانُ and شُجْعَانُ [above], by assimilation to [the substantive, like رَغْفَانُ and (R)] جُرْبَانُ [above]: (7) فِعْلَانُ, as خِصْيَانُ, by assimilation to طِلْمَانُ [above]: (8) [أَفْعَالُ, as (R)] أَشْرَافُ, [أَيْتَامُ (IY),] and آبَالُ, by assimilation [of فَعِيلُ (IY)] to [فَاعِلُ, as (IY)] pl. شَاهِدُ [251] and صَاحِبُ pl. أَصْحَابُ [247, 255] (IY, R): آيِيلُ is a *priest*, and Jesus (peace be upon Him!) used to be called آلْأَيِيلِينَ (IY): the [heathen (MN)] poet [‘Amr Ibn ‘Abd AlJinn (MN)] says

أَمَّا وَدِمَاءُ مَآثِرَاتٍ تَحَاَلَهَا * عَلَى قَنَّةِ الْعُرَى وَبِالنَّسْرِ عِنْدَمَا
وَمَا سَبَّحَ الرَّهْبَانُ فِي كُلِّ بَيْعَةٍ * آيِيلُ الْآيِيلِينَ الْمَسِيحَ ابْنَ مَرْيَمَا
لَقَدْ ذَاقَ مِنَّا عَامِرٌ يَوْمَ لَعَلَّعَ * حُسَامًا إِذَا مَا هَزَّ بِالْكَفِّ صَمِيمًا
(Jb, IY) Now, by bloods flowing about, that thou wouldst think to be, upon the top of Al ‘Uzza and upon (the ب being i. q. عَلَى) the top of An Nasr, dragon’s blood, and by the fact that (مَا being infinitival) the monks extol as holy, in every church, the Priest of the Priests, the Messiah Son of Mary, assuredly ‘Amir tasted from us, on the day of

mount *La'la'*, a sword such that, whenever it is shaken by the hand, it cuts through the bone (MN) : (9) [فَعُولٌ, as] ظُرُوفٌ [255], which, as Jr says, is an irregular pl. of ظَرِيفٌ (IY, R). And they say سَرَاةٌ [257]; but apparently it is a quasi-pl. n., not a [broken] pl. (R). And فَعِيلٌ takes the sound pl., [with the و and ن when belonging to a rational being, and masc. (IY),] as كَرِيمُونَ, [ظَرِيفُونَ, and كَبِيرُونَ (IY)]; and [with the ل and ت when fem. (IY),] as كَرِيمَاتٌ (M), ظَرِيفَاتٌ, and لَبِيبَاتٌ (IY). The [broken] pls. of فَعُولٌ are [of 3 formations (IY),] (1) فَعُولٌ mostly, in the masc. and fem., as صَبْرٌ (IY, R), غُفْرٌ (Jh), غُدْرٌ, عَجَلٌ (IY), خُضْعٌ (Jh, KF), as إِذَا الرِّجَالُ أَخِجَ [247] (Jh), غَيْرٌ, and بُيُضٌ (Jh, KF), because this formation is of common gender [269] (IY, R) in the sing. (IY), the ة in فَرُوقَةٌ and مَلُوكَةٌ being intensive [265] (R), and is therefore of common gender in the pl. (IY); while he that says فَرُوقَةٌ [below] says فَرُوقَاتٌ, and he that says فَرُوقٌ says فَرِقٌ in the pl. (R) : فَعُولٌ is regular in the ep. فَعُولٌ not i. q. مَفْعُولٌ, as صَبُورٌ patient, pl. صَبْرٌ : whereas, if it be i. q. مَفْعُولٌ, it does not take the pl. فَعُولٌ, as رُكُوبٌ ridden [below] (A); [though] رَسُولٌ envoy, i. q. مَرْسَلٌ sent, has the pl. رُسُلٌ (Jh, KF) or رُسْدٌ [above] (Jh) : (2) فَعَائِلٌ, in the fem. [exclusively (IY)], as عَجَائِزٌ [below], جَدَائِدٌ,

[and قَلَائِصُ (R),] because the sign of the *fem.* is supplied in it (IY, R); so that it is, as it were, فَعُولَةٌ (R) : (a) they assimilate the [*fem.*] *ep.* فَعُولٌ to the substantive, and therefore pluralize it in the same way as the latter ; so that, as they say قَدُومٌ *an adze*, *pl.* قُدُومٌ and قَدَائِمٌ, and قَلُوصٌ *a young she-camel*, [which IY regards as a substantive,] *pl.* قُلُوصٌ and قَلَائِصُ, so they say عَجُوزٌ, *pl.* عَجُوزٌ and عَجَائِزُ (IY), and عَجُورٌ *distracted by the loss of her little one* (Jh, KF), *pl.* عَجُولٌ and عَجَائِلُ [below] (KF) ; but sometimes they dispense with one of the two [formations] by the help of the other, saying صَعَائِدُ, but not صُعْدٌ, and عَجَلٌ [249], but not عَجَائِلُ [above] (S, IY) ; and فَعَائِلُ is more frequent in the *fem.* than فَعُولٌ, and especially in what is peculiar to the *fem.*, like قَلُوصٌ, [which R regards as an *ep.*] and جَدُودٌ *having little milk* : and they say صَفِيٌّ *having much milk*, *pl.* صَفَايَا [726], which may be فَعُولٌ *pl.* فَعَائِلُ, like قَلُوصٌ *pl.* قَلَائِصُ ; or فَعِيلٌ made to accord with فَعِيلَةٌ [below], because it is *fem.* (R) : (b) Hātim at-Tā'i says

وَمَا أَنَا بِالسَّاعِي بِفَضْلِ رِمَامِهَا * لِتَشْرَبَ مَاءَ الْكَوْضِ قَبْلَ الْرَكَائِبِ
Nor am I the man to be busy with the end of her nose-rein, in order that she may drink the water of the trough before the riding-beasts [of my fellow-travellers], where

رَكَابٌ is *pl.* of رَكَبٌ [above] (T), which (a) is [a substantive denoting (T)] *that [she-camel (KF)] which is ridden*, as also is رُكُوبَةٌ [above] (T, Jh, K on XXXVI. 72., KF), which is applicable to the *sing.* and the *pl.* [267] (T) ; or (b) is [an *ep.* of دَابَّةٌ *beast* understood, meaning] the *beast* [actually] *ridden*, while رُكُوبَةٌ [265, 269] is [a substantive, meaning] the *beast set apart for riding, and constantly at work* : [so that رَكَابٌ *pl.* of رَكَبٌ is like دَنَائِبٌ *pl.* of دَنُوبٌ in the 1st case, and like عَجَائِرٌ *pl.* of عَجْرٌ in the 2nd] (KF) : (c) they say in the *masc.* جَرَائِرٌ (IY, A), which is extraordinary (A) : (3) فُعَلَاءٌ, which is rare, as (IY) فُعَدَاءٌ, which is anomalous in two ways, because فُعَلَاءٌ is not a *pl.* of فَعُولٌ, but, by rule, of فَعِيلٌ ; and because it does not occur in the reduplicated even of فَعِيلٌ (IY, R), but أَفْعَلَاءٌ, as أَشْدَاءٌ [above] (R) : and similarly رُسَلَاءٌ as *pl.* of رَسُولٌ is extraordinary (A). فَعُولٌ has no sound *pl.* (R) : they do not pluralize it with the و and ن [234], even if it belong to a rational being, because its *fem.* is not pluralized with the ت and ن [234], since it is not used in the *fem.* with the sign of femininization [269] ; so that, the و being rejected in the *sing.*, notwithstanding that the femininization necessitates it, they dislike to employ a *pl.* that would necessitate what they disallow ; and therefore they deviate [in the *fem.*] from the sound to the

broken *pl.*, and make the *masc.* follow the same course (IY). But عَدُوٌّ, like [its *opp.* (IY)] صَدِيقٌ, is applied to the *pl.* [under the form of the *sing.* (IY)], as XXVI.77. [88] (IY,R), إِنَّ الْكَافِرِينَ كَانُوا لَكُمْ عَدُوًّا مُبِينًا IV.102. *Verily the unbelievers are manifest foes to you* (IY), and

وَقَوْمٌ عَلَىٰ ذِي مِثْرَةٍ * أَرَاهُمْ عَدُوًّا وَكَانُوا صَدِيقًا

[*And many a people full of hostility against me do I think to be foes, when they are friends* (N)], being assimilated to *inf. ns.*, because of the commensurability, like قَبُولٌ and وَلُوعٌ, and حَبِيبٌ and صَهِيدٌ (K on XXVI.77.): and عَدُوٌّ

has a [broken] *pl.* أَعْدَاءُ [above], though this is not its normal form [of broken *pl.* as an *ep.*], because it is used as a substantive (R) ; while, according to him that says عَدُوَّةٌ [234], it is not forbidden to pluralize it with the ا and ت, and its *masc.* with the و and ن (IY). As for فَعِيلٌ i. q. مَفْعُولٌ [269], its normal form [of broken *pl.* (M)], when it denotes one of the *calamities* and *disagreeables* that afflict the living being (IY,R), is فَعْلَى, as جُرْحَى wounded [259], قَتْلَى slain (M,SH), لُدْغَى stung (IY), and أُسْرَى captive ; and أُسَارَى [250] occurs (SH) ; while [such as (IY)] قَتَلَاءُ and أُسْرَاءُ [above] are anomalous : and it does not take the sound *pl.* [with the و and ن when it is *masc.*, or with the ا and ت when it is *fem.* (IY)] ; so that جَرِيحُونَ is not said, nor جَرِيحَاتٌ (M,SH) ;

in order that it may be discriminated from the original **فَعِيلٌ** (SH), which is i. q. **فَاعِلٌ** (MASH) ; [or] because they do not distinguish between the *masc.* and *fem.* in the *sing.* by the sign [of feminization], and therefore dislike to distinguish between them in the *pl.* (IY). The *fem. eps.* of this formation have 3 paradigms [of broken *pl.*], (1) **فِعَالٌ** ; (2) **فَعَائِلٌ** ; (3) **فُعَلَاءُ** (M). The [broken] *pls.* of the [*fem.* (IY) *ep.* (R)] **فَعِيلٌ** [not i. q. **مَفْعُولٌ** (IY), when the *ʔ* is affixed to it (R),] are [of 3 formations (IY),] (1) **فِعَالٌ**, [like its *pl.* before the affixion of the *ʔ* (R),] as **ظِرَافٌ** *witty* [above] and **صِبَاحٌ** *pretty*, [like the *masc.* (IY)] : (2) **فَعَائِلٌ** (IY,R), which is mostly peculiar to the [*fem. ep.* **فَعِيلٌ**] containing the *ʔ*, whether it be i. q. **مَفْعُولٌ**, like **ذَبِيحَةٌ** *slaughtered* [below], or not, like **كَبِيرَةٌ** *great sin* (R), as **صَبَائِحٌ** *pretty*, **صَوَائِحٌ** *sound*, and **طَبَائِبٌ** *skilful* (IY), to the exclusion of the *masc.* bare [of the *ʔ*] ; while **نَظَائِرٌ** and **كَرَائِمٌ** are anomalous as *pls.* of **نَظِيرٌ** *similar* and **كَرِيمٌ** *detestable* (R), this *pl.* [in the *ep.* (R)] being like **صَحَائِفٌ** [and **سَفَائِنٌ** (IY)] in the substantive (IY,R) : (a) the substantive and *ep.* **فَعِيلَةٌ** both take the *pl.* **فَعَائِلٌ**, the substantive as **صَحِيفَةٌ** *a letter or epistle*, *pl.* **صَحَائِفٌ**, and **سَفِينَةٌ** *a ship or boat*, *pl.* **سَفَائِنٌ** ;

and the *ep.* as عَقِيلَةٌ *excellent*, *pl.* عَقَائِلُ , and كَرِيمَةٌ *generous*, *pl.* كَرَائِمُ (Mb) : but the condition of [the *ep.*] فَعِيلَةٌ is that it should not be i. q. مَفْعُولَةٌ , like جَرِيحَةٌ *wounded* and قَتِيلَةٌ *slain* [269] ; so that جَرَّائِحُ and قَتَائِلُ are not said, while ذَبَائِحُ *pl.* of ذَبِيحَةٌ [above] is anomalous (A) : (b) sometimes they dispense with فَعَائِلُ by the help of فِعَالٌ , as سِمَانٌ *fat*, صِغَارٌ *young*, and كِبَارٌ *old* ; not سَمَائِنُ [نِسْوَةٌ (R)] or صَغَائِرُ or كِبَائِرُ , [the last word being allowable only in the sense of *great sins* (IY), not of *old women*] : (3) فُعَلَاءُ , in two words only, فَقَرَاءُ *needy [women (R)]* and سُفَهَاءُ *silly (IY, R)* ; while they say فُقَاتِرٌ and (KF)] سَفَاتَةٌ , as they say صَحَائِحُ [above] : and, as for خَلِيفَةٌ , they say in its *pl.* خَلَائِفُ and خُلَفَاءُ , as ثُمَّ جَعَلْنَاهُمْ خَلَائِفَ فِي الْأَرْضِ X. 15. *Then We made you to be successors on the earth* and جَعَلْنَاهُمْ خُلَفَاءُ VII. 67. *He made you to be successors* : so he that says خَلَائِفُ pluralizes it according to the rule mentioned, like صَبِيحَةٌ *pl.* صَبَائِحُ ; while he that says خُلَفَاءُ makes it like فَقَرَاءُ and سُفَهَاءُ (IY) : but [they say that (R)] خُلَفَاءُ occurs [more easily (IY)] here, because خَلِيفَةٌ , [though containing the ة (R),] is [only (IY)] *masc. (IY, R)* ; so that it is

in the sense of the [فَعِيلٌ] bare [of the ة], like كُرُمَاءُ *pl.* كَرِيمٌ (R) ; and is therefore pluralized according to the sense, not the form (IY), as though they made خُلَفَاءُ *pl.* of خَلِيفٌ (R) ; and خَلِيفٌ also occurs, as

إِنَّ مِنَ الْقَوْمِ مَوْجُودًا خَلِيفَتَهُ * وَمَا خَلِيفُ أَبِي وَهَبٍ بِمَوْجُودٍ
Verily of the people are some whose successor is found, while the successor of Abū Wahb is not to be found, so that خُلَفَاءُ may be its pl. (IY,R), except that the pl. is well known, contrary to its sing. The [broken] pl. of فَعَالَةٌ, like امْرَأَةٌ طَوَالَةٌ [above], should, by analogy, be like the pl. of فَعِيلَةٌ, because of the equality of their mascs., as we mentioned. And فَعُولٌ, when the ة is affixed to it for intensiveness, as in فُرُوقَةٌ [above], is pluralized with the ا and ت (R).

§ 247. فَاعِلٌ [or فَاعِلٌ (IY)], when a substantive, has 3 paradigms in the [broken (IY)] *pl.*, (1) فَوَاعِلُ ; (2) فَعْلَانُ ; (3) فَعْلَانُ (M). The [broken (S, IY)] *pl.* of the substantive فَاعِلٌ is (1) فَوَاعِلُ (S, IY, R), with unbroken regularity (R), this being the normal form (IY), as حَوَاجِبُ *pl.* of حَاجِبٌ an eyebrow (Jh, KF), كَوَاهِلُ *pl.* of كَاهِلٌ the space between the shoulders (IY), حَوَائِطُ *pl.* of حَاطِطٌ a wall, fence, walled garden (S, IY), حَوَاجِرُ *pl.* of حَاجِرٌ [below] (S), نَوَائِلُ *pl.* of

نَائِلٌ *a gift* (IY), طَوَائِقُ *pl. of* طَابِقُ (S, IY) or طَائِقُ (IY),
a frying-pan (Jk), Persian (Jh, Jk), arabicized (Jh, KF)
 from تَابَهُ (KF), and تَوَائِلُ *pl. of* تَابَلُ *seeds used for sea-*
soning (S) or تَابِلُ (Jh, KF) : (a) فَرَاعِلُ is [regular as
 (Aud, A)] *pl. of* (α) [the substantive (IA, Aud)] فَاعِلُ (IA,
 Aud, A), as طَوَائِعُ *pl. of* طَابَعُ *a seal or stamp* (IA, A), like
 [خَوَاتِمُ *pl. of* (KF)] خَاتَمٌ *a signet-ring* and [قَوَائِلُ *pl. of*]
 قَالِبٌ *a mould* (Aud) : (b) the substantive فَاعِلُ, [whether
 a proper name, as جَوَائِرُ *pl. of* جَابِرُ *Jābir*; or not (A, MKh),]
 as [كَوَاهِلُ *pl. of* (IA, A)] كَاهِلُ (IA, Aud, A) and [جَوَائِرُ
pl. of (KF)] جَائِرٌ *a beam of a roof* (Aud) : (b) that is
 because this فَاعِلُ consists of four letters by reason of
 the augment [373], so that its predicament in the *pl.*
 is that of *quads.* ; and it is assimilated to what contains
 the augment of coordination, as جَوَهْرٌ and صَيْرَفٌ [253, 369],
 because like it in the number [of letters] and in the aug-
 ment's being second, a letter of prolongation : while the
 of فَاعِلُ is converted into , in this *pl.* because it is followed
 by the | of the broken *pl.*, and the two cannot be com-
 bined, because they are both quiescent ; so that elision
 or conversion of one of them is unavoidable ; and, elision
 not being permissible, because it would spoil the indica-
 tion of the *pl.*, conversion is necessary : and they convert

it into ى, not into ى, because they make it accord with the *dim.*, so that, as they say حَوَيْطٌ and حَوَيْجٌ, so they say حَوَائِطُ and حَوَاجِرُ, since the *dim.* and the broken *pl.* follow one course [274]; and because they want to distinguish between the ا of فَاعِلٌ and the ى of فَيْعَلٌ, as صَيَّرْتُ, since, if صَيَّارٌ were said as *pl.* of صَارٍ, it might be mistaken for the *pl.* of صَيَّرْتُ [253]: (c) there is no difference in that [broken *pl.*] between the *det.* and the *indet.*, for you say خَوَالِدٌ and قَوَاسِمُ *pls.* of خَالِدٌ *Khālid* and قَاسِمٌ *Kāsim*, as you say كَوَاهِلُ *pl.* of كَاهِلٌ; while the *det.* is not debarred from [the sound *pl.* with] the و, and ن [234], as خَالِدُونَ and قَاسِمُونَ (IY): (d) sometimes فَوَاعِيلُ occurs, [by impltion of the Kasr (R),] as دَوَانِيقُ [255], طَوَائِيقُ, and خَوَاتِيمُ [252] (IY, R), *pls.* of دَانِقٌ a sixth part of a dirham, طَابِقُ [above], and خَاتِمٌ, as though they pluralized it according to a *sing.* not used, as دَانِقٌ, طَابِقٌ, and خَاتِمٌ (IY); but that is not universal: while some say [that خَوَاتِيمُ is *pl.* of (R)] خَاتَامٌ, which occurs in the saying [of the Rājiz (Mb)]

يَا مَيَّ ذَاتَ الْجَوَرِبِ الْمَنْشَقِ * أَخَذْتَ خَاتَمِي بِغَيْرِ حَقٍّ

O Mayya, mistress of the torn sock, thou hast taken my signet-ring without any right; and, according to this, خَوَاتِيمُ is regular (IY, R): (e) Fr says that فَوَاعِيلُ does not

occur in [the *ep*] فَاعِلٌ [253], except in something from the speech of the post-classical poets, who say بَوَاطِيلُ as *pl.* of بَوَاطِيلُ *false*, assimilating it to طَوَابِيْقُ *pl.* of طَابِقُ (IY) : (2) فُعْلَانُ, [sometimes (S),] as حُجْرَانُ (S, IY, R), *pl.* of حَاجِرٌ [a round place retaining water, and forming part of the brink of a valley (IY), فُلُقَانُ *pl.* of فَالِقٌ a wide tract of land between two extensive tracts of sand (S)], سُلُكُنُ *pl.* of سَالٌ [a narrow bed of a torrent in a valley (IY), غُلُكُنُ *pl.* of غَالٌ low ground overgrown with trees (S)], and حُورَانُ *pl.* of حَاتِرٌ (S, IY), a garden [below], which the vulgar call حَيْرٌ (IY) : (3) فُعْلَانُ, as جِنَّانُ (S, IY, R), *pl.* of جَانٌ (S, Jrb), which means a father of Jinn, and also a great [white (Jh)] serpent (Jrb), and حَيْرَانُ [said by some (S), *pl.* of حَاتِرٌ (IY)] ; and similarly غِيْطَانُ and حِيْطَانُ, [said by some (S),] *pls.* of غَائِطٌ wide low ground and حَائِطٌ [above], the و being converted (S, IY) into ي (IY) after a Kasra (S), as in مَيْرَانُ [685] : (a) that is because they assimilate فَاعِلٌ to فَعِيْلٌ, as جُرْبَانُ and رُغْفَانُ [246] ; and similarly they say here جِنَّانُ and حَيْرَانُ, [as they say ظَنَبَانُ and قَضَبَانُ (IY) : (b) فُعْلَانُ *pl.* of فَاعِلٌ, like حُجْرَانُ *pl.* of حَاجِرٌ a barrier, is dependent upon memory (A) : but فُعْلَانُ is more frequent (IY, R) here than فَعْلَانُ,

because **فَاعِلٌ** is made to accord with **فَعِيلٌ**, in which the normal form is **فُعْلَانٌ**, as **جُرَبَّانٌ** and **كُتَّبَانٌ**; while **فِعْلَانٌ** is rare, as **ظِلْمَانٌ** and **قِصْبَانٌ** [246]: (c) he that pluralizes **فَاعِلٌ** upon the measure **فَوَاعِلٌ** pluralizes it as a *quad.*, treating the *aug.* in it as equivalent to a *rad.*; while he that pluralizes it upon the measure **فُعْلَانٌ** or **فِعْلَانٌ** does so by elision of the *aug.*, pluralizing it as a *tril.*, like **حُمَلَانٌ** *lambs* [237] and **وَرَلَانٌ** (IY) *pl.* of **وَرَلٌ** *a kind of lizard* (Jh, KF); but nothing of this [formation] is debarred from [the *pl.*] **فَوَاعِلٌ** (S): (4) **أَفْعَلَةٌ** [in paucity (IY)], as **أَوْدِيَةٌ** *pl.* of **وَادٍ** *a valley* (IY, R), irregularly, as though *pl.* of **وَدِيٌّ** [255], like **أَسْرِيَةٌ** *pl.* of **سَرِيٌّ** *a stream* [246] (Jh); but only in this word unsound [in the J], extraordinarily (IY): (5) **أَفْعَالٌ**, for] they say **أَوْدَاءٌ** as *pl.* of **وَادٍ** (A). The *fem.* of this formation is of two kinds, (1) made *fem.* by a *ṣ*, like **كَائِبَةٌ** *the top of the withers* of the horse and **جَاعِرَةٌ** *an anus*; and (2) made *fem.* by a prolonged *ā*, as **نَافِقَاءٌ** and **قَاصِعَاءٌ** [below] (IY). The [1st kind of (IY)] *fem.*, [vid. **فَاعِلَةٌ**], has one paradigm [of broken *pl.*], **فَوَاعِلٌ** (M), because, in forming the broken *pl.*, you elide the *ṣ*, since it is separable from the *n.* [266]; and then pluralize [the remainder] like

the *masc.*, converting its *l* into *و* (IY), as كَوَائِبُ (M) and جَوَاعِرُ (IY). And they treat فَاعِلَاءَ as equivalent to فَاعِلَةٌ (SH), because (R) they treat the *l* of feminization as equivalent to its *ة* (M, R), since the former is a sign of feminization [263], like the latter (R); so that فَائِقَاءُ and قَاصِعَاءُ [below] are equivalent to فَائِقَةٌ and قَاصِعَةٌ (IY): and therefore they say فَوَاعِلُ in the *pl.* of [the 2nd kind of *fem.* also, vid. (IY)] فَاعِلَاءَ (M), as though it were *pl.* of فَاعِلَةٌ (K on LXXIV. 38.), eliding the *l* of feminization in forming the broken *pl.*, as they elide the *ة* (IY), as فَوَاقِصُ, قَوَاصِعُ [248], and دَوَامٌ, [*pls.* of فَائِقَاءَ, قَاصِعَاءَ, دَامَاءَ, which all mean a hole, or burrow, of the jerboa (IY, R),] and سَوَابٌ (M, SH), *pl.* of سَابِيَاءَ (IY, R), which is the piece of skin that comes forth with the young one [at its birth] (R), and also (Jh, KF) the increase of animals, whence the tradition تِسْعَةُ أَعْشَارِ الْبَرَكَةِ فِي التِّجَارَةِ تسعة أعشار البركة في التجارة *Nine tenths of blessing, or prosperity, are in merchandise, [i. e. in trading,] and one tenth in increase of animals, [i. e. in breeding stock]* (IY). And similarly they say خَنَافِسُ [248] in the *pl.* of خُنْفَسَاءُ a black beetle [273, 390] (IY, R), as though *pl.* of خُنْفَسَةٌ (IY), like قَنَابِرُ *pl.* of قُنْبُرَةٍ a lark [373] (R). The *ep.* [فَاعِلٌ (IY)] has 9 [paradigms of broken *pl.*], (1) فَعَلٌ; (2) فَعَالٌ; (3) فَعَلَةٌ;

(4) *فَعَلَةٌ*, which is peculiar to the unsound in the ل ; (5) [*فُعِلٌ* or (IY)] *فُعِلَ* ; (6) *فَعَلَاءَ* ; (7) *فُعَلَانُ* ; (8) *فِعَالٌ* ; (9) *فُعُولٌ* (M). The regular formations, out of these [nine], are *فُعِلَ* and *فِعَالٌ* ; and *فُعِلَ* seems to be abbreviated from *فُعَالٌ*, because, wherever *فُعِلَ* is allowable, there *فُعَالٌ* is allowable: but, beyond these two formations, all are abnormal (IY). The broken *pls.* of the [*nasc.* (IY)] *ep.* *فَاعِلٌ* are (1) *فُعِلَ*, [mostly (R),] as *شَهِدَ* *present*, [*بُرِلَ* *nine-year-old* camels, *قَرِحَ* *five-year-old* solid-hoofed animals (S, IY), *شَرِدَ* *taking fright, and running away*, *سَبَقَ* *outstripping* (S), *سَمِرَ* *conversing by night* (Mb), and *رُكِعَ* *bowing down* (B cn II.119)] : and [similarly, in the unsound (S, IY) in the ع (S),] as *صُومَ* *fasting* (S, IY, R), *نُومَ* *sleeping* (S, IY), and *قُومَ* *standing* (R) ; or *صِيَمَ* [715] (IY, R), *نِيَمَ* (IY), and *قِيَمَ* ; or *صِيَمَ*, [*نِيَمَ* (KF),] and *قِيَمَ* with Kasr of the ف on account of the ي, like *شِيِيَخٌ* and *شِيِيَخٌ* for *شِيِيَخٌ* and *شِيِيَخٌ* [242] (R) ; and as *غِيِبَ* *absent or hidden*, [*عِيِطٌ* *jailing to conceive* (KF),] and *حِيِضٌ* *menstruating* (S) : and [similarly (S)], in the unsound in the ل, as *غُرِي* *raiding* [below] (S, IY, R) and *عَفِي* *effaced* (S, IY) : (2) *فُعَالٌ*, often (S, IY, R), as *شَهِدَ* *present*, *جَهَّالٌ* *ignorant*, *رَكَّابٌ* *riding* (S, IY), *عَرَّاضٌ* *happening or intervening* (S),

^{قَرَأَ} *reading*, and ^{تَنَآ} *settling* in a country (Jh, KF), like ^{سَكَنَ} *dwelling* (KF) ; and hence, [in the unsound in the ع ,] ^{زَوَارَ} *visiting* and ^{غُيِبَ} *absent* or *hidden* (S, R) : (a) ^{فُعِلَ} and ^{فُعَالٌ} are regular in [the *pl.* of (R)] the *ep.* ^{فَاعِلٌ} (R, IA, Aud, A) sound in the ل ; and extraordinary in the unsound [in the ل (IA, A)], as ^{عُفِيَ} , ^{غُرِيَ} (IA, Aud), and ^{سُرِيَ} *journeying by night* (IA),] and as ^{غَرَّأَ} (IA, Aud, A) and ^{سَرَّأَ} (IA, Aud) : (3) ^{فَعَلَهُ}, [also often (S, R), but not like the first two (R),] as ^{بَرَّرَهُ} *pious* (S, IY, R), ^{كَفَّرَهُ} *unbelieving* (IY, R), ^{هَدَّرَهُ} *of no account, worthless* (KF, Sn), ^{نَسَقَهُ} *wicked* (S, IY), ^{جَهَّلَهُ} *ignorant*, ^{ظَلَمَهُ} *wronging*, ^{فَجَّرَهُ} *vicious*, ^{كَذَّبَهُ} *lying* (S), ^{عَجَّرَهُ} *powerless* (R), and ^{قَرَأَهُ} *reading* (Jh, KF) : and [similarly (S) in the unsound in the ع (IY),] as ^{خَوَّنَهُ} *unfaithful* [684,711], ^{حَوَّكَهُ} *weaving* (S, IY, R), and ^{بَاعَهُ} *selling* (S, R), by rule ^{خَانَهُ} and ^{حَاكَهُ} (IY) ; while they [sometimes (IY)] say [^{خَانَهُ} and (IY)] ^{حَاكَهُ} (IY, R) also (R), as they say ^{بَاعَهُ} (IY) : (a) ^{فَعَلَهُ} is a [common (Aud), regular (IA, A)] *pl.* of ^{فَاعِلٌ} when *ep.* of a *rational masc.*, and sound in the ل (IA, Aud, A), as ^{كَمَلَهُ} *perfect*, (IA, A), ^{سَكَّرَهُ} *sorcerers* (IA), and ^{بَرَّرَهُ} [above] ; while ^{نَعَقَهُ} *crows*, *pl.* of ^{نَاعَقَ} *croaking*, is anomalous (A) : (4) ^{فَعَلَهُ}, [when the ل is unsound (S, R), in which case the ف of ^{فَعَلَهُ}

must be pronounced with Damm (R),] as غُرَاةٌ *raiding*, قُضَاةٌ *judges* (S, IY), رُمَاةٌ *throwing* or *shooting* (S), سُقَاةٌ *cup-bearers, waterers* (KF), and نُعَاةٌ *announcers of death*, as says Jarir [bemoaning 'Umar Ibn 'Abd Al'Aziz (N)]
 نَعَى النُّعَاةُ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ لَنَا * يَا خَيْرَ مَنْ حَجَّ بَيْتَ اللَّهِ وَاعْتَمَرَ
 (BS) *The heralds have announced the death of the Commander of the Believers. O best of them that have gone on pilgrimage to the House of God, and have visited the Holy Places !* (N) : (a) this is a formation peculiar to the unsound (IY, Jrb) : (b) فُعَلَةٌ is regular as pl. of فَاعِلٌ when ep. of a rational [*masc.* (IA, A)], and unsound in the J (IA, Aud, A), as رُمَاةٌ [above], قُضَاةٌ (IA, A), and غُرَاةٌ ; while كُمَاةٌ pl. of كَمِيٌّ *mail-clad*, بَرَاةٌ pl. of بَارٍ *a hawk or falcon*, and هُدَرَةٌ pl. of هَادِرٌ *a man of no account, worthless* [below] are anomalous ; as غُرَاةٌ pl. of غَرِيٌّ *erring*, عَرَاةٌ pl. of عَرِيَانٌ *naked* [250], عُدَاةٌ pl. of عَدُوٌّ *a foe*, and رَذَاةٌ pl. رَذِيٌّ [upon the measure of فَعِيلٌ, a camel broken down, disabled, from fatigue, and a man made heavy by disease (Sn)] are extraordinary (A) : but, in my opinion, this requires consideration, because عُدَاةٌ may be pl. of عَادٍ *an aggressor, a foe*, not of عَدُوٌّ ; nay, that is said by more than one [authority] on such as لَا يَبْعَدُنْ قَوْمِي الْحَجَّ [146] ; and the like is said on عَرَاةٌ and غُرَاةٌ (Sn) : (5) فُعَلٌ [or فُعْلٌ (IY), often (S, R)], as بُرْلٌ *nine-year-old camels* and شُرْلٌ

aged camels, [or بَرَّ and شَرَف (IY) ; and as عَوْدٌ having recently brought forth, حَوْلٌ failing to conceive, and عَيْط (S, IY) i. q. حَوْل (IY)] : (a) that is because they assimilate فَعْلٌ to فَعُولٌ , on account of its resemblance to the latter in [measure (S), augment, and (S, IY)] number (S, IY, R) of letters (S, R) ; and therefore, as they say غُفِرَ and صَبِرَ [246], so they say بَرَّ and شَرَف (IY) ; and then فَعْلٌ is lightened, according to the Banū Tamīm [246], by making the ع quiescent : (b) the , of the hollow must be made quiescent, according to all, as [عَوْدٌ], عَوِطٌ , and حَوْل (R) ; the o. f. of عَوْدٌ , [عَوِطٌ], and حَوْلٌ being عَوِطٌ , [عَوِطٌ], and حَوْلٌ ; and the , being then made quiescent (IY), because [the Damma upon (IY)] it is deemed heavy : while in عَيْط [i. q. عَوِطٌ, which is of the cat. of the ي (R) , its o. f. being عَيْطٌ, the ي is made quiescent because (the Damma upon) it is deemed heavy ; and (IY)] the ف is pronounced, with Kasr in order that the ي may be preserved, as in بَيْضٌ pl. of أَبْيَضٌ [248, 249, 710, 711] (IY, R) : (c) [فَعْلٌ or] فَعْلٌ as pl. of فَاعِلٌ is rare, dependent upon memory (EM) : (6) فَعْلَاءٌ , as شُعْرَاءٌ poets, جَهْلَاءٌ ignorant, [عُلَمَاءٌ learned, صُلَحَاءٌ righteous (S, IY), and عَقْلَاءٌ rational, intelligent (IY),] because فَاعِلٌ is assimilated to [the ep. (S)] فَعِيلٌ (S, IY, R), like كَرَمَاءٌ [246] (IY, R) : (a) فَعْلٌ and فَعْلَاءٌ are not regular, so that they should be copied,

because they are rare, what the Arabs say [as instances of these *pls.*] being only heard, and not exceeded : S says (IY), ^{فُعْلٌ} and ^{فُعْلَاءٌ} are not [the (S,IY)] established [rule (S,IY)] in this *cat.* (S, IY, R) ; but they are caused by assimilation to another *cat.*, as before explained : (b) ^{فُعْلَاءٌ} in this *cat.* and others mostly occurs when it indicates a *natural quality*, *praiseworthy* or *blameworthy*, like ^{جُهْلَاءٌ} *ignorant*, ^{جُبْنَاءٌ} *cowardly*, and ^{شَجَاعَاءٌ} *brave* [246] (R) ; and is frequent in ^{فَاعِلٌ} when indicating a sense like the *natural quality*, as ^{عَاقِلٌ} *intelligent*, ^{صَالِحٌ} *righteous*, and ^{شَاعِرٌ} *a poet* (Aud) ; and also often occurs as *pl.* of ^{فَاعِلٌ} i. q. ^{مُفَاعِلٌ} [246], like ^{جُلَسَاءٌ} and ^{خُلَطَاءٌ} (R) : (7) ^{فُعْلَانٌ} as ^{رُعْيَانٌ} *pastors, herdsmen* [below], ^{شُبَّانٌ} *youthful*, (S, IY, R), ^{صُحْبَانٌ} *companions* (IY), and ^{عُودَانٌ} *having recently brought forth* (BS), by assimilation to the substantive [^{فَاعِلٌ} (R)], like ^{حُجْرَانٌ} (IY, R) *pl.* of ^{حَاجِرٌ} and ^{فُلُقَانٌ} *pl.* of ^{فَالِقٌ} [above] (IY) ; but it is rare (IY, Aud) : (8) ^{فُعَالٌ} as ^{نِيَامٌ} *sleeping* (S, IY, R), ^{جِيَاعٌ} *hungry* (S, R), ^{صِيَامٌ} *fasting* (K on XXVIII. 23, KF), ^{قِيَامٌ} *standing* (Mb, K), ^{صَحَابٌ} *companions* [below] (IY, R), as says the poet Imra alKais

فَأَلْقَيْتُ فِي فِيَّةِ اللَّجَامِ وَفَتَنَنِي * وَقَالَ صِحَابِي قَدْ شَاوَنَكَ فَاطْلُبِ
Then I threw the bit into his mouth, when they passed beyond me ; and my companions said " They have gone

ahead of thee : then give chase" (Jh), كِفَارٌ traders, كِفَارٌ unbelieving, as says the poet

وَشَقَّ الْبَكْرُ عَنْ أَصْحَابِ مُوسَى * وَغَرَّقَتِ الْفِرَاعِنَةُ الْكِفَارُ

And the sea was divided from the companions of Moses, and the unbelieving Pharoahs were drowned (IY), and رِعَاءٌ herdsmen (IY, R), whence حَتَّى يُصْدِرَ الرِّعَاءُ XXVIII.23. Until the herdsmen take away (IY) their beasts from the water (B) : (a) فِعَالٌ is dependent upon memory as *pl.* of the *ep.* فَاعِلٌ, like صَيَّامٌ *pl.* of صَائِمٌ (A) : (b) as for what is *orig.* an *ep.*, and is then treated as a substantive (S), when فَاعِلٌ is transferred from the *ep.* to the substantive (R), like رَاكِبٌ [peculiar to the rider of the camel (R)], فَارِسٌ [peculiar to the rider (R) of the horse (Jh, KF)], رَاعٍ [peculiar to the pastor, or herdsman, of a particular sort (R)], صَاحِبٌ a companion (S), and رَاهِبٌ an anchorite, monk (EM), it is not like what follows the course of the *v.* in generality : for, in most cases (R)], it takes the *pl.* فُعْلَانٌ, [as رُكْبَانٌ, فُرْسَانٌ, رُعْيَانٌ (S), and رَهَبَانٌ (EM), like حُجْرَانٌ in the genuine substantive (R)] ; and sometimes فِعَالٌ [also (R)], as رِعَاءٌ [and صَحَابٌ (R)] : but, [says S (R),] فِرَاعِلٌ is not allowable in this [prevalent (R)] *ep.*, [as it is in the genuine substantive

(R), as in **تَابِلٌ**, **خَاتَمٌ**, and **حَاجِرٌ** (S).] because this [is *orig.* an *cp.*, and (S) has a *fem.* [that takes the *pl.* **فَوَاعِلٌ** (R.) ; so that they distinguish [the *pl.* of (R)] the *masc.* from [the *pl.* of (R)] the *fem.* (S, R), except in **فَوَارِسٌ** [below] (S) : (9) **فُعُولٌ**, as **شُهُودٌ** witnesses (IY, R), as says the poet
وَبَايَعْتُ لَيْلَى فِي خَلَاءٍ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ * شُهُودٌ عَلَى لَيْلَى عُدُولٌ مَقَانِعُ
And I made a covenant with Lailà in a lonely place, when there were not just, sufficient witnesses against La lè,
*شُهُودٌ sitting down, جُلُوسٌ sitting up (IY), حُضُورٌ present, سُجُودٌ lowering the head, bowing down (R), and سُجُودٌ prostrate in prayer (B on II.119) : (a) S says that it is not frequent (IY) ; [for] it occurs [only] where the *inf. n.* also is upon the measure **فُعُولٌ** (R) : (b) IM in the Tashîl makes **فُعُولٌ** confined to hearsay in [the *pl.* of] **فَاعِلٌ** ; [and allowable only] when [**فَاعِلٌ** is] an *cp.*, not reduplicated, like **رَادٌ**, nor unsound in the ع, [the ع being a و,] like **قَاتِمٌ**, as **شُهُودٌ** *pl.* of **شَاهِدٌ** (A) : (c) [IHsh says in the BS,] **الْغُيُوبِ** in Ka'ib's saying **تَرْمِي الْغُيُوبَ الْحُجَّ** [242] is *pl.* either of **غَائِبٌ**, like **شُهُودٌ** *pl.* of **شَاهِدٌ** ; or of **غَيْبٌ** : and the first is better ; though I have not seen them mention any but the second, notwithstanding that it is a trope, since **غَيْبٌ** is *orig.* the *inf. n.* of **غَابَ**, and is then applied to denote the **غَائِبٌ** *absent* or *hidden* as unrestrictedly as*

غَرُور is applied to denote the غَاطِر sinking or *sunken* in LXVII.30. [419] (BS). فَعَلَّةُ is [rare (Aud), dependent upon memory (A).] in such as [هَادِرَةٌ pl. of (A)] هَادِر [above] (Aud, A). اَنْعَالٌ also, in the pl. of فَادِلٌ, is dependent upon memory, as اَجْهَالٌ *ignorant* (A) and اَصْحَابٌ *companions* [246,255] (KF). And they say قَتَلَكِي ns pl. of هَالِكٌ *perishing*, assimilating it to فَعِيلٌ i. q. مَفْعُولٌ, as قَتَلَكِي and جَرَحِي [246,259], since it is a *tril* and an *affliction*. But, as for خَيْبٌ and خَذَمٌ [257], they are *quasi-pl. ns.*, not *pls* (IY). If فَادِلٌ denote *others than men* (S), [i. e.] if فَادِلٌ be *cp.* of an irrational object (IY, R, IA, Aud, BS, A), it takes the [broken (S)] pl. فَوَاعِلٌ (S, IY, R, IA, Aud, BS, A), regularly (R, Aud, A), even if it be *masc.* (S, IY, IA, A), because the irrational is treated like the *fem.* in the *pl.* (IY, R), since the و and ن, which are allowable in [the *pl.* of فَاعِلٌ denoting] *men*, are not allowable in it [234], so that it is *quasi-fem.* (S), as جَمَالٌ بَرَاءٌ *nine-year-old he-camels* (S, IY, R) and أَيَّامٌ مَوَاضٍ *past days* [234,270] (R), like صَوَاهِلٌ pl. of (IY, IA, A) صَاهِلٌ *neighing* (IY, IA, Aud, A), said of a horse (IY), and شَوَاهِقُ pl. of (IY) شَاهِقٌ *lofty* (IY, Aud), said of a mountain (IY), whence the saying of Al Farazdak [satirizing Jarir (Jsh)]

أَخَذْنَا بِأَفَانِي السَّيِّئَةِ عَلَيْكُمْ * لَنَا قَمَرَاهَا وَالنَّجُومُ الطَّوَالِعُ

(BS) *We have held, i. e. stopped the way to, the regions of the sky of eminence against you, i. e. Jarīr and his kinsfolk, the Banū Kulaib Ibn Yarbū' Ibn Ḥanzāla. Ours are its sun and moon, i. e. Muḥammad and 'Alī, and the rising planets, i. e. the eleven Executors, of the children of 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib (Jsh).* Many of the moderns say that this sort [of فَوَاعِلُ] is anomalous : but IM in the CK charges them with blundering in that ; and says that S distinctly declares the regularity of فَوَاعِلُ in the pl. of فَاعِلٌ when ep. of an irrational masc. ; and that the anomalous [فَوَاعِلُ] is only in such as فَوَارِسُ [below] pl. of فَارِسٌ , i. e. where فَاعِلٌ is ep. of a rational masc. (A). If فَاعِلٌ be an ep. [of a rational masc. (IA)], it does not take the pl. فَوَاعِلُ (Mb, IY, IA), although this is the o. f. (IY), in order that it may not be confounded with the fem. [below] (Mb, IY) : while [S says that (R) such as (M)] فَوَارِسُ, *horse-riders*, [فَوَاكِسُ *lowering, hanging down* (Aud, A), هَوَالِكُ *perishing* (IY, R, Aud, A), سَوَابِقُ *outstripping* (IA, Aud), غَوَائِبُ *absent*, شَوَاهِدُ *present* (A), and خَوَارِجُ *heretics, schismatics* (T), all of which are eps. of rational mascs. (A), as also is تَوَابِعُ *followers*,] are [rare (IY),] anomalous (M, R, IA, Aud, A), as IM intimates by his saying “and [فَوَاعِلُ] is anomalous in [the pl. of] الْفَارِسُ with what resembles it” (A) ; and I have seen in the Commentary

of Jk on the Adab alKātib [of IKb (HKb)] حَوَارِسُ *keepers*, guards and خَرَاجُ *door-keepers*, chamberlains from الْحِجَابَةِ *the office of door-keeper or chamberlain*, both transmitted by him from IAr; and hence, says he, the *prov.* مَعَ الْكُورَاطِيِّ سَهْمٌ صَائِبٌ *With the missers is an arrow going straight to the mark* and their saying أَمَّا وَحَرَاجُ بَيْتِ اللَّهِ *Now, by the pilgrims of the House of God, and its commercial visitors, vid. the assistants, and those who let out beasts on hire*; while رَوَافِدُ *givers* is transmitted by MD, who cites

إِذَا قَلَّ فِي الْكَلَى الْجَمِيعِ الرَوَافِدُ

When few are the givers in the whole tribe (AKB).

But, if a poet be constrained, he may give فَاعِلٌ the *pl.* فَوَاعِلُ, because it is the *o. f.* (IY), as لَوْلَا فَوَارِسُ مِنْ نَعَمٍ *as* [548] (AKB on the verse next below): the poet (S, R) AlFarazdak (S, Mb, IY), being constrained (S, Mb), says [of men (S)]

وَإِذَا الرِّجَالُ رَأَوْا يَزِيدَ رَأَيْتَهُمْ * خُصَعُ الرِّقَابِ نَوَاسِ الْأَبْصَارِ
[246,256] (S, Mb, IY, R) *And, when men see Yazīd, thou seest them bent in the necks, lowering the eyes* (AKB), meaning Yazīd Ibn AlMuhallab (Mb), because you say هِيَ الرِّجَالُ *They are the men*, as you say هِيَ الْجِمَالُ *They are the he-camels*, so that الرِّجَالُ is assimilated to الْجِمَالُ

(S) ; but the like of this is never found except in poetic license (Mb) : the poet [Abu-lGhūl atTuhawī (T)] says

فَدَتْ نَفْسِي وَمَا مَلَكَتْ يَمِينِي * فَوَارِسَ صَدَقْتُ فِيهِمْ ظُنُونِي
فَوَارِسَ لَا يَمْلِكُونَ الْمَنَايَا * إِذَا دَارَتْ رَحَا الْكَرْبِ الزَّبُونِ

[*May myself and what my right hand owns ransom horsemen that have verified my thoughts of them, horsemen that abhor not the fates, when the mill of stubborn war turns round !* (T)] ; and another says

فَأَيَقَنْتُ أَنِّي ثَائِرُ ابْنِ مُكَدَّمٍ * غَدَاتِيذٍ أَوْ هَالِكٍ فِي الْهَوَالِكِ
Then I made sure that I should be the avenger of Ibn Mukaddam on that morning, or be perishing among the perishing (IY), cited by IAI as by Ibn Jidhl atTī'ān (Jh) alKinānī (Mb) alFirā'i, of the Banū Kināna, lamenting his brother Mālik (T) ; and, says Sf, the saying

أُحَامِي عَنْ دِيَارِ بَنِي أَبِيكُمْ * وَمِثْلِي فِي غَوَائِبِكُمْ قَلِيلُ

[*I defend the homes of the sons of your father ; and the like of me among your absent ones is rare* (AKB)] occurs in poetry (R), said by [Utaiba or (I)] 'Utba Ibn AlHārith [al Yarbū'i (T, I Ath)] to Jaz Ibn Sa'd, who replied نَعَمْ Yes, and among our present ones (AKB) ; and the poet, in his saying

وَإِذَا طَلَبْتَ إِلَى الْمَهْلَبِ حَاجَةً * عَرَضَتْ تَوَابِعُ دُونِهِ وَعَبِيدُ

And, when thou pursuest a need to AlMahallub, followers intervene before him, and slaves, means men by تَوَابِعُ, this

being allowable in poetry, and it is only by poetic license that he restores it to the *o. f.* (Mb). These anomalous words are variously explained : (1) S attributes فَوَائِسَ to regard for the femininization in الرِّجَالُ [above] (AKB) : (2) Mb [followed by IY] mentions that فَوَاعِلُ is an *o. f.* in [the *pl.* of (T)] the prevalent فَاعِلُ [when *ep.* of what is rational (T)] ; and that in poetry it is allowable, good (R) : (3) according to [S and] Mb, [followed by IY] (AKB), they say فَوَارِسُ , [as they say حَوَاجِرُ (S), firstly because فَارِسُ is treated as a substantive, on account of its being frequently used alone, unqualified : and secondly (IY) because this word is not used [in their speech (S)] except for *men*, [and *orig.* denotes none but *them* (S, IY)] ; so that there is no fear of confusion (S, Mb, IY), since the *fem.* has no part in it (IY) ; and therefore they say فَوَاعِلُ , as they say حَوَارِثُ *Hāriths* when حَارِثُ is a proper name (S) : while هَوَالِكُ is [treated as (IY)] a *pron.* [in their speech, and *prov.* are current in a stereotyped form (IY)] ; so that it occurs in its *o. f.* (Mb, IY), from frequency of usage (Mb) : (4) some explain such instances on the theory that فَوَاعِلُ is *ep.* of طَوَائِفُ *bodies* or *bands*, in which case it is regular (A), being then *pl.* of فَاعِلَةٌ not of فَاعِلُ (Sn) : and I say

that there is no evidence in all [the *exs.*] that they mention, since **طَائِفَةُ هَالِكَةٍ** may be *pl.* of **هَالِكَةٌ**, i. e. **طَائِفَةُ هَالِكَةٍ**; and similarly the others, as **الْفِرَقُ الْخَوَارِجُ**, i. e. **الْفِرَقُ الْخَوَارِجُ** the *heretical*, or *schismatical*, (*sects*), like **وَالصَّافَاتِ صَفًّا** XXXVII.1. *By the (bands of Angels) standing in ranks*, i. e., **طَوَائِفُ الْمَلَائِكَةِ** (R) And no *ep.* of this formation, when denoting *men*, is debarred from [the sound *pl.* with] the **و** and **ن**, as **فَاسِقُونَ** *wicked*, **جَاهِلُونَ** *ignorant*, **عَاقِلُونَ** *rational* (S), and **قَارِئُونَ** *reading* (KF): and [similarly]

النَّاعُونَ in Ka'b's saying

نَوَاحٍ رَخْوَةً الضَّبْعَيْنِ لَيْسَ لَهَا * لَمَّا نَعَى بِكَرْهَا النَّاعُونَ مَعْقُولُ
Wailing much, loose in the two upper arms, so that her two hands are quick in movement, that had no reason [333] left when the messengers announced the death of her first-born, نَوَاحٍ being in the gen. as ep. of عَيْطَلٍ in the preceding verse

شَدَّ النَّهَارِ ذِرَاعَا عَيْطَلٍ نَصَفٍ * قَامَتْ فَجَارَبَهَا نُكْدٌ مَثَاكِيلُ
*At the time of the day's becoming high [65], were the rapid shifting of the two fore arms of a middle-aged tall woman that stood up, and was answered by childless women, bereft of many children, where ذِرَاعَا عَيْطَلٍ is the *pred.* of كَانَ in كَانِ أَوْبَ ذِرَاعَيْهَا الْح [75], by suppression of a *pre. n.*, i. e., **أَوْبُ ذِرَاعَى عَيْطَلٍ**, is *pl.* of نَاعٍ, its *o. f.**

being النَّاعِيُونَ ; and like it are الْقَاضُونَ *the judges* [234] and الرَّاعُونَ *the herdsmen* (BS). The *fem.* of this formation has 2 paradigms [of broken *pl.*], فَوَاعِلُ and فَعَّلُ, what contains the ة and what has no ة in it being equal in that respect (M). The [regular (R)] broken *pls.* [of the *fem.* (S, IY)] of the *ep.* فَاعِلٌ, whether the ة [of feminization (S)] be expressed in it, [as in ضَارِبَةٌ (S, R),] or supplied, [as in حَائِضٌ (IY, R),] are (1) فَوَاعِلُ (S, IY, R), as ضَوَّارِبُ striking, [قَوَاتِلُ *killing*, خَوَارِجُ *going out* (S), and جَوَالِسُ *sitting up* (IY)] ; and [similarly (S)] as حَوَائِضُ *menstruating*, حَوَاسِرُ *stripped of clothes* (S, IY) and طَوَامِثُ *menstruating for the first time* (IY) : (2) فَعَّلُ (S, IY, R), like the *masc.* (IY), by elision of the ة (R), while they trust to the context for distinction (IY), as نَوِّمُ *sleeping* and زَوِّرُ *visiting* ; and as حَيِّضُ *menstruating*, [مُخَضُّ *seized with the pains of labour* (S),] and حَسَّرُ *stripped of clothes* (S, IY). فَوَاعِلُ is a [regular (Aud, A)] *pl.* (1) of فَاعِلٌ when *ep.* of a [rational (IA, A)] *fem.*, as [حَوَائِضُ *pl.* of (IA, A)] حَائِضٌ (IA, Aud, A) and [طَوَالِقُ *pl.* of] طَالِقٌ *divorced* (Aud) ; and (2) of فَاعِلَةٌ (IA, Aud, A) also (IA), when an *ep.* (Aud, Sn), unrestrictedly (A), i. e., of a rational being or irrational object (Sn), as فَوَاطِمُ

pl. of ^وفَاطِمَة weaning (IA, A), ^ومَوَاحِب pl. of ^وصَاحِبَة a companion (IA), and ^وضَوَارِب pl. of ^وضَارِبَة striking (A). It is disputed whether the sing. of ^وعَوَارِض in Ka'b's saying ^وتَجَلُّوْا ^وعَوَارِضَ الْحَجِّ [74] be ^وعَارِضَة, as ALB says in the Exposition of the Gharīb al-Hadīth, or ^وعَارِض; and whether, in the latter case, ^وعَوَارِض be an anomalous pl., as Ns mentions in the exposition of 'Antara's saying

وَكَاَنَّ فَارَةَ تَاجِرٍ بِقَسِيمَةٍ * سَبَقَتْ عَوَارِضَهَا إِلَيْكَ مِنَ الْفَمِ

[And it is as though a musk-bag of a merchant, i. e., perfumer, in a scent-basket, had preceded her side-teeth to thee from the mouth, meaning that her fragrant breath precedes her side-teeth, when thou seest to kiss her (EM)], declaring that ^وفَوَاعِل hardly ever occurs as pl. of ^وفَاعِل, [or be regular] : but the correct opinion is that ^وعَوَارِض is pl. of ^وعَارِض, because of Jarīr's saying [in an ode satirizing the poet Al-Akhtal (Jsh)]

أَتَذْكُرُ يَوْمَ تَصْقَلُ عَارِضِيهَا * يَفْرَعُ بِشَامَةٍ سَقَى الْبَشَامُ

[Dost thou remember the day that she was polishing her two sets of side-teeth with a twig of a tree of the balsam of Makka ? May the trees of balsam of Makka be watered ! (Jsh), where he means by ^وعَارِض, as ANB says, the teeth after the central incisors, the central incisors not being included in the ^وعَارِض, or, as ISk says,

the *canine tooth* and the *bicuspid* next to it, or, as some say, *what is between the central incisor and the bicuspid* (Jh)] ; and that it is regular, because it is a substantive : while فَوَاعِلُ as *pl.* of فَاعِلٌ is anomalous only when فَاعِلٌ is an *ep.* of a rational [*masc.*], like هَالِكٌ [above], فَارِسٌ, and نَافِيسٌ ; whereas, if فَاعِلٌ be a substantive, like حَاجِبٌ [above], كَاهِلٌ, حَاطِطٌ, and دَانِقٌ, or an *ep.* of a [rational] *fem.*, like حَاطِضٌ [above], طَالِقٌ, and طَامِثٌ, or of an irrational [*masc.*], like جَبَلٌ شَاهِقٌ and نَجْمٌ طَالِعٌ [above], then فَوَاعِلُ as its *pl.* is regular (BS). فَوَاعِلُ is also [regular as (Aud, A)] *pl.* of [the substantive (Aud)] فَوَاعِلٌ, as جَوَاهِرُ [*pl.* of (IA, A)] جَوَهْرٌ (IA, Aud, A) and كَوَاثِرُ [*pl.* of (253) كَوَثَرٌ] (Aud) ; or, [as IM adds in the Kāfiya (A),] فَوَاعِلَةٌ, as صَوَامِعُ [*pl.* of (A)] صَوْمَعَةٌ a monk's cell [253] (Aud, A) and زَوَابِعُ [*pl.* of (A)] زَوْبَعَةٌ a whirlwind of dust (Aud). And in the Tashīl he mentions a rule for the sorts in which it is regular, saying “ فَوَاعِلُ belongs to the *n.* whose 2nd is (1) an *aug.* ۱, except فَاعِلٌ when *ep.* of a rational *masc.* ; or (2) a , not co-ordinating [it] with a *quin.*”, meaning to exclude [by “*aug.*” such as the ۱ of آدَمُ (684), *pl.* آوَادِمُ (686) upon the measure of أَفَاعِلُ (249) ; and (Sn)] by “not co-ordinating [it] with a *quin.*” such as [the , in (Sn)]

خَوَزْنَقْ, *pl.* خَرَائِقُ [upon the measure of فَعَالِلُ (Sn)] by elision of the و, [253] (A). فَعَّلُ is regular in [the *pl.* of] the *ep.* فَاعِلَةٌ sound in the ل (IA, Aud, A), as [ضَرْبٌ *pl.* of (IA)] ضَارِبَةٌ and [صَوْمٌ *pl.* of (IA)] صَائِمَةٌ (IA, Aud), [and] as عَذْلٌ *pl.* of عَاذِلَةٌ *blaming* (A). فَعَّالٌ is extraordinary in [the *pl.* of] فَاعِلَةٌ, as in the saying [of AlKutāmī (MN, J)]

أَبْصَرُهُنَّ إِلَى الشَّبَابِ مَائِلَةٌ * وَقَدْ أَرَاهُنَّ عَنِّي غَيْرَ ضَدَادٍ
(IA, Aud, A) *Their eyes are [continually (J)] turning towards the youths; and sometimes I see, i. e., know, them to be not averse from me (MN, J), where ضَدَادٌ is [meant to be (IA)] pl. of صَادَةٌ (IA, Sn), the [acc.] pron. [in أَرَاهُنَّ (MN)] belonging to the women (MN, Sn): but [apparently (Aud), as some explain the verse (A),] ضَدَادٌ averted is pl. of صَادٌ, [not of صَادَةٌ (Aud),] the [acc.] pron. [in أَرَاهُنَّ (MN, J)] belonging to the eyes (Aud, A), not to the women (Aud), because بَصْرٌ صَادٌ an averted eye is said, like بَصْرٌ حَادٌ a sharp eye (A); and in that case there is nothing extraordinary in it, because it is then agreeable with analogy (J). فَعَّالٌ is dependent upon memory as *pl.* of the *ep.* فَاعِلَةٌ, like صِيَامٌ *pl.* of صَائِمَةٌ *fasting* (A). And none of these *eps.* containing the ʾ is debarred from the [sound *pl.* with the ا and] ت, as ضَارِبَاتٌ and خَارِجَاتٌ (S)*

§ 248. The *n.* ending in an *l* of femininization, fourth, abbreviated or prolonged, (1) when a substantive, has 2 paradigms [of broken *pl.* (IY)], (a) فَعَالِي, as [ذَنَارِي *pl.* of ذِنْرَى a prominent bone behind the ear and (IY)] صَحَارِي [*pl.* of صَحْرَاءُ a desert (IY)] ; (b) فِعَالٌ, [as ذِنَارٌ *pl.* of ذِنْرَى (IY)] : and (2) when an *ep.*, has 4 paradigms, (a) فِعَالٌ, as عِطَاشٌ [*pl.* of عَطَشَى thirsty (IY)], بَطَاحٌ [*pl.* of بَطْحَاءٌ wide, orig. an *ep.*, as مَكَانٌ أَبْطَحٌ a wide place and بَرِّيَّةٌ بَطْحَاءٌ a wide desert, said of what is spacious (IY)], and عِشَارٌ [*pl.* of عِشْرَاءُ having been ten months pregnant, said of a she-camel (Jh, KF), and نِقَاسٌ *pl.* of نِقْسَاءٌ in the state following child-birth (IY), said of a woman, the only two instances of فِعَالٌ *pl.* of فِعَلَاءٌ (Jh, KF) in the language (Jh)] ; (b) فُعْلٌ, as حُمْرٌ [below] ; (c) فُعْلٌ, as أَلْصَغُرٌ [below] ; (d) فَعَالِي, as حَرَامِي (M) *pl.* of حَرَمَى longing for the male, said of a ewe (IY). Its broken *pl.* is of two kinds, (1) the ultimate *pl.* [18,256], in which case you say, (a) in the abbreviated, فِعَالٍ and فَعَالِي in the substantive, as دَعَارٍ and دَعَارِي [*pls.* of دَعْوَى a claim] ; and [according to R] only فَعَالِي in the *ep.*, as حَبَالِي [*pl.* of حُبْلَى pregnant (Jh, KF), أَنَاثِي *pl.* of أَنْثَى female, feminine (KF),] and خَنَاثِي *pl.* of خُنْثَى a hermaphrodite : (b) in the prolonged, فَعَالٍ and فَعَالِي ; while فَعَالِي is allowable,

but rare, though it is the *o. f.* : (2) فِعَالٌ, as [ذِقَارٌ] , إِنَاتٌ ,
 [عِشَارٌ] , بَطَاحٌ , [حِرَامٌ] (Jb, KF), [عِطَاشٌ] (KF), [خِنَاتٌ]
pls. of [ذِفْرَى] , [أُنْتَى] (KF), [خُنْتَى] (Jb, KF), [عَطَشَى] (Jb, KF),
 [عِشْرَاءُ] , and بَطَحَاءُ : but [according to R] this *pl.*
 occurs only where the ultimate *pl.* does not occur [250] ;
 so that, since they say إِنَاتٌ , they do not say أَنَاتٌ or
 أَنَاتَى [above] ; and, since they say خِنَاتَى , they do not
 say خِنَاتٌ [above] (R). فِعَالٌ and فِعَالٌ are common to
 the substantive and the *ep.* (IY). The *o. f.* in this *cat.*
 is the ultimate *pl.*, the *l* of femininization being taken into
 account because of its inseparability (R). Since the *l* of
 femininization is not separable from the word, as the *ʕ* is
 [266], they consider it as part of the word itself ; and
 therefore, when it is fourth, the *n.*, being by means of it
 like the *quad.*, takes the *pl.* of the latter ; so that they say
 [in the substantive] عَلَقَى *pl.* of عَلَقَى *an ever-green plant of*
which brooms are made and ذِفَارَى *pl.* of ذِفْرَى ; and, in the
ep., حَبَالَى *pl.* of حُبَلَى and سَكَارَى *pl.* of سَكْرَى *drunken* :
 thus حَبَالَى and ذِفَارَى correspond to جَعَادِبُ [246]
 and ذِفَارَى [and حَبَالَى] [245] ; and the [final] *l* in حَبَالَى
 is not like the *l* in حُبَلَى [and ذِفْرَى] , because the latter
 is for femininization, while the former is converted from
 a *ى* , since حَبَالَى is a *pl.* upon the model of جَعَانِرُ [246],
 in which the letter after the *l* [of the broken *pl.*] is pro-

nounced only with Kasr, so that حَبَالِي is constructively حَبَالِي, a Fatha being substituted for the Kasra, and an | for the ي, because the | is lighter in pronunciation ; and therefore the preventive of triptote declension in حَبَالِي and دَفَارِي is not like its preventive in حُبَلِي and دِفْرِي, but is only like its preventive in مَسَاجِدُ and جَعَانِرُ [18] (IY). Conversion of the ي into | is necessary, [according to R.,] in the *ep.* whose | is abbreviated, contrary to the substantive, because the *ep.* is heavier [240], as respects the sense, than the substantive, so that necessary alleviation is more appropriate to it ; and the | is more frequent than the ي in the substantive also. They flee from the ي to the | in these *pls.*, contrary to such as جَوَاءَ *pl.* of جَائِيَّةٌ [726], in order to match the *pl.* with the *sing.* in the two positions, i. e., حَبَالِي and جَوَاءَ ; and to distinguish the | of femininization from others, vid. the converted |, as in مَلْهَى [229,727], and the | of co-ordination, as in أَرْطَى *a kind of tree growing in sands* [272]. The same conversion, however, of the ي into | that occurs in [what ends in] the | of femininization sometimes occurs in what ends in a converted |, by assimilation of the latter to the former, as مَدَارٍ and مَدَارِي [256,661,726], *pls.* of مَذْرَى *a comb or hair-pin* ; but it is not regular : while Sf says that it is regular, whether the | in the *sing.* be converted or co-ordinative, though the *o. f.* is [فَعَالٍ with] retention of the ي ; and,

according to this, you say مَلَاة and مَلَاهِي as *pls.* of مَلَّهِي , and أَرَاط and أَرَاطِي as *pls.* of أَرَطِي , because, says he, it is impervious to ambiguity ; but it is better to stop at what has been heard. As for the *n.* ending in the prolonged fourth, three forms occur in it, the most frequent being فَعَالِي (R). In the broken *pl.* of what ends in the two *l* s of feminization [263,683], as صَحْرَاء and عَذْرَاء *virgin, maiden*, you say (1) مَحَارِي and عَذَارِي ; (2) مَحَار and عَذَار ; (3) مَحَارِي and عَذَارِي , which is the *o. f.* : the poet says

لَقَدْ أَغْدُو عَلَى أَشَقَرِ * يَجْتَابُ الصَّحَارِيَّ

cited by Mb as by AlWalīd Ibn Yazīd [Ibn 'Abd AlMalik Ibn Marwān, *Assuredly I sometimes go forth in the early morning upon a sorrel that traverses the deserts* (AKB)] ; another says الْبَطَاحِي الرَّغَابُ *the wide pebbly watercourses*, meaning the *pl.* of بَطَحَاء ; and As transmits صَلَافِي as *pl.* of صَلَفَاء *hard ground*, and خَبَارِي as *pl.* of خَبْرَاء *level ground, producing lote-trees* : for صَحْرَاء and its like, as عَذْرَاء and خَبْرَاء , are of five letters ; and the *l* [of prolongation], when it occurs fourth in a word containing this number [of letters], is not elided in the broken *pl.*, being elided only when you find elision to be unavoidable [253] ; and, when retained, it must be converted into ي , because the , [or other letter] before it is pronounced with Kasr [685] ; and therefore the Hamza

becomes an | , since it was converted into Hamza only because it was preceded by the | of prolongation [683] ; so that, when the | is removed by its conversion into ی , the Hamza reverts to its former state as an | [of femininization] ; and then they convert the | of [femininization] into ی because of the quiescence of the ی before it, the letter before | being never quiescent ; and incorporate the [first] ی converted from the | of prolongation into the [second] ی converted from the | of femininization, as صَكَارِي and صَلَانِي ; then some elide the first ی for abbreviation, as مَكَارٍ and مَلَايٍ ; and then some substitute a Fatha for the Kasra and an | for the ی , [as صَكَارِي and صَلَانِي ,] because the | is lighter, and this formation is not liable to be confounded with anything else, and in order that the *pl.* may end in | , like the *sing.* (IY). This conversion of the ی into | is not allowable in the [prolonged] | of co-ordination : you do not say حَرَابِي as *pl.* of حَرَبَاءُ a male chameleon [273,385], but حَرَابِي or حَرَابٍ , because the | of femininization is worthier of being preserved [250, 282], on account of its being a sign, than the | of co-ordination. Two words, vid. بَخَاتِي Bactrian camels and مَهَارِي Mahrī camels [below], are co-ordinated with the *cat.* of صَكَارِي , although the *sing.* does not contain the | of femininization ; so that the three forms [بَخَاتِي , بَخَاتٍ ,

(Jh, KF), and بَكَحَاتِي (KF), and مَهَارٍ, مَهَارِي (Jh, KF), and مَهَارَى (KF),] are allowable in them, though the double ي is preferable : but they are not to be copied ; so that أَثَانِي and عَوَارِي are not said as *pls.* of أَثْنِيَّةٌ *a stone, one of three, supporting the cooking pot* and عَارِيَّةٌ *a loan*, [but أَثَانِي and أَثَانٍ, and عَوَارِي (Jh, KF) and عَوَار (KF)] : and one word of the defective, vid. مُعِي *tired, weary* said of a he-camel, or مُعِيَّةٌ said of a she-camel, *pls.* مَعَاي and مَعَايَا [661,726] said of he-camels or she-camels, is co-ordinated with such as قَتَوِي *a legal opinion*, *pls.* قَتَاوٍ and قَتَاوِي (R). فَعَالٍ and فَعَالِي are associated in the *pl.* of (1) فَعَلَاءٌ when (a) a substantive, as صَحَارٍ and صَحَارِي, *pls.* of صَحْرَاءَ ; (b) a *fem. ep.*, [not being *fem.* of أَفْعَلُ (Sn),] as عَدَارٍ and عَدَارِي, *pls.* of عَدْرَاءَ : (2) فَعَلِي [فَعَلِي or] فَعَلِي, when a substantive, as عَلَقِي [253] and عَلَقِي, *pls.* of [عَلَقِي or (Jh)] عَلَقِي [272,375] : (3) فَعَلِي or فَعَلِي, when a substantive, as ذَفَارٍ and ذَفَارِي, *pls.* of ذَفَرِي [272,375] : (4) فَعَلِي when a *fem. ep.*, not being *fem.* of أَفْعَلُ, as حَبَالٍ and حَبَالِي, *pls.* of حَبَلِي : and these sorts are all regular, as IM intimates, except فَعَلَاءٌ when a *fem. ep.*, like عَدْرَاءَ, in which فَعَالٍ and فَعَالِي are not regular, but dependent upon memory,

as IM plainly declares in the Tashīl, contrary to what is implied by his language here and in the CK : (5) مَهْرِيّ [below,] where they say مَهَارِي and مَهَارِي ; but these two [pls.] are not to be copied. فَعَالٍ is separate [from فَعَالِي] in the pl. of such as حَذْرِيَّة [385], سَعْلَاءُ a she-devil, عَرَقَةٌ [a piece of wood fixed across the rim of the leathern bucket (Sn), to prevent it from collapsing], and أَلْبَانِي [with Kasr of the ق, the end of the eye next to the nose (Sn)] ; and, when the 1st of the two augs. is elided, in such as حَبْنَطِي and عَفَرَنِي [253], عَدَوَلِي [a town in Al Bahrain (Dm)], قَهْوَبَاءُ [a small arrow (Dm)], بُلْهَنِيَّة [677], قَلَنْسَوِيَّة [253, 390, 675], and حُبَارِي [below]. And فَعَالِي is separate [from فَعَالٍ] in the pl. of the eps. فَعْلَانُ, as سَكْرَانُ and غَضْبَانُ [250] ; and فَعْلِي, as سَكْرِي and غَضْبِي (A). فَعَالِي is [regular as (Aud)] pl. of every tril. [substantive (IA) quiescent in the ع (A)], whose final is an [aug. (A)] double ي not denoting *fresh relation*, [there being no relation in it at all, like كُرْسِي, or a relation not fresh, i. e., not regarded now, because forgotten or like the forgotten, so that it is co-ordinated with what contains no relation at all, that مَهْرِي (Sn),] as كَرَّاسِي pl. of (IA, A)] كُرْسِي a chair or throne [294] (IA, Aud, A), بَرَادِي pl. of بَرْدِي a bulrush (IA), قَمَارِي pl. of (Jh, KF) قُمْرِي a turtle-dove,

[*بَخَاتِي* *pl.* of (Jh, KF)] *بُخْتِي* (Aud), and *كِرَاكِي* *pl.* of *كُرْكِي* *a crane* ; but not *تَرَاكِي* *pl.* of *تُرْكِي* *a Turk* (A) As for *أَنَسِي*, it is [said to be (R)] *pl.* of *إِنْسَان*, [not of *إِنْسِي*, being *orig* *أَنَاسِين* (Aud, A),] *ا* *ي* being substituted for the *ن*, like *ظَرَابِي* *pl.* of *ظَرَبَان* [237, 250] (R, Aud, A) ; while some of the Arabs say *ظَرَابِين* and *أَنَاسِين*, according to the *o. f.* (Sn) : but [AH says that, if a man were to adopt the opinion that (Sn)] it is *pl.* of *إِنْسِي* (R, Sn), like *كِرَاسِي* *pl.* of *كُرْسِي* (R), he would adopt a good opinion, and would get rid of the assertion of substitution, since the Arabs say *إِنْسِي* *a human being, man* in the sense of *إِنْسَان* ; and AH thus seems to intimate that the *relation* is forgotten, as is known from his words “ in the sense of *إِنْسَان* ” (Sn). The sign of the *fresh relation* is that the *ي* may be elided, while the indication of a sense understood before its elision remains. The *ي* sometimes denotes *real relation*, but the *n.* containing it is afterwards so much used that the *relation* becomes forgotten, [i. e., when the *relation* is not regarded at all (Sn),] or like the forgotten, [i. e., when it is sometimes regarded (Sn),] so that the *n.* is treated like what is not *rel.*, as *مَهَارِي* *pl.* of *مَهْرِي* [above], which was *orig.* the camel relating to *Mahra* [Ibn Haidān (ID, Jh, KF), father of (Jh)] a tribe [of *Kuḍa‘ā* (Dh, LL)] in AlYaman, and was

afterwards so much used that it became a substantive denoting the *well-bred camel*. IM mentions in the Tashil that this *pl.* belongs also to such as عِلْبَاءُ *a certain sinew in the neck* [273,385], قُرْبَاءُ *ringworm* [273,385], and حَوْلِيَا [282] ; and that it is dependent upon memory in such as صَحْرَاءُ and عَذْرَاءُ [above], إِنْسَانُ , and طَرِبَانُ (A). As for [the second paradigm (IY),] فَعَالٌ , it is because the † of feminization, being like the ة , is elided in the [broken (IY)] *pls.*, as is done with the ة ; so that عَطَاشٌ (R), بَطَاحٌ , and إِنَاثٌ are like قِصَاعٌ [238] (IY,R), جِفَارٌ (IY), and بَرَامٌ : and this [paradigm فَعَالٌ] is chosen from among all the [broken] *pls.* of فُعْلَةٌ and فَعْلَةٌ because it most resembles فَعَالِي , which is the *o. f.* ; while such as عُشْرَاءُ and نَفْسَاءُ , being made to accord with such as أُنْثَى , take the *pl.* فَعَالٌ , although فَعَالٌ is not a broken *pl.* of فُعْلَةٌ [238], because of the aforesaid affinity of فَعَالٌ to فَعَالِي , which is the *o. f.* in its like, as we mentioned. Such as نَفْسَاءُ does not take the ultimate *pl.*, as the [formation] quiescent in the ع does, because the † is like the fifth, on account of the vowel of the ع : and neither the ultimate *pl.* nor فَعَالٌ has been heard as *pl.* of فُعْلِي , like أُرَبِّي [272] and دَقَرِي [272, 375] ; or فَعْلِي , like الْمَرَطِي [272] and شُعْبِي [272, 375] ; or فَعْلَاءُ , like قَادَاءُ [385] ; but, if they took a

broken *pl.*, it would by analogy be *فَعَالٌ*, as we mentioned in the case of such as *نَفْسَاءُ*, although the most suitable *pl.* of the whole is with the ا and ت [below] (R). *فَعَالٌ* is dependent upon memory as *pl.* of (1) the *ep.* *فُعَلَى*, as *رَبَابٌ* *pl.* of *رَبَّى* [below]; (2) the *ep.* *فَعَلَاءُ*, as *عِجَابٌ* *pl.* of *عَجَفَاءُ* lean (A). The *pl.* of *رَبَّى* having recently brought forth, [applied, as AZ says, to a she-goat, but, as others say, to a she-goat and a ewe, and sometimes to a she-camel also (Jh),] ought to be *رَبَابٌ* with Kasr of the ر; but *رَبَابٌ* with Damm is said, which is not a *pl.*, but a *quasi-pl. n.* like *رُخَالٌ* and *تَوَامٌ* [257] (R): and some of the Arabs say *نَفَاسٌ* [*pl.* of *نَفْسَاءُ* (KF)], like *رَبَابٌ* (S); but there is no other instance of *فَعَالٌ* *pl.* of *فَعَلَاءُ* (KF). Fr holds *فَعَلٌ* to be regular as *pl.* of (1) *فُعَلَى* when a substantive, as *ذِكْرٌ* *pl.* of *ذِكْرَى* remembrance [272], and (2) *فَعَلَةٌ* when its ع is a ي, as *ضَيْعٌ* *pl.* of *ضَيْعَةٌ* an estate [238], as he holds *فَعَلٌ* to be regular in such as *رَوِيًّا* and *نَوْبَةٌ* [below]; and Mb holds it to be regular in such as *هِنْدٌ* [18], as he holds *فَعَلٌ* to be regular in such as *جُمْلٌ* [below]: while the opinion of the majority is that such instances of the foregoing as occur are dependent upon memory, and not regular. Neither *فَعَالٌ* nor *فُعَلٌ* occurs as *pl.* of any

n. whose ف is a ي , except what is extraordinary, like *يَعَارُ*, which, says IM in the *Tashīl*, is *pl.* of *يَعْرُ*, i. e., the male kid tied up [as a bait] in the pitfall dug for the lion, and of *يَعْرَة* (A). *فَعْلٌ* and *فُعْلٌ* are peculiar to the *ep.* (IY). *فُعْلٌ* is the *pl.* of *فَعْلَاءَ* [when an *ep.* (IY),] *fem.* of *أَفْعَلٌ*, as *حُمُرٌ* (IY), *صُفْرٌ* (D, IY), *خُضْرٌ*, and *سُودٌ* (D), *pls.* of *حُمْرَاءَ* red, *صَفْرَاءَ* yellow, [*خَضْرَاءَ* green, and *سُودَاءَ* black] (IY), whence *وَمِنَ الْجِبَالِ جُدَدٌ بَيَضٌ وَحُمْرٌ مُخْتَلِفٌ أَلْوَانُهَا وَغَرَابِيبُ سُودٍ* XXXV. 25 (D) *And of the mountains are some having streaks, white and red, whose colors are varying* [in intenseness and faintness (B)], and some intensely black (K, B), or, according to 'Ikrima, and long, or high, black mountains (K). *فُعْلٌ* is regular as *pl.* of *فَعْلٌ* and *فَعْلَاءَ*, when *eps.*, either corresponding one to the other, as *حُمُرٌ* *pl.* of *أَحْمَرٌ* [249] and *حُمْرَاءَ*; or isolated by a preventive in nature, as *أَكْبَرُ* having a big gland to the penis and *أَدْرُ* having a swollen testicle, *رَقَقَاءَ* having the passage of the vagina closed up and *عَفْلَاءَ* having a thickening of the vulva: but, if they be isolated by a preventive in usage exclusively, as *رَجُلٌ أَلَى* a man having a big rump and *امْرَأَةٌ عَجْرَاءَ* a woman having a big rump, since they do not say *رَجُلٌ أَعَجَزُ* nor *امْرَأَةٌ أَلْيَاءَ* in the best known *dial.*, the regularity of *فُعْلٌ* is disputed; for IM in the CK distinctly declares that it is regular, and he

is followed by BD ; while in the Tashil he distinctly declares that it is dependent upon memory ; and here the looseness of his language agrees with the former. The ف of this pl. must be pronounced with Kasr when the ع is a ي , as بَيْضٌ [710] (A). The medial of this [pl.] may not be mobilized, except in poetry, as in Tarafa's saying

أَيُّهَا الْفَتَيَانِ فِي مَجْلِسِنَا * حَرِّدُوا مِنْهَا وَرَادًا وَشَقْرًا

O ye youths in our assembly, detach from them bright bays and sorrels, in order that [the pl. of] أَفْعَلُ when an ep. may be distinguished from [the pl. of] the substantives that take this pl., as رُسُلٌ and كُتُبٌ [246,711] : for the ع of the latter is pronounced with Damm, but may be made quiescent ; while [the ع of] the former is quiescent, and may not be pronounced with Damm, except by poetic license, when they assimilate it to the substantive (IY). Its ع may be pronounced with Damm in poetry [249] on three conditions, soundness of its ع , soundness of its ل , and absence of reduplication, as in the saying

طَوَى الْجَدِيدَانِ مَا قَدْ كُنْتُ أَنْشُرُهُ * وَأَنْكَرْتَنِي ذَوَاتُ الْأَعْيُنِ النَّجُلُ

[The night and the day folded up what I had been wont to unfold ; and the mistresses of wide-opened eyes disliked me (MN)], which is frequent ; whereas, if its ع be unsound, as in بَيْضٌ white and سَوْدٌ black, or its ل , as in عُمَى blind and عُشْرٌ blind by night, or it be reduplicated, as in غُرْ pl.

of *أَغْرَ* *white, illustrious*, Damm is not allowable (A). And *نَفْسَ* and *نَفْسٌ*, like *كُنْتُ* and *كُنْتُ* [246], are *pls.* of *نَفْسَ* (KF). And *فَعْلٌ* is the *pl.* of *الْفَعْلَى* *fem.* of *الْأَفْعَلُ* [355], because *أَفْعَلٌ*, not being *indet.*, but always accompanied by the determinative *ل* and *ل* or the particularizing *مِنْ*, falls short of the course of *eps.*, and follows the course of substantives, since the normal form of *eps.* is indeterminateness, inasmuch as they follow the course of the *v.*; and therefore it takes the broken *pl.* of substantives, so that you say, in the *masc.*, *الْأَكْبَرُ* the greatest and *الْأَصَاغُرُ* the smallest, like *الْأَجَادِلُ* and *الْأَفَاكِلُ* [249], as *وَكَذَلِكَ جَعَلْنَا فِي كُلِّ قَرْيَةٍ أَكْبَرًا مُجْرِمِيهَا* VI.123. And so have We set in every city the greatest of its sinners [356]; and, in the *fem.*, *الْكُبَرَى* *pl.* of *الْكُبْرَى* and *الصُّغَرَى* *pl.* of *الصُّغْرَى*, as *إِنَّهَا لِأَحَدَى الْكُبَرَى* LXXIV. 38. Verily it, i. e., Hell, is one of the greatest [trials (K,B) and calamities (K)], because they treat the *ل* of feminization in it as equivalent to the *ة* (IY); so that, since *فَعْلَةٌ* taken the *pl.* *فَعْلٌ* [238], *فَعْلَى* also takes it (K). *فَعْلٌ* is regular as *pl.* of *الْفَعْلَى* [355], when *fem.* of *الْأَفْعَلُ*, as *الْكُبَرَى* *pl.* of *الْكُبْرَى*; whereas, if *فَعْلَى* be not the *fem.* of *الْأَفْعَلُ*, as *بُهَيَّ* [258] and *رَجَعِي* a return, reply, answer [272], it does not take the *pl.* *فَعْلٌ*: (a) Fr holds *فَعْلٌ* to be regular as *pl.* of (1) *فَعْلَى* when an *inf. n.*, like *رَجَعِي*

[above], and (2) ⁹فَعَلَةٌ when its 2nd [*rad.*] is a quiescent ⁹و, like ⁹جَوَزَةٌ [254], so that you say ⁹رَجَعٌ and ⁹جَوَزٌ in their *pl.*, like ⁹رَوَى and ⁹نُوبٌ [238] in [the *pl.* of] ⁹رَوِيًّا and ⁹نُوبَةٌ [above] ; while others hold ⁹رَوَى and ⁹نُوبٌ to be instances of what is dependent upon memory, and not regular : (b) Mb holds ⁹فُعَلٌ to be regular as *pl.* of ⁹فَعْلٌ when *fem.* without a ⁹ة, as ⁹جُمْلٌ *Juml* [18] ; while others confine it to hearsay : but IM's language in the *Kāfiya* and its Commentary necessarily implies agreement with Mb ; for he says in the *Kāfiya* "And ⁹هِنْدٌ is like ⁹كِسْرَةٌ *a frag-*
ment [238, 239] in ⁹فَعَلٌ [above], and ⁹جُبُلٌ is like ⁹بُرْمَةٌ *a*
cooking-pot, [*pl.* ⁹بُرْمٌ (KF),] in ⁹فُعَلٌ " ; and says in its Commentary "And ⁹فُعَلٌ and ⁹فُعَلٌ, when *fem.*, are co-ordi-
nated with ⁹فَعْلَةٌ and ⁹فَعْلَةٌ [238], so that ⁹هِنْدٌ *pl.* ⁹هِنْدٌ and ⁹جُبُلٌ *pl.* ⁹جُبُلٌ are said". And ISd transmits ⁹نَفْسٌ and ⁹نَفْسٌ as *pls.* of ⁹نَفْسَاء (A). Every *n.* ending in the ⁹ of femininization, [abbreviated or prolonged (IY),] may be pluralized with the [⁹ and (IY)] ت, [because the *n.*, when it ends in the ⁹ of femininization, follows the course of that which contains the ⁹ of femininization, on account of their agreement in being *aug.* and in importing the sense of femininization (IY),] except the ⁹فَعْلَاء of ⁹أَفْعَلٌ [234, 249] and the ⁹فَعْلَى of ⁹فَعْلَانٌ [234, 250] (SYI) : and

[thus], when *paucity* is meant, ذَفَرِيَّاتُ [pl. of ذَفَرَى (IY,BS), like عَلَقِيَّاتُ (BS) pl. of عَلَقَى], حُبْلِيَّاتُ [pl. of حُبْلَى (IY)], الصُّغْرِيَّاتُ [pl. of الصُّغْرَى (IY), خَبْرَاوَاتُ (S) pl. of خَبْرَاءُ (Jh,KF)], صَكْرَاوَاتُ [pl. of صَكْرَاءُ (IY), عَشْرَاوَاتُ pl. of عَشْرَاءُ, and نَفْسَاوَاتُ pl. of نَفْسَاءُ (S)] are said (S,M) ; but not حَمْرَاوَاتُ, while the Prophet's saying لَيْسَ فِي حَمْرَاوَاتٍ صَدَقَةٌ [234] is because it is treated as a substantive (M), since [by greens] he means *vegetables* [below] (IY). The فَعْلَاءُ [fem. (D)] of أَفْعَلُ is not pluralized with the ا and ت, nor its *masc.* with the ه and ن (I,IY), because it is not conformable to the *v.* : for *eps.* are of two kinds, (1) conformable to the *v.*, like ضَارِبٌ and ضَارِبَةٌ [343] ; and (2) not conformable [to the *v.*], like ضَارِبٌ and its like : and the first kind takes the sound *pl.*, as قَاتِبُونَ and قَاتِبَاتٌ in the *masc.* [247], and ضَارِبُونَ and ضَارِبَاتٌ in the *fem.* [247], because, being conformable to the *v.*, it is assimilated to the form of the *v.*, to which the *pron.* of the *pl.* is attached, since the *v.* is preserved, being altered by means of what is attached to it ; so that ضَارِبُونَ is treated like يَضْرِبُونَ, and ضَارِبَاتٌ like يَضْرِبْنَ : while the second kind does not take the sound *pl.*, except by poetic license, as فَمَا وَجَدْتُ أَحَدًا [234,249], though IK used to say "I do not see any harm in it"

(IY). This is subject to the condition that فَعْلَاءُ be not transferred to the *cat.* of the substantive, really, like سَوْدَاءُ *Saudá*, when it is made a proper name ; or virtually, like خَضْرَاءُ in the tradition لَيْسَ أَلْحِ [above], because it is so prevalently applied to *vegetables* that it includes the *green* and others : and خَضْرَاوَاتُ, as it occurs in the tradition, has been expressly declared to be correct, for Mb says so in the Mukṭadab ; but, as for خَضْرَاوَاتُ with Damm of the خ, which is current upon the tongues of men, there is said in the TT to be no reason for it, while some say that the correct form of it is خَضْرَاتُ *pl.* of خَضْرَةٌ *a green plant* (CD). And for the same reason the فَعْلَى of فَعْلَانُ does not take the sound *pl.* with the ا and ت, nor its *masc.* the [sound] *pl.* with the , and ن (IY). When the ا [of feminization (IY,R)] is fifth, the *n.* containing it (M,R), if it be prolonged, may be pluralized with the ا and ت ; or, the ا being elided, may take the ultimate *pl.*, as قَوَاصِعُ and خَنَافِسُ *pls.* of قَاصِعَاءُ and جَلَائِلُ, قَرَائِشُ, بَرَائِكُ [247] ; and similarly جَلَوَاءُ, قَرِيئَاءُ, and بَرَائِكَاءُ [246], but, if it be abbreviated (R), is pluralized, [says S, only (IY,R)] with the [ا and (R)] ت (M,R), as حَبَارِيَاتُ [*pl.* of حَبَارَى *a bustard* (IY)] and سَمَائِيَّاتُ (M) *pl.* of سَمَائَى *a quail*, even if you mean *multitude* (IY), because, if you said حَبَاكِرُ

[and سَمَائِنُ after eliding the 1 of feminization (IY)], or حَبَارَى [and سَمَانَى after eliding the 1st 1 (IY)], the former would be liable to be mistaken for the *pl.* of فَعَالَةٌ [246], and the latter for the *pl.* of [فَعَالَى or (R)] فَعَالَاءَ [above] (IY,R). IM, however, mentions in the Tasbil that فَعَائِلُ is *pl.* of such as حَبَارَى [378] and حَرَابِيَّةٌ [stout, inclining to shortness (Dm)], if the augment after their 1 be elided [253]; and apparently it is regular in what is commensurable with these words; while he restricts حَبَارَى and حَرَابِيَّةٌ to the case where the 2nd of their two *augs.* is elided, in which you say حَبَائِرُ [above] and حَرَائِبُ, only in order to exclude the case where the 1st of the two *augs.* is elided, in which you say حَبَارٍ [above] and حَرَابٍ (A).

§ 249. أَفْعَلُ, (1) when a substantive, has one paradigm [of broken *pl.*], أَفَاعِلُ, as أَجَادِلُ [235, 248, 253] (M), أَفَاكِلُ [248], أَيَادِعُ, and أَرَانِبُ, *pls.* of أَجْدَلُ hawk [372], أَفَكَلُ a fit of quaking or shivering [369, 372, 672], أَيَدَعُ a kind of red gum [672], and أَرْنَبُ a hare [18, 672], because, being like the *quad.* in number [of letters], it takes the *pl.* thereof [245], so that أَفَاكِلُ is like جَعَانِرُ [248]: (a) every *tril.* substantive beginning with an *aug.* Hamza taken the broken *pl.* أَفَاعِلُ, even if its vowels vary

[255], as أَثَامِدُ *pl.* of إِثِيدُ [372], أَبْلَمُ *pl.* of أَبْلَمُ, and أَصَابِعُ *pl.* of إِصْبَعُ [253] (IY) : (2) when an *ep.*, has 3 paradigms, (a) فَعْلٌ (M), which is the [regular (R) broken (S, R)] *pl.* of [every (IY)] أَفْعَلُ [when it is an *ep.* (S), whose *fem.* is فَعْلَاءُ (IY, R)], as حُمْرٌ (S, M), خُضْرٌ, بَيْضٌ, سُودٌ (S), and صُفْرٌ (IY), *pls.* of أَحْمَرُ *red* (S, IY), أَخْضَرُ *green*, أَبْيَضُ *white*, أَسْوَدُ *black* (S), and أَصْفَرُ *yellow* (IY) ; and of its *fem.* (S, R), as حُمْرٌ and صُفْرٌ, *pls.* of حَمْرَاءُ and صَفْرَاءُ [248] (S) : (a) they assimilate it to فَعُولٌ (S, IY on § 248), where they say صُبْرٌ *pl.* of صَبُورٌ and عَجَلٌ *pl.* of عَجُولٌ [246] (IY), because it is a *tril.* (S, IY), as فَعُولٌ is (IY) ; and contains an *aug.*, as فَعُولٌ does ; and the number of its letters is like the number of the letters of فَعُولٌ (S) : (b) its ع may not be pronounced with Damm, except by poetic license (S, IY on § 249, R) : (b) فُعْلَانُ (M), which [often (S, R)] occurs as *pl.* of this أَفْعَلُ (S, IY, R), as حُمْرَانُ *red* (S, M, R), بَيْضَانُ *white*, سُودَانُ *black* (S, IY, R), شُمْطَانُ *having grizzled hair* (S, IY on § 248), and أَدْمَانُ *tawny* (S) : the poet says

وَمَعْرَى هَدْبًا يَغْلُو * قِرَانِ الْأَرْضِ سُودَانَا

[673] *And shaggy goats that mount the hillocks of the ground, black* (IY on § 249) : (a) that is because, since they give it the *pl.* فَعْلٌ, like the *pl.* of the unaugmented [*ep.* فَعْلٌ], they give it the *pl.* فُعْلَانُ also, like وَغْدَانُ *pl.* of وَغْدٌ

mean or sordid, and weak [239] (IY on § 248) : (b) **فَعْلَانُ** is dependent upon memory as *pl.* of the **أَفْعَلُ** of **فَعْلَاءَ**, like **سُودَانُ** *pl.* of **أَسْوَدُ** *black* and **عُمَيَّانُ** *pl.* of **أَعْمَى** *blind* (A) : (c) **أَفَاعِلُ**, as **الأَصَاغِرُ** *the smallest* (M). The *ep.* is either the **أَفْعَلُ** of **فَعْلَاءَ** or the **أَفْعَلُ** of **الْفُعْلَى** (R) : but only the **أَفْعَلُ** whose *fem.* is **فُعْلَى** takes the *pl.* **أَفَاعِلُ** (M), because this **أَفْعَلُ**, when synarthrous [356], follows the course of the substantive, and therefore takes the broken *pl.* of substantives (IY on § 249). And, says S (Jh), we have heard the Arabs say **الأَصَاغِرُ** (S, Jh), as you say **الْقَشَاعِمَةُ** [265] and **صَيَارِفَةُ** [253] (S). And you say **الأَصْغَرُونَ** (S, Jh) and **الْأَكْبَرُونَ** (S), [because] it takes the [sound (IY)] *pl.* with the **و**, and **ن** also (M), as XVIII. 103. [85, 248] (S, M), the **و** and **ن** and the broken *pl.* being combined here, as **فُعْلُ** and **فَعْلَانُ** are combined [in the **أَفْعَلُ** of **فَعْلَاءَ**] (S). When an *ep.*, such as **أَحْمَدُ** and **أَسْعَدُ**, is used as a [proper] name, it becomes a substantive, and takes the [broken] *pl.* of substantives, as **أَحَامِدُ** and **أَسَاعِدُ**; and the sound *pl.* also, as **أَحْمَدُونَ** and **أَسْعَدُونَ**; because the sense of qualification is removed from it by its use as a [proper] name (IY). But **أَحْمَرُونَ** is not said [234], in order that it may be distinguished from the **أَفْعَلُ** of superiority; nor **حَبْرَاوَاتُ** [234], because the *fem.* is subordinate to the *masc.* (SH) : though **أَفْعَلُونَ** and

فَمَا وَجَدَتْ أَحْمَ are allowable by poetic license, as [234, 248], and IK allows that in a case of choice (R) ; while الْخَضِرَاتُ occurs [248], because of its prevalence as a substantive (SH), since the prevalence of application kills the sense of qualification (R). And, as for the saying [of AlA'shà, when threatened with death by 'Alkama Ibn 'Ulātha Ibn 'Auf Ibn AlAḥwaṣ (IY, AKB) Ibn Ja'far Ibn Kilāb Ibn Rabī'a Ibn 'Āmir Ibn Ṣa'sa'a alKilābī al'Āmirī aṣṢaḥābī (AKB)]

أَتَانِي رَعِيدُ الْكُوصِ مِنْ آلِ جَعْفَرٍ * فَيَا عَبْدَ عَمْرٍو لَوْ نَهَيْتَ الْأَحَاوِصَا
[The threat of the Aḥwaṣes (meaning the children of Rabī'a Ibn Ja'far, named Al Aḥwaṣ because of a narrowness in his eye), of the race of Ja'far, has come to me. Then, O 'Abd 'Amr Ibn Shuraiḥ Ibn AlAḥwaṣ, if thou hadst forbidden the Aḥwaṣes, (it would have been better for them), 'Abd 'Amr being addressed because he was then their chief (AKB)], the two sides of qualificativity and substantivity [240] are regarded in it (M). رَعِيدُ الْكُوصِ being orig. of the cat. of أَحْمَرُ, its pl. is رُعُلٌ : but, when it is made a proper name, its pl. may be (1) أَفَاعِلُ, like that of the substantive أَفْعَلُ ; (2) رُعُلٌ from regard to the o. f. ; (3) أَفْعَلُونَ when it is a proper name of the rational [masc.] ; (4) أَفْعَلَاتُ when it is a proper name of the fem. [234]. And أَرْمَلٌ and أَرْمَلَاتُ are allowable as pls. of such as أَرْمَلٌ

needy and **أَرْمَلَةٌ** [18], because they are like **ضَارِبُونَ** and **ضَارِبَاتٌ** [234, 247] (R) ; while **أَرَامِلٌ** [or **أَرَامِلَةٌ** (KF)] is the [broken] *pl.* of **أَرْمَلٌ** and **أَرْمَلَةٌ** (T, KF), because it applies to the *masc.* and *fem.* (T) , **أَرَامِلُ** , says ISk, being the *needy*, both men and women (Jh).

§ 250. When **فَعْلَانٌ** is a substantive, its [broken (IY)] *pl.* is **فَعَالِينُ** (M, R), as **شَيَْاطِينُ** [*pl.* of **شَيْطَانٌ** a *devil* (IY)], **سَلَاطِينُ** [*pl.* of **سُلْطَانٌ** a *sovereign* (IY)], and **سَرَّاحِينُ** (M) *pl.* of **سِرْحَانٌ** a *wolf* (IY), whether it be quiescent in the ع , [as mentioned (MASH)] ; or mobile, as **وَرَّاشِينُ** [*pl.* of **وَرَّاشَانٌ** a *kind of pigeon*, **طَرَّابِينُ** [*pl.* of (MASH)] **السَّبْعَانُ** [236, 385], and **طَرَّابِينُ** [*pl.* of (MASH)] **طَرَبَانُ** [237, 248, 385] (R, MASH) : because, being a *tril.* substantive co-ordinated with he [augmented] *quad.*, it must have the same *pl.* as what it is co-ordinated with [253] (IY) ; unless it be a coined proper name, like **سَلْمَانُ** , **عُثْمَانُ** , and **غُطَفَانُ** [4], because the broken *pl.* is deemed strange in the coined, contrary to the transferred, which was previously familiar with the broken *pl.*, especially when the coined contains the [aug.] ا and ن , which ought to be preserved because of their resemblance to the [prolonged] ا of feminization [248, 282] (R). And they say **سِرَّاحٌ**

(S, M, SH) and ضِبَاعٌ (S, R) in the [broken (IY)] pl. of سِرْحَانٌ (IY, R) and ضِبْعَانٌ a male hyena, by assimilation to غِرَاتٌ pl. of غَرْتَانٌ [below] ; and طِرْبِي also in the pl. of طِرْبَانٌ (R). And فَعْلَانٌ strangely occurs [as pl. of فَعْلَانٌ (CD)] in كِرْوَانٌ pl. of كَرْوَانٌ, as says Dhu-rRumma, [praising Bilāl (Mb, SM, CD) Ibn Abi Burda Ibn Abi Mūsà alAsh'arī (SM, CD),]

وَلَكِنِّي أَتَيْتُ مِنْ جَانِبَيْ قَسَا * أَرْزُقْتِي نَجْدًا كَرِيمًا يَمَانِيَا
مِنْ آلِ أَبِي مُوسَى تَرَى الْقَوْمَ حَوْلَهُ * كَأَنَّهُمُ الْكِرْوَانُ أَبْصَرْنَ بَارِيَا
[But I have arrived from the two sides of Kāsā, visiting an exalted generous Yamānī youth of the family of Abū Mūsā, such that thou wilt see the people flocking round him, as though they were partridges, that have seen, or when they have seen, a hawk or falcon (SM)] ; and some mention that صَفْوَانٌ a stone takes the pl. صَفْوَانٌ (D). IBr says that other words of this measure occur, besides what H mentions, vid. (1) وَرْشَانٌ [above], pl. وَرْشَانٌ ; (2) فَلْتَانٌ lively, spirited, said of a horse, pl. فَلْتَانٌ ; (3) صَبِيَانٌ sharp in affairs, [pl. صِلْتَانٌ (Md)] ; (4) صَبِيَانٌ brave, bold, [pl. صَبِيَانٌ (Md)] ; (5) شَقْدَانٌ a male chameleon, [pl. شَقْدَانٌ (KF)] ; (6) غَذِيَانٌ lively, cheerful said of a man, pl. غَذِيَانٌ (Md), which seems from the context to

have been accidentally omitted from the CD] : so that these [six], together with كَرَوَانٌ and صَفَوَانٌ mentioned by H, make eight. IA says, in his Commentary [named AlMusā'id (HKh)] on the Tashīl [of IM (HKh)], "S says "that they say كَرَوَانٌ ; and for the pl. كِرَوَانٌ, which is only "the broken pl. of كَرَا, like إِخْوَانٌ [255] : but this is "a mistake, for it is only in the prov. [below] that they "say كَرَا, which is curtailed ; and the pl. of كَرَوَانٌ ought by "analogy to be كِرَاوِينٌ [below]". What is [here] transmitted, however, from S is approved in the Muḥkam by ISd ; and he is followed by the author of the KF : and what IA asserts as to S's mistake [requires consideration], because, even if it were admitted that كَرَا in the prov. is curtailed, this would not harm S ; since he means that كَرَوَانٌ is pl. of an assumed sing., conformable to analogy : and this is expressly declared by Mb, who says in the Kāmīl (CD), كِرَوَانٌ is pl. of كَرَوَانٌ, which is a well-known bird ; and this pl. does not belong to this substantive when complete ; but is formed by elision of the augment, كِرَوَانٌ being assumed to be pl. of كَرَا, like إِخْوَانٌ pl. of أَخٌ [239,260], دِرْزَانٌ pl. of دَرَزٌ [247] (Mb, CD), and بِرْتَانٌ pl. of بَرَقٌ a lamb [237] (Mb) ; and كَرَوَانٌ is similarly treated in the sing., as say the Arabs in one of their provs. [applied to the self-conceited (CD)]

أَطْرِقْ كَرًا أَطْرِقْ كَرًا * إِنَّ النَّعَامَ فِي الْقُرَى

(Mb, CD) *Lower thy neck, partridge ! Lower thy neck, partridge ! Verily the ostriches are in the towns, i. e., contract thine eyelids, for verily the great are in the towns, the partridge being a low bird (AKB), meaning the كَرَوَان (Mb). And, according to what is mentioned by S, and approved by Mb, this is not strange, extraordinary, as H says (CD). The كَرَا is variously said to be the كَرَوَان itself, and to be curtailed from كَرَوَان (Md) The pls. of كَرَوَان are (1) كَرَاوِين, [like وَرَاشِين (Jh)]: (2) كِرَوَان (Jh, KF), contrary to analogy, like وَرْشَان; formed by elision of the augs., as though pl. of كَرَا (Jh). When فَعْلَان is an ep., [and has فَعْلَى (S, IY, R) for its fem. (IY), like سَكْرَان fem. سَكْرَى (R),] its [broken (S)] pls. are (1) فِعَال (S, M, R), as غِضَاب [below] (M), by elision of the augment from its termination, as the ا [of أَتْنَى and رَبَّى (IY)] is elided in [forming] إِنْكَت [248] and رُبَاب, [so that عَجَلَان and عَطْشَان, becoming, as it were, عَجَل and عَطْش, take the pl. فِعَال (IY),] as عِجَال, and غِرَات, pls. of عَجَلَان hasty, عَطْشَان thirsty, and غَرْنَان hungry (S, IY), like خِدَال and صِعَاب [239], pls. of خَدَل plump and صَعْب hard, difficult (IY); and similar is [the pl. of (IY, R)] its fem. [248] (S, IY, R): (2) فَعَالَى (S, M, R), because فَعْلَان resem-*

bles **فَعْلَاءَ** [248] through the two *augs.* and the [sense of] qualification (R), as **سَكَارَى** (S, M), **حَيَارَى**, **خَرَايَا**, [and **غِيَارَى** (S),] *pls.* of **سَكْرَانُ** *drunken*, **حَيْرَانُ** *perplexed*; **خَرِيَانُ** *abashed* (S, IY), and **غَيْرَانُ** *jealous* (S) ; and similar is [the *pl.* of (R)] the *fem.* (S, IY, R), as **سَكَارَى** and **خَرَايَا**, *pls.* of **سَكْرَى** and **خَرِيَا** (IY) : (a) they assimilate the **ا** and **ن** to the prolonged **ا** [of femininization, because they are both *aug.* together, and the first of them is a letter of prolongation (IY)] ; so that they say **سَكْرَانُ** *pl.* **سَكَارَى** [and **عَطْشَانُ** *pl.* **عَطَاشَى** (IY)], like **صَحْرَاءُ** *pl.* **صَحَارَى** (IY, R) and **عَذْرَاءُ** *pl.* **عَذَارَى** [248] (IY). And **حَرَامَى**, *pls.* **حَرَامُ** and **حَرَامَى**, is said, because **فَعْلَى** [here] is an *ep.*, like that which has **فَعْلَانُ**, as though, if this [word] were used in the *masc.*, **حَرْمَانُ** would be said [248] (S). And the *pls.* of **فَعْلَانُ** *fem.* **فَعْلَانَةٌ**, [like **نَدْمَانُ** *fem.* **نَدْمَانَةٌ** (R),] are the same as those of **فَعْلَانُ** *fem.* **فَعْلَى** (S, R), as **نَدَامُ** and **نَدَامَى**, *pls.* of **نَدْمَانُ** and **نَدْمَانَةٌ** (S). Neither of the two *pls.* is regular, either in the **فَعْلَانُ** of **فَعْلَى**, or in the **فَعْلَانُ** of **فَعْلَانَةٌ** (R) ; but **فَعْلَالُ** is more frequent (S, IY) than **فَعْلَالَى** (S). The two are sometimes combined in the **فَعْلَانُ** of **فَعْلَانَةٌ**, like **نَدَامُ** and **نَدَامَى** ; [and in the **فَعْلَانُ** of **فَعْلَى**, like **عَطَاشُ** and **عَطَاشَى** ;] but not with the **ا** of femininization, as we

mentioned [248], بِطَاحٌ being said, but not بَطَاحِي ; and مَصَّارِي , but not مَصَّارٌ (R). And they sometimes give some [*eps.*] of this [measure] the broken *pl.* نُعَالِي , as سُكَارِي 'drunken' and عَجَالِي 'hasty' ; while some say [سُكَارِي and] عَجَالِي (S). IH says that [only] (R) four are [optionally (MASH)] pronounced with Damm [of the ف (MASH)], كُسَالِي 'lazy', [*pl.* of كَسَلَانٌ (Jh, KF), *fem.* كَسَلَانَةٌ (KF)], سُكَارِي , عَجَالِي , and غِيَارِي 'jealous' (SH) ; but I have not seen any one [else] restrict نُعَالِي to four. Z indeed says in the M that (R) some of the Arabs say كُسَالِي , سُكَارِي , عَجَالِي , and غِيَارِي with Damm (M, R) : but even in this passage there is no express declaration of restriction ; while in the K on IV. 10. [585] he mentions that (R) صَعَانِي and صَعَانِي are read, like سُكَارِي and سُكَارِي (K, R). This Damm is found in the *pl.* of [some *eps.* of the measure (R)] فَعْلَانُ , exclusively (IY, R), in order that it may be known to be the *pl.* of فَعْلَانُ , not of فَعْلَاءُ (IY), because the ultimate *pl.* as broken *pl.* of فَعْلَانُ is contrary to the *o. f.*, since فَعْلَانُ takes it only because of the resemblance of the ا and ن to the [prolonged] ا of feminization ; so that [the vowel of] the initial of the irregular *pl.* is altered from what it ought to be, in order to notify from the very first that this *pl.* is contrary to rule. Damm is (1) preferable to Fath in كُسَالِي and

سُكَارَى : (2) necessary in the قَدَامَى of the bird, i. e., its *anterior wing-feathers*, and in أُسَارَى [246], *pls. of قَادِمَة* and أُسِيرٌ ; and this shows how very different they are from what the broken *pls.* of these two [*sings.*] ought to be : (3) not allowable in anything else. Some GG, seeing the difference of فُعَالَى from the ultimate *pl.*, by reason of the Damm of the initial, say that it is a *quasi-pl. n.*, like رُبَابٌ [248], قَوْمٌ, and نَفَرٌ ; and is not a broken *pl.* [257]. When an *ep.* is upon the measure فُعْلَانُ, like غُرْيَانُ and خُمْصَانُ, it does not take the *pl.* فُعَالَى, because فُعْلَاءٌ with quiescence of the ع does not occur *fem.* [273], so that فُعْلَانُ should be assimilated to it ; and therefore they say خِمَاصٌ [below] as *pl.* of خُمْصَانُ and خُمْصَانَةٌ, by assimilation to غِرَاثٌ *pl.* of غُرْثَانُ [above] (R). فُعَالٌ is common, [i. e., regular (IA),] as *pl.* of (1) the *ep.* فُعْلَانُ [239] and its two *fems.* (IM), فُعْلَى [*fem.* of the diptote (Sn)] and فُعْلَانَةٌ [*fem.* of the triptote (Sn)], as غَضَابٌ [above], *pl.* of غَضْبَانُ *angry, wrathful* and عَضْبَى, and نِدَامٌ [above], *pl.* of [نِدْمَانٌ *repentant* and (IA)] نِدْمَانَةٌ (IA, A) ; (2) the *ep.* فُعْلَانُ and likewise [its *fem.* (A)] فُعْلَانَةٌ (IM), as خِمَاصٌ [above], *pl.* of خُمْصَانُ *lank-bellied* and خُمْصَانَةٌ (IA, A). IM intimates by his saying "common" that it is not regular ; and so he expressly declares

in the CK : but his language in the Tashīl necessarily implies that it is regular (A) ; and so he expressly declares in the U, as Syt says (Sn). Some of the Arabs say (R), and you may say (S), خُبَصَانُونَ [234] and خُبَصَانَاتُ , [from regard to the fact that خُبَصَانٌ is not of common gender (R)] ; and [similarly (R)] نَدْمَانُونَ (S, R) and نَدْمَانَاتُ (R) ; and عُريَانُونَ [and عُريَانَاتُ], like ظَرِيفُونَ and ظَرِيفَاتُ [246], because the ة is affixed to the *masc.* formation, when you mean to form the *fem.* (S) : but they do not say عَرَاءُ [or عَرَايَا (S)], because they use عَرَاءُ [*pl.* of عَارِ (R)] instead (S, R), since عَرِيْلٌ *naked* [247] and عَارٍ *naked* are synonymous (R). The فَعْلَانُ of فَعْلَى does not take the [sound (R)] *pl.* [with the , and ن (S)], except in poetic license (S, R), because the ة does not occur in its *fem.* (S).

§ 251. فَيْعِلٌ is one of the formations peculiar to the unsound, like the *pl.* فُعْلَةٌ [247] (IY). فَيْعِلٌ occurs only in the unsound in the ع [373], like سَيِّدٌ ; and فَيْعِلٌ only in the sound in the ع, like حَيْدَرٌ *a lion*, except in one word : the poet [Ru'ba (Jh)] says

مَا بَالُ عَيْنِي كَالشَّعِيبِ الْغَيْرِ

[What is the matter with mine eye, that it runs like the dripping water-skin ? (MAR)]. This is the opinion of S, who says that some measures are peculiar to some sorts, as فُعْلَةٌ is peculiar to the *pl.* of the defective, and

فَاعِلٌ to [the *pl.* of] the non-defective (R). فَيَعِلُ, like قِيمٌ *upright*, سَيِّدٌ *a lord*, and بَيْعٌ *a seller*, is treated like فَعَالٌ [252] (S) : and [therefore] its regular [and frequent (IY)] *pl.* is the sound (IY, R), in the *masc.* and *fem.* (R), because it is an *cp.* [239] to whose *fem.* the *ē* is affixed for distinction [265], as مَيِّتٌ *dead*, *fem.* مَيِّتَةٌ, and بَيْعٌ, *fem.* بَيْعَةٌ; and because it is conformable to فَاعِلٌ, since it contains the same number [of letters], and the position of the augment in both [measures] is the same; so that, as the normal *pl.* of فَاعِلٌ is the sound, like ضَارِبُونَ and ضَارِبَاتٌ [247], so the most frequent *pl.* of فَيَعِلُ is the sound (IY). For the *masc.*, then (S), they say (S, M) بَيِّعُونَ (S), هَيِّئُونَ (M), and مَيِّتُونَ (IY); and [for the *fem.* (S)] بَيِّعَاتٌ (S, M), هَيِّئَاتٌ, and مَيِّتَاتٌ: and in tradition is أَلْمُؤْمِنُونَ هَيِّئُونَ لَيِّنُونَ *The believers are quiet, gentle* [below] (IY). And they say هَيِّنٌ *pl.* هَيِّنُونَ and لَيِّنٌ *pl.* لَيِّنُونَ, because فَيَعِلُ is abbreviated, and subjected to elision [703] (S); and similarly مَيِّتُونَ and مَيِّتَاتٌ are abbreviated by elision of the ع (R). In فِيهِنَّ خَيْرَاتٌ حَسَنَاتٌ LV. 70. *Therein shall be good, beautiful maidens* خَيْرَاتٌ means خَيْرَاتٌ, being abbreviated (K, B), as in the Prophet's saying هَيِّنُونَ لَيِّنُونَ [above] (K); while خَيْرَاتٌ is read,

according to the o. f. (K, B) : and in the saying of Sabra Ibn 'Amr alAsadī [alFak'asī (T)], lamenting 'Amr Ibn Mas'ūd [alAsadī (SR)] and Khālīd Ibn Naḍla [alAsadī (SR, IATH)]

أَلَا بَكَرَ النَّاعِي بِخَيْرِي بَنِي أَسَدٍ * بِعَمْرٍو بَنِي مَسْعُودٍ وَبِالسَّيِّدِ الصَّمَدِ

Now the herald has come early in the morning with the tidings of the death of the two good men of the Banu Asad, of 'Amr Ibn Mas'ūd and of the sovereign lord, the poet means خَيْرِي ; and then abbreviates it, like مَيِّت and مَيِّت ,

and هَيِّن and هَيِّن (Jh). When فَيَعِل is meant to have a

broken pl., it is made to accord with some other [measure] containing the same number of letters (IY) The

broken pls. of فَيَعِل , [like مَيِّت (SH),] are (1) أُنْعَال (1) , [in the

masc. and fem. (R),] like أَمَوَات (S, M, SH), pl. of (a) مَيِّت

(S, IY, R), فَيَعِل being assimilated to فَاعِل , like أَشْهَادُ

pl. of شَاهِد [246] (S, IY), by elision of the aug., as though

مَوَات remained, and then they said أَمَوَات , like أَسْوَاتُ

pl. of سَوَّط a whip [242] and أَحَوَاضُ pl. of حَوْضُ a cistern

[below] (IY) : (b) مَيِّتَة (S, IY, R), which is like the

masc. (S, IY), because in forming the broken pl. you elide

the ة (IY) : (a) similarly they say أَحْيَاءُ pl. of [حَيّ living

and (IY, R)] هَيِّت , and أَنْفَاءُ [239], pl. of نَفْسُ and

(IY, R)] نَفْسُ (S, IY, R), and أَنْفَاءُ [239] pl. of نَفْسُ and

(R) [نِقْضَةٌ] (S, R), that being frequent (IY) ; and like [أَنْفَسَاءُ] *pl. of* نِضْوَةٌ is نِسْوَانُ *pl. of* نِسْوَةٌ *women* [255], as though broken *pl. of* نِسْوٌ (S) : (b) they say [أَقْوَالُ], and sometimes (IY) [أَقْيَالُ], as *pl. of* قَيْلٌ *a king* (S, IY), *orig.* قَيْلٌ, which is فَعِيلٌ from الْقَوْلُ, being said of the *king* because of the execution of his *word* : so he that says أَقْوَالُ pluralizes it according to the *o. f.*, like أَمَرَاتُ *pl. of* مَرِيَّةٌ ; while he that says أَقْيَالُ pluralizes it according to its form ; but the first is the right way (IY) : and [they say (IY)] أَكْيَاسُ *pl. of* كَيْسٌ (S, IY), meaning كَيْسٌ *clever*, upon the measure of فَعِيلٌ, as is shown by their often pluralizing it with the ن (IY) ; for, [the broken *pl.* being more frequent in فَعْلٌ, and the و and ن in فَعِيلٌ (S),] if كَيْسٌ and قَيْلٌ were فَعْلٌ, [and not *orig.* فَعِيلٌ (S),] the broken *pl.* would be more usual, like صِعَابٌ, [خِدَالٌ, and فِسَالٌ (S),] in the *pl. of* صَعْبٌ (S, IY), خَدَلٌ, and فَسَلٌ [239, 250] (S) : (2) فَعَالٌ, like حِيَادٌ (S, M, SH), *pl. of* حَيِّدٌ *excellent* (S, IY), and طَيِّبٌ *pl. of* طَيِّبٌ *nice* (S), فَعِيلٌ being assimilated to فَاعِلٌ (IY), like حِيَاعٌ and تَحَارٌ [247] (S) : (a) similarly they say سَادَةٌ as *pl. of* سَيِّدٌ, like قَادَةٌ *pl. of* قَائِدٌ *a leader* and حَاكَةٌ *pl. of* حَاكٌ *a weaver* [247] (IY) : (3) أَنْفَعَاءُ, like أَبِيْنَاءُ (S, M, SH), *pl. of* بَيِّنٌ *fluent, eloquent* (S), and

أَهْوَنَاءُ *pl.* of هَيِّنٌ [714] (S, IY) ; while Jr transmits أَجْدَاءُ *pl.* of جَيْدٌ (IY) : (a) S says that فَعِيلٌ takes the *pl.* أَفْعَلَاءُ only because of its affinity to فَعِيلٌ in number of letters, as it is made to accord with فَاعِلٌ in such as سَادَةٌ and جَيَادٌ [above] ; and with فَعُلٌ in such as أَمَوَاتٌ [above], أَكْيَاسٌ, and أَقْوَالٌ, since فَعِيلٌ, being often abbreviated by elision of the ع, becomes like فَعُلٌ in vowel and quiescence (R). And sometimes فَعِيلٌ occurs in the *masc.* and *fem.* alike, as بَلَدَةٌ مَيِّتًا L.11. *And We quicken therewith a dead land* and نَاقَةٌ رِيضٌ a *restive she-camel* [269] : ArRā'ī says

وَكَاَنَّ رِيضَهَا إِذَا يَاسَرْتَهَا * كَانَتْ مُعَوَّدَةً لِّلرَّحِيلِ ذُلُولًا

And as though the restive one of them, when thou art gentle with her, were accustomed to the journey, well broken (S).

§ 252. The sound *pl.* is considered sufficient in (I) حُسَانُونَ, [and شَرَابَاتٌ (IY)], شَرَابُونَ, فَعَالٌ, فُعَالٌ, and فَعِيلٌ, as [and فَسَيَقَاتٌ (S, M, SH)], فَسَيَقُونَ, [and حُسَانَاتٌ (IY)], and حُسَانُونَ, these being intensive formations, which are not of common gender, the ة being affixed to them because of their resemblance to مُفْعَلٌ in letter through the reduplication, and in sense through the intensiveness (R) ; so that these three measures have no broken *pl.* (S, M, R, Jrh) : (a) they treat فَعَالٌ [251] like

مُفْعَلٌ [below], because both are intensive, مُفْعَلٌ being conformable to فَعَلَ, as كَسَرَ *he broke in pieces, act. part.* مُكْسِرٌ, and قَطَعَ *he cut to pieces, act. part.* مُقَطِّعٌ [489]; and because the ة of feminization is affixed to مُفْعَلٌ, as مُكْسِرَةٌ and مُقَطِّعَةٌ, and فَعَالٌ is similar, as شَرَّابٌ *great drinker* and شَرَّابَةٌ: so that you say قَتَّالُونَ *slaughterers* and قَتَّالَاتٌ, as you say مُقَتِّلُونَ and مُقَتِّلَاتٌ: (b) the predicament of فَعَالٌ, as حَسَّانٌ *very beautiful*, كَرَّامٌ *very generous*, قَرَّاءٌ *a devotee*, and وَضَّاءٌ *clean*, in the pl. is the same as that of فَعَالٌ, because it is like فَعَالٌ in intensiveness, and the ة is affixed to its fem.: AshShammākh says
 دَارُ الْفَتَاةِ الَّتِي كُنَّا نَقُولُ لَهَا * يَا ظَبِيَّةَ عَطَلَا حَسَّانَةَ الْحَجِيدِ
 [The abode, or (I mean) the abode, of the girl, to whom we were wont to say, O doe-gazelle unadorned, very beautiful in the neck, where, says S, دَار is governed in the occ. by subaudition of أَعْنَى, and there is a version with the nom. (Jh)]: (c) فَعِيلٌ, as فَسَّيْقٌ *profligate*, شَرِّيبٌ *wine-bibber*, and سَكَّيرٌ *drunkard*, is like that, because it is like فَعَالٌ in intensiveness, and the ة of feminization is affixed to its fem. (IY): (d) similarly فَعَلٌ, like زَمَلٌ *cowardly* and جَبَأٌ *afraid, fearful*, and فَعِيلٌ, like زَمِيلٌ *cowardly* [and سُكَيْتٌ *taciturn* (253)], being intensive paradigms, to which

the ة is affixed for the *fem.* (R)], have [only (R)] the sound *pl.* : (e) as for [the intensive formations (R)] مَفْعَالٌ, [like مَهْدَارٌ *babbler* (R)], مَفْعِيلٌ, [like مَخْضِيرٌ *running hard* (R)], مَفْعَلٌ, [like مَدْعَسٌ *piercing much with the lance*, فَعَالٌ, like صَنَاعٌ *clever, skilful, in work*, فَعَالٌ, like هِجَانٌ *white, well-bred camel*, and فَعُولٌ, like صَبُورٌ *very patient* (R)], they are of common gender [269] (S, R) ; and not one of them has a sound *pl.*, except in poetic license: and we have mentioned the broken *pls.* of فَعَالٌ, فَعَالٌ and فَعُولٌ when *eps.* [246] (R) ; while the broken *pl.* of مَفْعَالٌ and مَفْعِيلٌ is مَفَاعِيلٌ, like مَقَالِيْتُ *pl.* of مَقَلَّتْ a she-camel *that brings forth one, and afterwards does not conceive*, and a woman *no child of whom lives*, [and مَهَادِيرٌ *pl.* of مَهْدَارٌ (S)], مَاشِيرٌ *pl.* of مَشِيرٌ *lively, spirited she-camel or courser* [and مَخَاضِيرٌ *pl.* of مَخْضِيرٌ (S)] ; and [similarly (S) the *pl.* of (R)] مَفْعَلٌ [is مَفَاعِلٌ (R)], like مَدَاعِيسٌ *pl.* of مَدْعَسٌ [and مَقَاوِلٌ *pl.* of مَقُولٌ *talkative* (S)] : but they say مَسْكِينُونَ [and مَسْكِينَاتٌ (R)] because they say مَسْكِينٌ [and (R)] فَقِيرَةٌ by assimilation to فَقِيرٌ and (R)] فَقِيرَةٌ [234] (S, R) ; while they say مَسَاكِينٌ, as they say مَاشِيرٌ (S) : (2) مَفْعُولٌ, مَفْعِلٌ, and مَفْعَلٌ, as مَضْرُوبُونَ *beaten* (S, M, SH), مَكْرُمُونَ *honoring*, and مَكْرُومُونَ *honored*

(M, SII), i. e., every *act. part.* or *pass. part.* that is conformable to the *v.*, and whose initial is [an *aug.*] م [676], its normal *pl.* being the sound, because of its resemblance to the *v.* in letter and sense (R): (a) مَفْعُولٌ, like مَضْرُوبٌ *beaten*, is treated like فَعَالٌ, because it is virtually conformable to the *v.* [347] ; and because the ة of femininization is affixed to it, as مَضْرُوبَةٌ : and therefore its normal *pl.* is the sound, as إِنَّهُمْ لَهُمُ الْمَنصُورُونَ XXXVII. 172. *Verily they, assuredly they are the holpen* and مَلْعُونِينَ أَيْنَمَا ثَقِفُوا أَخِذُوا XXXIII. 61. *Accursed, wherever they be found, they shall be taken, and slaughtered with great slaughter* : (b) similarly what is [actually] conformable to the *v.*, like مَفْعَلٌ [above] and مَفْعَلٌ, as مُكْسِرٌ *breaking in pieces* and مُكْسَرٌ *broken in pieces*, مُكْسِرٌ being an *act. part.* conformable to the *act.* [aor.] يُكْسِرُ [343], and مُكْسَرٌ a *pass. part.* conformable to the *pass.* [aor.] يُفْعَلُ [347] ; and the ة of femininization being affixed to its *fem.* (IY) : while مُخْتَارٌ and مُنْقَادٌ [also] are like مَضْرُوبٌ ; so that مُخْتَارُونَ and مُنْقَادُونَ are said, and they do not form a broken *pl.* : so IM mentions in the U ; and it involves a contradiction of A's assertion that مَخَاثِرٌ and مَنَافِدٌ are said [253] (Sn). But they say (1) عَوَازِيرُ (S, M, SH) as *pl.* of عَوَازٍ a coward (S, IY, R), assimilating it to نَقَائِزُ *pl.* of نَقَازٌ a kind of

small sparrow (S), because they treat it as a substantive (IY, R), since they seldom qualify the *fem.* by it (S) ; for they do not say عَوَّارَةٌ of a woman, because bravery and cowardice are [mostly (R)] qualities of men (IY, R) : AlA'shà says

جُنْدُكَ الطَّارِفُ التَّلِيدُ مِنْ أَلْسَا * دَابِ أَهْلِ آلِهَبَاتٍ وَأَلَا كَالِ

غَيْرِ مِيلٍ وَلَا عَوَّارٍ فِي آلِهَيْجَا * وَلَا عُرْلٍ وَلَا أَكْفَالِ

Thy host, old and new, of chiefs worthy of grants and of the portions of the spoil set aside for the chiefs, are not afraid, nor cowards in war, nor weaponless, nor unable to keep their seats on horseback (IY) ; and in poetry you may say عَوَّارُ [715], as says Labīd

وَفِي كُلِّ يَوْمٍ ذِي حِفَاطٍ يَلُومُنِي * فَقُمْتُ مَقَامًا لَمْ تَقُمْهُ الْعَوَّارُ

And, on every day containing an occasion of defence, he upbraids me : therefore have I stood, or may I stand, in a place that cowards stand not in ! (Jh) : this, then, is anomalous in فَعَالٌ (IY) : (2) in the *pass. part.* of the [unaugmented] *tril.* [482] (R), مَلَاعِيْنُ, [مِيَامِيْنُ (M, SH),] and مَشَاتِيْمُ (S, M, SH) as says the poet [AlAkhwaṣalYarbū'ī (AKB)] [426] (IY), and [similarly (R)] مَلْعُونٌ and مَكْسِيرٌ, as [broken (IY)] *pls.* of مَلْعُونٌ accursed, [مَيْمُونٌ fortunate (IY, R),] مَشْرُومٌ ill-omened, مَكْسُورٌ broken, and مَسْلُوحَةٌ a skinned carcass of a sheep or goat (S, IY, R), as though assimilating them to the substantive

(S, IY) of this measure (S), [i. e.,] of five letters, the fourth of which is a letter of prolongation and softness [253] (IY), like مَغَارِيذُ pl. of مَغْرُودٌ a kind of truffle [379] (IY, R) and بَهَائِلُ pl. of بَهْلُولٌ a noble : and this is anomalous in مَفْعُولٌ (IY) : (3) in the masc. مَفْعِلٌ [or مَفْعَلٌ] (R), مَيَاسِيرُ, مَقَاطِيرُ, and مَنَاقِيرُ (S, M, SH), as pls. of مَوْسِرٌ wealthy [686, 710], مَفْطِرٌ breaking his fast (S, IY, R, Jrb), and مَنِكِرٌ (IY, R), act. part. of أَنْكَرَ (IY), [or] مَنَكَّرٌ cunning (S), making the ي obligatory in them, in order to manifest that their broken pl. is contrary to rule, analogy requiring the sound pl. (R) ; [but] مَيَاسِيرُ in فَاسْتَقْدِرَ آلَهُ الْحَقُّ [204] is pl. of مَيْسُورٌ i. q. يُسَّرُ ease, prosperity [333] (SM) : (4) in the مَفْعِلٌ peculiar to the fem. (S, R), and not having the ة affixed to it (S), مَطَانِذُ, مَشَادِنُ (S, M, SH), and مَرَاصِعُ (R), as pls. of مَطِفٌ a mother having a little one with her, مُشَدِنٌ a doe-gazelle whose young one has grown strong, and become able to do without its mother (S, IY), and مَرْفَعٌ suckling (K, B on XXVIII. 11.), because this cat., [being mostly denuded of the ة, has no sound pl., but (R)] takes the [broken (S)] pl. (S, R) مَفَاعِلُ ; though it sometimes occurs with the ة also, as مُتَلٍ and مُتَلِيَةٌ, said of a she-camel, followed by her little one,

and مُنْجَر and مُنْجَرِيَّة, said of a bitch, *having a whelp or puppy*, the ة being expressed in the defective from fear of catachresis through elision of the sign of feminization and of the J of the word (R) : and [they allow the addition of ي in the pl. of this fem., in order that it may be a quasi-compensation for the supplied ة ; so that (R)] they [sometimes (S, IY)] say مَطَائِلُ, مَشَادِينُ (S, IY, R), and مَرَاصِيعُ (R), irregularly (S, IY) : (a) the ي in مَطَائِلُ is an impletion, as in the saying [of AlFarazdaq, describing his she-camel (AKB),]

تَنْفَى يَدَاهَا الْكَصَى فِي كُلِّ هَاجِرَةٍ * نَفَى الدَّرَاهِيمِ تَنْقَادُ الصَّيَارِيفِ
[339] (BS) *Her two forelegs scatter the pebbles in every hot noon, with the scattering of the dirhams by the testing of the money-changers* (Jsh, EC, AKB, J), the evidence being in الصَّيَارِيفِ, pl. of صَيَّرَفَ [253] ; while الدَّرَاهِيمِ is pl. of دِرْهَمٌ a dial. var. of دِرْهَمٌ, as

لَوْ كَانَ عِنْدِي مِائَتَا دِرْهَامٍ * لَأَبْتَعْتُ دَارًا فِي بَنِي حَرَامٍ

If I had two hundred dirhams, I would buy a mansion among the Banu Harām (BS) : (b) it may be omitted, as وَحَرَّمْنَا عَلَيْهِ الْمَرَاعِجَ XXVIII. 11. *And We forbade him the suckling women and* جَنَى النَّحْلِ فِي أَلْبَانِ الْحِمْ [below] (R). آمَسَتْ سَعَادٌ بِأَرْضِ الْحِمْ in Ka'b's saying [452] is pl. of مَرْسَالٌ, which is مِفْعَالٌ from رَسَلَتْ a she-camel

quick in returning the two-forelegs in journeying ; and the counterpart of it is the pl. of مِطْعَانُ , مِطْعَامُ and مِجْزَاعُ : the poet says

مَطَاعِينَ فِي الْهَيْجَا مَطَاعِيمُ فِي الْقَرَى
إِذَا أَصْفَرَّ آفَاقُ السَّمَاءِ مِنَ الْقُرْسِ

Spearing much in war, entertaining much in hospitality,
when the regions of the sky become yellow from intense
cold ; and Ka'b says in this ode

لَا يَفْرَحُونَ إِذَا نَالَتْ رِمَاحُهُمْ * قَوْمًا وَلَيْسُوا مَجَارِيعًا إِذَا نِيلُوا
They rejoice not when their spears reach a hostile people,
nor are they given to repining when they are reached
by the foe, making مَجَارِيْعُ triptote by poetic license [18] :
and the ep. beginning with م is debarred from the broken
pl. in only two cases, (1) when it is upon the measure of
مَفْعُولُ , like مَضْرُوبُ , such as مَلَاعِينُ and مَشَائِيمُ being ano-
malous : (2) when the م is pronounced with Damm, like
مُكْرِمُ and مُنْطَلِقُ [253] ; but from this are excepted the
مُفْعِلُ and مُفْعِلُ peculiar to the fem., like مُرْضِعُ suckling
and مُكْعِبُ having swelling breasts, the broken pl. being
allowable in these two [measures], as in XXVIII.11. and
the saying of Abù Dhu'aib

وَأَنْ حَدِيثًا مِنْكَ لَوْ تَبَدَّلِيْنَهُ * جَنَى التَّنَحْلِ فِي الْبَانِ عُرْدُ مَطَائِلِ
مَطَائِلِ أَكْبَارِ حَدِيثٍ نِتَاجُهَا * يُشَابُ بِمَاءٍ مِثْلِ مَاءِ الْمَفَاصِلِ

[above] *And verily a discourse from thee, if thou wouldst vouchsafe it, would be the honey of the bees in milk of she-camels recently delivered, having little ones with them, having little ones with them, such as have brought forth only once, whose bringing forth is recent, when it is mixed with water like the water of the مَفَاصِل*, [pl. of مَفْصِل (Jh),] which, says As, means the *place of parting of the mountain from the tract of sand, gravel and small pebbles being between the two*, for the water of that [ground] is clear, sparkling (BS). And they say مَنَاتِين as pl. of مَنَتْنٌ *stinking*, and مَنَتْنٌ (Jb, KF) with two Kasras (KF), the م being pronounced with Kasr for alliteration to the Kasra of the ت, because مَفْعِلٌ is not one of the formations (Jh), and مَنَتْنٌ with two Dammas, and مَنَتِين (KF), as قَالَتْ سُلَيْمَى الْح [239] (Jh).

§ 253. The preceding [broken] pls. [except فَعَالِلٌ] all belong to the unaugmented and augmented *tril.*; and [those given in the IM] consist of 25 formations, four of which denote *paucity* [235], and the remainder *multitude* (MKh). The formations of paucity are (1) أَعْلُ [235, 237-239, 242-244, 246, 254-256, 260]; (2) أَعَالٌ [235, 237, 239, 242, 246, 247, 251, 254-257, 260, 261]; (3) أَعْلَكُ [235, 237, 246, 247, 256, 257]; (4) فَعْلَكُ [235, 237, 246, 255, 257]. And the formations of multitude are (1) فَعْلٌ [237-239, 246-249,

256, 259, 261] ; (2) **فُعِلْ** [237-239, 246-248, 256] ; (3) **فُعِلْ** [235, 238, 244, 248, 254, 257, 260] ; (4) **فُعِلْ** [235, 238, 239, 248, 254] ; (5) **فُعِلْ** [247, 251] ; (6) **فُعِلْ** [235, 247, 251, 257] ; (7) **فُعِلْ** [239, 246, 247, 259] ; (8) **فُعِلْ** [235, 237, 239, 247, 254] ; (9) **فُعِلْ** [247, 248] ; (10) **فُعِلْ** [247, 259] ; (11) **فُعِلْ** [237-239, 242, 244, 246-248, 250, 251, 254-256, 259, 260] ; (12) **فُعِلْ** [237-239, 242, 243, 246, 247, 254-256, 260] ; (13) **فُعِلْ** [237-239, 246, 247, 250, 254-256] ; (14) **فُعِلْ** [237, 239, 246, 247, 249, 256] ; (15) **فُعِلْ** [239, 246, 247] ; (16) **فُعِلْ** [235, 246, 251] ; (17) **فُعِلْ** [246-248, 254, 255] ; (18) **فُعِلْ** [246, 248, 256, 261] ; (19) **فُعِلْ** [248, 255] ; (20) **فُعِلْ** [239, 248, 250, 259] ; (21) **فُعِلْ** [248] (Aud) : this is the last of the [25] paradigms mentioned by IM in the *Alfiya* for the broken *pl.* of the unaugmented *tril.* and of the *tril.* augmented by a letter neither co-ordinative (A), like [the **ي** in] **صَيَّرَ** [369, 373, 674], *pl.* **صَيَّرَ** on the measure of **فَيَاعِلْ** [below] (Sn), nor quasi-co-ordinative (A), like [the Hamza in] **إِصْبَغَ** [372, 672], *pl.* **أَصَابِعُ** on the measure of **أَفَاعِلْ** [249] (Sn) : (22) **فُعِلْ** [below] ; (23) the like of **فُعِلْ** [below] (Aud) : [and so far the total number of formations in paucity and multitude is 27, as stated in § 234 ;] while there

remains one formation of the *tril.*, (24) **فَعَالِي** [239, 246, 250], which IM has omitted [here] ; so that the total is 28 : these are the well-known formations of the broken *pl.* ; and there remain some other formations, which are disputed (MKh). IM adds in the *Kāfiya* 4 formations [of multitude], (24) **فَعَالِي** [above] ; (25) **فَعِيلٌ** [237, 239, 255, 257] ; (26) **فَعَالٌ** [247, 248, 250, 255, 257] ; (27) **فَعِلَى** [237, 250, 272] ; [raising the total to 31]. As for **فَعَالِلٌ**, it is the *pl.* of every *n.* whose *rad.*s. exceed three. And by its like is meant what resembles **فَعَالِلٌ** in number [of letters] and conformation, though differing from it in measure, as **مَفَاعِلٌ** and **فَيَاعِلٌ** [above] (A). It is every *pl.* [other than **فَعَالِلٌ** itself] whose third [letter] is an *!* followed by two letters (IA). **فَعَالِلٌ** is the regular *pl.* of four [sorts (Sn)], (1) the *quad.*, (a) unaugmented [245], like **جَعْفَرٌ** [and **زَبْرَجٌ** (Aud)] ; (b) augmented, like **مُدْخَرَجٌ** and **مُتَدْخَرَجٌ** [below] : (2) the *quin.*, (a) unaugmented [245], like **سَفَرَجَلٌ** [and **جَنْحَرِشٌ** (Aud)] ; (b) augmented (Aud, Sn), like **خَنْدَرِيسٌ** and **قَرَطْبُوسٌ** [below] (Aud), [and] like **لَبْعَتَرَى** [below] (Sn). And the like of **فَعَالِلٌ** is the [regular (Aud)] *pl.* of every augmented *tril.*, [like **جَوْهَرٌ**, **صَيْرَفٌ**, and **مَسْجِدٌ** (IA),] other than what has been previously mentioned [246-251] (IA, Aud, A)

such as [the *cat.* of كُبْرَى and سَكْرَى (A), أَحْمَرُ and حَبْرَاءُ, رَامٌ and كَامِلٌ (A),] and the like (IA, A), in which there exist broken *pls.* of other formations (A). Every *tril.* containing an augment for co-ordination (S, M, A) with the *quad.* (S, M), like جَوْهَرٌ [369, 675], صَيْرَفٌ [above], and عَلَقَى [248, 272, 375] (A), [and] like كَوْكَبٌ [373] (S, M), سَمَلَقٌ [373], جَنْدَبٌ [373, 677], غَيْلَمٌ [689], تَوَّامٌ [675] (S), جَدَوَلٌ [369, 374, 675], عَثِيرٌ [374, 674] (S, M), سُلَمٌ [below], دُمْلٌ a *purulent pustule* or *boil*, and قَرْدَدٌ [375, 392, 731] (S), or not for co-ordination (S, M, A), but not a letter of prolongation (S, M), like إَصْبَعٌ [above] مَسْجِدٌ [361], and سُلَمٌ [374] (A), [and] like أَجْدَلٌ [249, 372], تَنْضُبٌ [372, 678], and مِدْعَسٌ (M), which is a *solid spear* (Jh, IY), as related by AUd (Jh), forms its [broken (S)] *pl.* like (S, M, A) مَفَاعِلُ (S), [or rather] فَعَالِلُ (A), the [broken] *pl.* of the *quad.* [245] (M), so that you pronounce its initial with Fath, augment it by an | third, and pronounce the letter [next] after the | with Kasr (IY), as جَوَاهِرُ [247], صَيَارِفُ [above], and عَلَاقِي [248], and as أَصَابِعُ [above], مَسَاجِدُ [18, 248, 376], and سَكَالِمُ, so long as it is not one of the aggregate previously excepted (A), vid. the *cat.* of كُبْرَى, etc (Sn) : you say كَوَاكِبُ (S, IY), جَدَاوِلُ (S), قَسَاوِرُ, سَمَالِقُ, (383) جَنَادِبُ, (383) غَيَالِمُ, تَوَّائِمُ

(S, M), عَثَائِرُ (S, IY), سَلَامٌ, دَمَامٌ, and قَرَادٌ (S); and أَجَادٌ [235, 249, 376], قَنَاصٌ [376] (S, M), and مَدَاعِصُ (M). That [augmented *tril.* (R)] which is upon the measure of the *quad.*, [i. e., equal to the *quad.* in number of letters (R),] whether it be co-ordinated [with the *quad.* (R)], like كَوْنٌ, جَدْوَلٌ (247) (R), and عَثِيرٌ, or not co-ordinated, like مَدْعَسٌ and تَنْضُبٌ, [and whether it be (R)] with a letter of prolongation [fourth (R)], like قَرَطَاطٌ [below], مَضْبَاحٌ, or without a letter of prolongation [fourth, like the *exs.* from كَوْنٌ to مَدْعَسٌ (R)], follows the course of the *quad.* [245] (SH), provided that the equality [in number of letters] be not caused by augmentation with a letter of prolongation, as in فَاعِلٌ [247], فَعَالٌ [246], فَعُولٌ, and فَعِيلٌ, because the broken *pl.* of these paradigms is not like the broken *pl.* of the *quad.*; but they have special *pls.*, as before shown. This saying of IH, however, is tropical, because the special vowels and the quiescences are considered in the measure; so that تَنْضُبٌ is not said to be upon the measure of جَعْفَرٌ from regard to [the arrangement of] the vowels without restriction [of sort], except by a far-fetched trope: and similarly the augmentativeness and the radicalness of the letters are considered; but by a near trope the co-ordinated is said to be on the measure of the standard, as جَدْوَلٌ and كَوْنٌ are said to be on the measure of جَعْفَرٌ (R)

When such an augmented *tril.* contains the *ṣ* of femininization, like ^{مَكْرَمَةٌ} *a generous deed* (S, IY on § 245, R), ^{عَوْدَقَةٌ} *a grapnel [having three flukes (Jh)]*, with which the bucket is drawn out (S) of the well (Jh), and ^{أَنْمَاءٌ} *a finger tip* (R), then, [in multitude, as is said (R),] it forms its broken *pl.* in the same way, like ^{عَوْدَاقُ}, ^{مَكَارِمُ} (S), and ^{أَنْمَائُ} (R)) ; and in paucity it takes the [sound (R)] *pl.* (S, IY, R) with the [| and (IY)] ت (S, IY), like ^{مَكْرَمَاتُ} (IY, R) and ^{أَنْمَائَاتُ} [256] (R), because of the influence of the *ṣ* of femininization (IY). This is when the augmented *tril.* is not foreign nor *rel.* (Jrb). When it is foreign (S, M, Jrb), arabicized (S), like ^{جَوْرَبٌ} *a sock* (S, IY, Jrb) and ^{مَوْزَجٌ} *a boot* (S, IY), both Persian (IY), ^{صَوْلَجَانٌ} *a crook, or hooked stick, used in playing polo*, [Persian (Jh),] ^{كُرْبُجٌ} *a [green-grocer's (Jk)] shop* (S), *orig.* ^{كَرْبَجَةٌ} in Persian (Jk), ^{طَيْلَسَانٌ} *a hood or scarf* (S, IY), Persian (Jh), *orig.* ^{قَالَشَانٌ} (KF), and ^{كَيْلَحَةٌ} *a certain measure of capacity* (IY), or *rel.* (S, M, Jrb), like ^{أَشْعَثِيٌّ} (Jrb) *related to AlAsh'ath* (LTA, LL), an ancestor (LL), [and] like ^{مُنْذِرِيٌّ} *related to AlMundhir Ibn Má asSamá*, ^{مَسْعِيٌّ} *related to Misma'*, [a father of a clan (KF),] ^{سَيْبَجِيٌّ} [below], Persian, ^{بَرْبَرِيٌّ} [below], ^{مُهَلْبِيٌّ} *related to AlMuhallab Ibn Abi Sufra*, ^{أَحْمَرِيٌّ} *related to AlAhmar*, [which,

says AsSam'ānī, is, I think (LTA), a sub-tribe of AlAzd (LTA,LL),] and أَزْرَقِي related to [Nāfi' Ibn (LTA,LL)] *AlAzraq* [309] (IY), the *z* is [in most cases (S, IY), as Khl asserts (S),] affixed to its final (S, M, Jrb) in the [broken (S, Jrb)] *pl.* (S, IY, Jrb), which is formed like (S, IY) مَفَاعِلُ [or rather فَعَالِلُ] (S), the preceding [broken] *pl.* of the *quad.* [245] (IY) : they say (1) جَوَارِبَةٌ [265] (S, M), كَيْالِبَةٌ , طَيَالِسَةٌ , كَرَابِجَةٌ , صَوَالِبَةٌ , مَوَارِجَةٌ ; while the counterpart of that in Arabic is صَيِّقُلٌ *a polisher, fur-bisher, pl.* صَيَاقِلَةٌ [18, 265], صَيِّفٌ *a money-changer, pl.* صَيَافِلَةٌ [249], مَلَّانٌ *an angel, pl.* مَلَائِكَةٌ [below] (S, IY), and أَشَاعِنَةٌ [265] (M), أَنْسَانٌ *pl. أَنْاسِيَّةٌ* [below] (S) : (2) أَشَاعِنَةٌ [265] (M), مَنَادِرَةٌ , مَسَامِعَةٌ , سَيَابِجَةٌ *a people from AsSind at AlBaṣra*, who were policemen and warders of the gaol, بَرَابِرَةٌ (IY),] مَهَالِبَةٌ , أَحَامِرَةٌ , and أَزَارِقَةٌ (S, IY), because they elide the two *س* of relation, and then pluralize مَنَذِرٌ in the form مَنَادِرٌ , since it is of four letters, and affix the *z* as a compensation for the elided ; and similarly in مَسْعٌ and سَيْنِجٌ ; while in مُهَلَّبٌ the *l* being double, they elide one of the two *ل* s, so that there remains مُهَلَّبٌ , a word of four letters, which they then pluralize like the *quad.* ; and similarly in أَحْمَرٌ and أَزْرَقٌ , which they pluralize as substantives [249], since they do not mean them to be *eps.* (IY).

For, the foreign being subordinate to the Arabic, the sign of subordination, vid. the ة , is added, to indicate its foreignness; and, the ى of relation being like the ة [below], inasmuch as both are applied to denote *distinction between the individual and the genus*, as تَمَرٌ and تَمْرٌ [254, 265], and زَنْجِيٌّ and زَنْجٌ [294], it is meet that the ة should take the place of the ى in the *pl.* (Jrh). Foreignness and relation are combined in بَرَابِرَةٌ [*pl. of بَرَبَرِيٌّ an inhabitant of Barbary* (R)] and سَيَابِجَةٌ (S, R) *a people from India*, who convoy vessels on the sea, *pl. of سَيَبِجِيٌّ* (R), meaning *Barbaris* and *Saibajis*, as مَسَامِيعَةٌ means *Misma'is*, the inhabitants of a country being like a tribe (S). But they sometimes say جَوَارِبٌ , [مَوَارِجٌ (265) (Jh, KF), كَرَائِمٌ (Jk),] and كَيَالِمٌ (S, IY, R), by assimilation to the Arabic *pl.* (R), like كَوَاكِبٌ and صَوَامِعٌ [247] (S, (IY); and similarly الْأَشَاعِرُ [the *Ash'athīs* and (KF)] الْأَشَاعِرُ [the *Ash'arīs* [below] (S). According to S, in the *pl.* of the *rel.*, the ة is a compensation for the ى of relation necessarily elided in the *pl.*, because the ultimate *pl.*, being heavy in form and sense, is not compounded, and made like one *n.*, with any but a light thing; while the ة is lighter than the double ى , and there is an affinity between them [above]; so that it is chosen for the compensation: whereas, in the *pl.* of the foreign, the ة , not being a compensation for any thing, is not necessary,

as in the *pl.* of the *rel.* ; but is an indication that its *sing.* is arabicized. Sometimes the *ṣ* in the ultimate *pl.* is (1) substituted for a *ي* other than the *ي* of relation, as جَعَاچَة *pl.* of جَعَاچ *a chief* [265], the *o. f.* being جَعَاچِم : while the *ṣ* in زَنَادَة and فَرَانَة may be either a substitute for the *ي* [265], since زَنَادِیْ or فَرَانِیْ and فَرَانِ or فَرَانِ are said ; or an indication of foreignness : (2) applied to denote *corroboration of plurality*, as مَلَاكَة and صِبَاكَة [265], as in other *pls.*, like حَجَارَة and عُبْرَة [237, 265] : while the *ṣ* in أَنَاسِیَة [above] is said either to be a compensation for one of the two *ي* s in أَنَاسِی [248, 685], as وَأَنَاسِیَ كَثِیرًا XXV.51. *And many men* ; or to denote *corroboration of plurality*, as in مَلَاكَة, on the ground that أَنَاسِیَة is *pl.* of إِنْسَان *orig.* إِنْسِیَان [286], the ا and ن being elided in the *pl.*, as in زَعْفَرَان *pl.* of زَعْفَرَان [399]. It is said, however, that in the *pl.* of the *rel.*, as أَشَاعِثَة, the *ṣ* is not a compensation for the *ي*, since the *ي* is not in its *sing.* ; but the *ṣ* in the *pl.* is an indication that you name every one of the related by the name of the [ancestor] related to ; so that أَشَاعِثَة is *pl.* of أَشَعَثُ, every one of the tribe being named by the name of the oldest ancestor, as is said on سَلَامٌ عَلَى الْیَاسِیْنَ XXXVII. 130. *Peace* [25] *be upon the Eliases*, [read with

the *conj.* . Hamza as a *pl.*, meaning *Elias and his people*, like *الْخُبَّابُونَ* *Khubaib and his adherents* and *الْمُهَلَّبُونَ* *Al Muhallab and his partisans*, *وَإِنَّ أَلْيَاسَ* *And verily Elias* being read for *إِلْيَاسَ* in XXXVII. 123 (K),] and *الْأَشْعَرُونَ* *The Ash'ars*, [AlAsh'ar being the father of a clan in AlYaman (Jb, KF), whence Abù Mūsà alAsh'arī (KF)] : but this explanation is weak, because it does not extend to the [person] related to a place, like *الْمَشَاهِدَةُ* *the inhabitants of AlMashhad* [265] and *الْبَغَادَةُ* *the inhabitants of Baghdad*, since a person is not named by the name of his town, as he is by the name of his ancestor, though even that is rare (R). When the *quad.* is augmented by (S, M, R, IA, Aud, A) a soft letter (S, M, Aud, A), which is [generally] (S) a letter of prolongation (S, IY, R, IA), what is meant being a quiescent unsound letter (MKh), fourth (S, M), [and] penultimate (R, IA, Aud, A), whether preceded by a vowel homogeneous (A, MKh) with it, in which case it is conventionally termed letter of prolongation (MKh), as in *قَنْدِيلٌ* *a candle or lamp* [396, 674] (S, IY, R, IA, Aud, A) and *خَنْزِيرٌ* *eminent* (S), *جُرْمُوقٌ* *a galoche* (IY) and *عَصْفُورٌ* *a sparrow* [396] (R, IA, Aud, A), *سَرْدَاحٌ* *a fleshy she-camel* [396, 673] (M, Aud) and *قِرْطَاسٌ* *a roll, scroll, or sheet of paper or papyrus* (R, IA, A), or by a heterogeneous vowel, [in which case it is named soft (MKh),] as in *غُرْنِيقٌ* and

فِرْدَوْسُ [396] (A, MKh), its [broken (S, IY)] *pl.* is upon the measure (S, M, R, IA, A), مَفَاعِيلُ (S) [or rather] فَعَالِيلُ (M, R, IA, A), as قَنَادِيلُ [18] (S, M, IA, A) and خَنَادِيلُ (S), جَرَامِيقُ (IY) and عَصَافِيرُ (IA, A), سَرَادِيحُ (M) and قَرَاتِيصُ (IA, A), and as غَرَانِيقُ and فَرَادِيسُ (A, MKh). This *aug.* is not elided [283] (IY, IA, Aud, A) : but [is sounded true if it be a *ى* ; and (Aud)] is converted into *ى* if it be a , or *ا* (IY, Aud, Sn), because it is [quiescent and (IY)] preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr [685] (IY, Sn) : for you do not elide anything when you find any means of avoiding elision [248] (IY). And similarly the *tril.* (1) co-ordinated with the *quad.* (S, M), and then augmented by a letter of prolongation fourth, like قِرَوَاحُ [384] and قُرَطَاطُ [385] (S, IY), as قَرَاوِيحُ [388] and قَرَاتِيطُ (S, M) ; while the saying of the poet [Suwaid Ibn As-Sāmit (Jh)]

أَدِينُ وَمَا دَيْنِي عَلَيْكَ بِمَغْرَمٍ * وَلَكِنْ عَلَى الشَّمِّ الْجِلَادِ الْقَرَوَاحِ
I lend ; and my debt is not secured upon thee, but upon the tall, hardy, long-legged she-camels is analogous to the saying of the other, [Jandal {Ibn AlMuthannà (MN)} atTuhawī (AAz, MN), addressing his wife (AAz),]

غَرَّكَ أَنْ تَقَارَبْتَ أَبَاعِرِي * وَأَنْ رَأَيْتِ الدَّهْرَ ذَا الدَّوَائِرِ
 حَتَّى عَظَامِي وَرَأَاهُ ثَاغِرِي * وَكَحَدِ الْعَيْنَيْنِ بِالْعَوَارِيرِ
 [715] (IY), or in another version وَكَاحِلَا عَيْنِي (MN), *It*

hath emboldened thee [to upbraid and thwart me (AAz)]
that my camels have dwindled down to few, and that
thou hast seen time to be the author of vicissitudes, so
that it has bowed my bones, and I see it to be breaking my
front teeth, and it has anointed the two eyes, [or and
anointing my two eyes (MN),] with motes (AAz, MN), or
severe ophthalmias, orig. بِالْعَوَاوِيرِ (MN), as though he eli-
ded the ع for abbreviation, as is indicated by the soundness
of the , (IY) : (2) containing an augment not a letter of
prolongation (S, M), whereby it becomes of four letters
(IY), and having for its fourth a letter of prolongation,
but not formed like the quad. whose fourth is a letter of
prolongation (S), the augment not being for co-ordina-
tion, like مَصْبَاحٌ [366, 379] and أَنْعَامٌ [256], where the م
[or the Hamza] is aug., not a letter of prolongation, and
the ا is aug., a letter of prolongation and softness, and
(IY) like يَرْبُوعٌ [379] and كَلْبٌ [384] (S, IY) or كَلَابٌ
[384] (IY), as مَصَابِيحُ [18] and أَنْعَامٌ [256], and (M) as
*يَرَابِيعٌ [386] and كَلَالِيْبٌ (S, M). These *exs.* form their*
broken pl. like that of the quad. whose penultimate is
a letter of prolongation, like قِرْطَاسٌ, although they are
*not quads. : and so do other *exs.*, not mentioned by [S, Z,*
*or] IH, of the *tril.* augmented by two letters, one of*
which is a soft letter fourth, whether a letter of pro-
longation, as in إِنْجِيلٌ [379, 672], أَمْثَلُودٌ, and إِصْبَاحٌ ; or

not a letter of prolongation, as in سَكَيْتُ [252, 384] and سَتَّورُ [384] (R). The condition that the soft letter, which is retained, should be fourth is prescribed only where the ف and ع are not repeated [370] : so that مَرَارِيسُ [below] is said with retention of the ي, although it is not fourth in مَرَمَرِيسُ; and the latter may not be treated like قَرَطْبُوسُ [below] by saying مَرَامُرُ : but you may say that the ي is fourth after the elision of what is elided, vid. the second م, by analogy to what A says below on حَيْرَتُونَ (Sn). The *dim.* of مُسَرَّوْلُ feathered down the legs being مُسِيرِدُ, its broken *pl.*, when it has one, ought to be مَسَارِدُ; and similarly كَنْهَوْرُ [below], *pl.* كَنَاهِيرُ, since its *dim.* is كُنْيَهِيرُ (R). But that [augmented *quad.* or *tril.*] in which the unsound letter [fourth] is mobile, like كَنْهَوْرُ [396] and هَبَّيْحُ [384], is excluded from that [predicament]; for the unsound letter in it is not converted into ي, but elided, as كَنَاهِيرُ and هَبَّيْحُ, because the unsound letter is then not a soft letter. And such [augmented *trils.* (Sn)] as مُخْتَارُ and مُنْقَادُ also are excluded : for مَخَايِرُ and مَنَاقِدُ are not said, by conversion of the ا into ي, because the ا is not *aug.*, but converted from a *rad.*; so that مَخَاتِرُ and مَنَاقِدُ are said [252] (A) : so in the A ; but it obviously requires consideration, since by analogy مَخَايِرُ

and *مَقَارِدُ* should be said, by elision of the *ت* and *ن*, because they are *aug.*, not of the *ل*, which should, on the contrary, be restored to its *o.f.*, vid. the *ي* [and *و*] (MKh). When the [*tril.* or other (MKh)] *n.* contains an augment whose retention would spoil the formation of the [ultimate (IA)] *pl.* [by excluding it from (Sn)] *فَعَالِلُ* and *فَعَالِيلُ* [and what resembles them in number and conformation, though it differ from them in measure (Sn)], this augment is elided (IA,A). You elide from the augmented *tril.*, like *مُنْطَلِقٌ* [252, 382], *مُسْتَخْرِجٌ* [387], *فُعْعَنِيسٌ* going backwards, jibbing [432, 496], *قَلَنْسُورَةٌ* [248, 390, 675], *حَبْنَطَى* [below], *اِسْتِخْرَاجٌ* [332, 680], etc., and from the augmented *quad.*, like *مُدْخَرَجٌ* [393, 676], *مُكْرَنْجِمٌ* [495], and *اِحْرَنْجَامٌ* [below], what you elide in the *dim.* [283] (R). The augment of the *tril.*, if single, as in *أَفْضَلُ*, *عَلَقَى*, *صَيَّرَ*, *جَوَّهَرَ*, *مَسْجَدٌ*, exceeds one [letter] is elided; so that one is elided from such as *مُنْطَلِقٌ* [below], and two from such as *مُسْتَخْرِجٌ* [above] and *مُتَدَكِّرٌ* (Aud). If the [augmented *tril.*] *n.* can be pluralized in one of the two forms by eliding part of the augment and retaining part, then it has two states, (1) that one part should be superior to the other, and (2) that the case should not be so (IA). Superiority [of one part over another] is reduced by IM in the Tashil to three matters,

(1) superiority in respect of sense ; (2) superiority in respect of form ; (3) insufficiency of its elision to avert the elision of the other (Sn). If one of the two paradigms be attainable by elision of part [of the augment] and retention of part (A), you [must (Aud)] retain that which is superior (R, Aud, A) in sense or form (A) ; and elide the other, whose presence would spoil the formation of *مَفَاعِلُ* or *مَفَاعِيلُ* : while, if neither be superior, as in *حَبْنَطِي* [below], you are allowed an option, exactly as in the *dim.* [283] (R). Thus in [the *pl.* of (IA, Sn)] *مُسْتَدْعٍ* you say *مَدَاعٍ* [below], eliding the *س* and *ت* [together, because their retention would spoil the formation of the *pl.* (A)] ; and retaining the *م*, because it [is initial, and (IA)] is [superior to them in sense, being (A)] added to indicate a sense (IA, A) peculiar to *ns.* [676] (A, MKh), since it indicates an *act.* or *pass. part.* (Sn, MKh), contrary to them, since they are added in *ns.* and *vs.* : and similarly in [the *pl.* of (Sn)] *اِسْتِخْرَاجٍ* [when a proper name, because the *inf. n.* is not pluralized (Sn),] you say *تَخَارِيجُ*, retaining the *ت* in preference to the *س*, because the *ت* is superior in form to the *س*, since its retention does not produce an unprecedented paradigm, because *تَفَاعِيلُ* exists in the language, like *تَمَائِيلُ* [386] ; whereas *سَخَارِيجُ* would be unprecedented, because there is no *سَفَاعِيلُ* in the language : and another instance of *lit.* superiority is

the *pl.* of مَرْمِيسُ [370] where you say مَرَارِيسُ [above], with elision of the [second] م and retention of the ر, because with that the *n.*'s being *orig. tril.* cannot be ignored ; whereas, if you elided the [second] ر, and retained the م, saying مَرَامِيسُ, that would give rise to the notion that the *n.* was *orig. quad.*, and that مَرَامِيسُ was فَعَالِيلُ, not فَعَالِيلُ (A). The م [676] is worthier of remaining than anything else (IM), because of its superiority to the other *aug.* letters (A, MKh) : so that you say مَطَالِقُ, not نَطَالِقُ, as *pl.* of مُنْطَلِقُ ; and مَدَاعُ [above], not سَدَاعُ, nor تَدَاعُ, as *pl.* of مُسْتَدْعٍ (Aud). There is no dispute about this when the second of the two *augs.* is non-co-ordinative, like the ن of مُنْطَلِقُ, in the *pl.* of which you say مَطَالِقُ, eliding the ن, and retaining the م : and, when the second of the two, [by which A means the non-co-ordinative and the co-ordinative (Sn),] *augs.* is co-ordinative, like the س of مُقْعَنْسَسُ, [which is not the second of two *augs.*, but the third of three, vid. the م, the ن, and one of the two س (Sn),] then, according to S, the case is similar, so that مَقَاعِيسُ is said ; while Mb disputes this, eliding the م, and retaining the co-ordinative, vid. the س, because it is *quasi-rad.*, so that قَعَائِيسُ is said : but the opinion of S is preferable, because the م, being initial, and denoting a sense peculiar to the *n.*, is worthier of remaining (A) ; and [according to IHsh also] the م is unrestrictedly superior, contrary to the opinion of Mb

(Aud). By *worthiness* here IM does not mean *preferability of one of the two matters with allowability of either*, because retention of the م is necessary in what has been mentioned, on account of its being *worthier*, [the practice of the *worthier* being obligatory here (Sn),] so that it must not be deviated from (A). And the [*disj.* (MKh)] Hamza [672] and the ي [674] are like the م [in being *worthier* of remaining (A)], if they precede (IM), i. e., if they be initial (Aud, A), as in اَلْنَدُّ and يَلْنَدُّ [376], in the *pl.* of which you say اَلْدُّ and يَلْدُّ (IA, Aud, A), *orig.* اَلْدُّ (Sn, MKh) and يَلْدُّ (Sn), eliding the ن , and retaining the Hamza and the ي , because they are initial ; and because they occupy a position, [vid. the first (Sn),] wherein they are applied to indicate a sense, [vid. *speaking* in the case of the Hamza, and *absence* in that of the ي (Sn), as in اَقْرُمُ *I stand* and يَقْرُمُ *He stands* (IA),] contrary to the ن , which occupies a position wherein it does not indicate any sense at all (IA, A). The retention of the م , ي , and Hamza in the *exs.* mentioned is on account of *id.* superiority (A), notwithstanding the existence of the *lit.* also, vid. initiality, because the *id.*, being stronger, is more entitled to consideration, wherever it exists (Sn). And, [when the elision of one of the two *aug.* is sufficient to avert the elision of the other, while the converse does not hold good, as (Aud, Sn)] if you pluralize what is like حَيْرُونٌ *a cunning old woman*, then elide [the one

whose elision is sufficient, like (Aud)] the *ی*, not [the one whose elision is insufficient, like] the *و*, this being an established rule (IM) ; so that you say حَزَابِيْنُ, eliding the *ی*, and converting the *و* into *ی*, because, [when the *ی* is elided, its elision is sufficient to avert the elision of the *و*, which then remains fourth, penultimate, and may therefore be treated like the *و* of عَصْفُوْرٌ ; whereas (A),] if you elided the *و* (IA, Aud, A), saying حَيَابِيْنُ (Aud, Sn), its elision would not be sufficient to avert the elision of the *ی* (IA, A), because the *ی* would not be in a position securing it from elision (A), or more plainly, in the words of IUK [and IA] (Sn), because the retention of the *ی* would make the form of the [ultimate (IA)] *pl.* unattainable (IA, Sn), and (Sn) that would necessitate your eliding the *ی* [also (Sn)], and saying حَزَابِيْنُ (Aud, Sn), since the *ل* of the broken *pl.* is not followed by three letters, the middle one of which is quiescent, except when the middle one is unsound (Aud). And they allow an option, [when neither of the two *augs.* is superior to the other, as (IA)] in the two *augs.*, [vid. the *و* and *ل* (Aud, A),] of سَرَنْدِيْ, and all that resemble it [in containing two *augs.* for co-ordination of the *tri.* with the *quin.* (A)], like عَلَنْدِيْ coarse (IM), حَبَنْطِيْ [283, 395] (IA, A), and عَفَرْنِيْ [378, 677] (A): so that you [may (A)] say سَرَانْدُ, عَلَانْدُ, [حَبَانْطُ (IA, A), and عَفَارْنُ (A), eliding

the ا , and retaining the ن (IA, A) ; or سَرَاد , عَلَاد , حَبَاطٌ [(IA, A), and عَفَار (A), eliding the ن , and retaining the ا (IA, A), which is then converted into ي (A, MKh), as in جَوَار (MKh)] : while the reason for allowing an option in these two *aug.* is (IA, Aud, A) that they are equal (Aud, A), because they are added simultaneously for co-ordination [of the *tril.* (A)] with the *quin.*, and neither of them has any superiority over the other (IA, A). The augment of the *quad.* (Jrb, IA, Aud, A), like حَبَرَكِي [397] and عَنكَبُوت [399, 678] (Jrb), whether it be a final, as in سِبْطَرِي [272, 397], or not, as in فَدَوَكْس [395] and مُدَحَرَج [393, 676] (A), one letter, as in مُدَحَرَج , or two, as in مُتَدَحَرَج , or three [392], as in اَحْرَنْجَام [283] (MKh), is [necessarily (Aud, Sn)] elided when not [a letter of prolongation (Jrb, IA), (nor) a soft letter (Aud, A),] penultimate (Jrb, IA, Aud, A), [and] fourth (Sn), as حَبَارُك and عَنَاكِبُ (Jrb) ; [and] as سَبَاطِرُ , فَدَاكِسُ , and دَحَارَج (IA, A), *pl.* of مُدَحَرَج and مُتَدَحَرَج (Sn, MKh) ; and as حَرَاكِيم , where the last [*aug.*, *vid.* the] ا is converted into ي , and the others are elided (MKh). The *pl.* of عَدَاكِرَةٌ [395] in Ka'b's saying

وَلَنْ يُّبَلِّغَهَا إِلَّا عَدَاكِرَةٌ * فِيهَا عَلَى الْآيِنِ إِقْرَالٌ وَتَبْغِيلٌ

And that not aught will convey me to, or reach, this يُّبَلِّغَهَا being coupled to the يُّبَلِّغَهَا in the preceding verse أَمْسَتْ

سَعَادُ الْح [452], *save a big*, [strong (Jh, KF),] *hardy she-camel, wherein are ambling and easy running notwithstanding fatigue*, is عَدَاْفَةٌ, the ا of which is like the ا of مَسَاجِدُ [above] ; and is not that which was in the sing., but the latter is elided : and in this broken pl. are combined the two alterations, *lit.* and *id.*, which are separated in such as كُتِبَ and فُلِكَ [234] (BS). The augment of the *quin.* (Aud, A, MKh), like قَرَطُبُوسُ and خَنْدَرِيسُ [401] (MKh), [and] like قَبَعَثَرَى [401, 673] (A), is [necessarily (Aud, Sn)] elided (Aud, A, MKh), together with the 5th [rad.] (Sn), two letters being elided from the augmented *quin.*, [when it is pluralized (A),] the *aug.* and the 5th *rad.* (A, MKh), as قَرَاطِبُ and خَنَادِرُ (MKh), [and] as قَبَاعِثُ (A). Some say that, the elision of the 5th *rad.* being known from IM's previous saying "And, from an unaugmented *quin.*, etc." [245], the choice [there] allowed between the 5th and 4th may not improbably occur here, subject to its condition ; but this is open to the objection that "quin." in IM's saying is restricted by "unaugmented", unless knowledge by way of analogy be meant (Sn). After the elision (R), a ي may be added [fourth (R), in the penultimate (A),] as a compensation for the elided (R, A), whether *rad.* or *aug.* (A), as in the *dim.* (R), if the word be not entitled to it otherwise than for compensation, as in لَغَاغِيرُ pl. of لَغَيْرَى

[272], the *l* of which is elided without compensation, because its *ى*, which belonged to [it in] the *sing.*, is retained, as A will mention in the *dim.* [284] (Sn) : you say سَفَارِيحُ [and مَطَالِيقُ (A)] in the [broken (IY)] *pl.* of سَفَرَجْدُ [245] (IY, A) and مُنْطَلِقُ [above]. The KK allow the *ى* to be added in the like of مَفَاعِلُ, and elided from the like of مَفَاعِيلُ, as جَعَايِرُ for جَعَايِرُ, and عَصَايِرُ for عَصَايِرُ; and, according to them, this is allowable in prose, where they hold وَلَوْ أَتَى مَعَاذِيرَهُ LXXV. 15. *Even though he put forward his excuses*, [*pl.* of مَعَاذِرَةٌ, by rule مَعَاذِرُ (B, Sn),] to be an instance of the first, and رَعْنَدَةُ مَفَاتِيحُ VI. 59. *And with Him are the keys of the hidden*, [*pl.* of مِفْتَاحٌ, by rule مَفَاتِيحُ (Sn),] to be an instance of the second : while IM agrees with them in the Tashīl as to the allowability of both matters ; though he excepts [the *ep.* (Dm)] فَوَاعِلُ [247], for which فَوَاعِيلُ is not said, except anomalously, as in the saying [of Zuhair Ibn Abi Sulmā (MN)]

عَلَيْهَا أُسُودٌ ضَارِيَاتٌ لَبُوسُهُمْ * سَوَابِيغُ بَيْضٌ لَا يُخَرِّقُهَا النَّبْلُ

[Upon them, i. e., the horses, are ravenous lions, whose garb is white, i. e., polished, ample coats of mail that arrows will not pierce (MN), where سَوَابِيغُ is *pl.* of سَابِغَةٌ (119) (Dm), by rule سَوَابِغُ (MN)] : but the BB hold

that the *ى* may not be added in the like of مَفَاعِلُ, nor elided in the like of مَفَاعِيلُ, except by poetic license [255] (A), as says the Rājjiz

يَا رَبِّ بَيْضَاءَ مِنَ الْعَطَامِيسِ * تَضْحَكُ عَنْ ذِي أَشْرِ عُضَارِيسِ

O many a fair maid, of the fully-developed women, laughing so as to disclose serrated front teeth, white like hailstones, properly عَطَامِيسِ [398] (Jh) ; while in the two texts (Dm) مَعَادِيرُ is *pl.* of مَعْدَارٌ (B, Dm), and مَفَاتِيحُ is *pl.* of مِفْتَاحٌ (K, B, Dm). They say قَرَادِيدُ (S, Jh, KF), from dislike to the repetition (S, Jh) of the د (Jh) ; and دَمَامِيلُ and سَلَالِيمُ [388] (Jh, KF). And, when you mean *men*, it is not forbidden to say قَسْرُورُونَ and قَوَامُونَ, as its *fem.* has the ة affixed to it, and is pluralized with the [ا and] ت (S).

§ 254. The *sing. n.* is [sometimes] applied to the genus, its *n. un.* being then distinguished from it by the ة [265], as تَمْرٌ *dates* and تَمْرَةٌ *a date*, شَعِيرٌ *barley* and شَعِيرَةٌ *a barley-corn* (IY), حَنْظَلٌ *colocynths* and حَنْظَلَةٌ *a colocynth*, بَطِيحٌ *melons* [384] and بَطِيخَةٌ *a melon*, سَفْرَجَلٌ *quinces* and سَفْرَجَلَةٌ *a quince* (M). The *n.* which, in the form of the *sing.*, is applied to the few and the many, and in which the ة is put when unequivocal designation of the *sing.* is intended, is named [collective] generic *n.* [257]

(R). The *n.* whose *n. un.* is distinguished by the ة [is, according to us, only a *sing. n.* applied to the genus, as to the individual ; and (IY)] is not [really (IY)] a [broken (IY)] *pl.* [234, 257] (IY, SH), according to the soundest [opinion] (SH), though multitude be imported from it, because the import of multitude is not from the expression, but only from its indicated, since it is indicative of genus, which imports multitude (IY). The generic *n.*, whose *n. un.* is distinguished from it either by the ة, as in تَمْرٌ and تَمَرَةٌ, or by the ي, as in رُومِيٌّ and رُومٌ [294], is excluded [from IH's definition of the *pl.*], because it does not indicate units [234], since the expression is not constituted to denote *units*, but to denote *what contains the special quiddity*, whether it be *sing.*, *du.* or *pl.* ; and, even if we admit [its] indication of them, it does not indicate them with any alteration of the letters of its *sing.* : for, if it be said "Are not its *sings.* taken, and their letters altered by elision of the ة or ي ?", I say that the formation containing the ة or ي is not a *sing.* of the generic *n.*, for the three reasons mentioned in the case of the *quasi-pl.* [257], to which we will add that the generic *n.* is applied to the few and the many, تَمْرٌ being applied to *a date, two dates, and dates*, and similarly رُومٌ ; so that, if you eat a date or two dates, or deal with a Greek or two Greeks, you may say أَكَلْتُ التَّمَرَ I have eaten dates and عَامَلْتُ الرُّومَ I have dealt with Greeks ; whereas, if they were *pls.*, that would not be

allowable, as رَجَالٌ *men* is not applied to a *man* or *two men*.

Some generic *ns.* indeed are so notorious in the sense of the *pl.* that they are not unrestrictedly applicable to the *sing.* or *du.* : but that is according to usage, not by constitution, like كَلِمٌ *words* [below] (R on IH), and أَكْمٌ *hills* or *mounds* [below] ; and is rare (R on SH). According to the KK, however, it is a broken *pl.* (IY, R), whose *sing.* is the formation containing the 3 (R) : but what we have mentioned is corroborated by two [or rather four] matters (IY) ; and their saying is vicious, (1) as respects the form (R), because (a) this *n.* is [mostly (R) qualified by the *sing.* (IY)] *masc.* [271], as أَعْجَازُ نَخْلٍ مُنْقَعِرٍ LIV. 20. *Trunks of uprooted palm-trees* (IY, R) ; while أَعْجَازُ نَخْلٍ خَاوِيَةٍ LXIX. 7. *Trunks of hollow palm-trees*, where it is made *fem.*, and وَالنَّخْلُ بَاسِقَاتٍ L. 10. *And the palm-trees when tall*, the *d. s.* being like the *ep.*, and السَّكَابُ الثَّقَالُ XIII. 13. *The heavy clouds*, where it is qualified by the *pl.*, are sylleptic, because the meaning of *genus* is *generality* and *multitude*, and syllepsis is frequent (IY) : (b) its *dim.* is made conformable to it, [by common consent, as تَمِيرٌ and شَعِيرٌ (IY)] ; whereas, if it were a [broken (IY)] *pl.*, [then, not being in the shape of the *pl.* of paucity (R),] it would [necessarily (R)] be restored to its *sing.* (IY, R) in forming the *dim.*, and pluralized with the 1 and 2, as تَمِيرَاتٌ and شَعِيرَاتٌ [285] : (c) if it were a *pl.*, there

would be some difference between it and its *sing.* either in consonants or in vowels [234] ; whereas the *š* is equivalent to a *n.* joined on to a *n.* [266], so that its elision does not indicate the broken *pl.* (IY) : (2) as respects the sense, because it is applied to the *sing.* and *du.* also [above] (R). These *ns.* are (1) of three letters, [upon the measure of] (a) فَعَلٌ, like تَمَرٌ [and تَمَرَةٌ (S)], طَلْحٌ *gum-acacia trees* [and طَلْحَةٌ a *gum-acacia tree* (S)], نَخْلٌ (S, R) and نَخْلَةٌ (S), نَبَلٌ *ants* [and نَبَلَةٌ an *ant* (Jh, KF)], بَهْمٌ *lambs* (R) and بَهْمَةٌ a *lamb* (Jh, KF), صَخْرٌ *rock* and صَخْرَةٌ a *rock* (S) : (a) when you intend paucity, you pluralize the *n.* [*un.* (S)] with the [ا and (R)] ت : and, when you intend multitude (S, R), you have recourse to the *n.* that is applied to the collection, and do not give the *n. un.* a broken *pl.* of another formation [256] (S) ; [but] you denude it of the *š*, the generic *n.* being i. q. the *pl.* of multitude, as نَبَلَةٌ [above], نَبَلَاتٌ and نَبَلٌ (R) : (b) the فَعْلَةٌ of this *cat.* sometimes takes the [broken (R)] *pl.* فَعَالٌ, as طَلْحَةٌ *pl.* طِلَاحٌ [below], بَهْمَةٌ *pl.* بَهَامٌ, [and سَخْلَةٌ a *kid*, *pl.* سَخَالٌ (S),] by assimilation to قَصْعَةٌ *pl.* (R) قَصَاعٌ [below] ; while some say صَخْرَةٌ *pl.* صُخُورٌ [below], by assimilation to بَدْرَةٌ a *lamb's skin used to hold milk*, *pl.* بُدُورٌ, and مَائَةٌ an *abdomen, a paunch*, *pl.* مُوَرُونَ [238] : (c) similarly in the hollow (S, R), as جَوْرَةٌ a *walnut*

[248], ^{جَوَزَاتُ} and ^{جَوَزٌ} *walnuts*, and ^{بَيْضَةٌ} *an egg*, ^{بَيْضَاتُ} and ^{بَيْضٌ} *eggs* (S) ; and [here also ^{فَعْلَةٌ} sometimes takes the *pl.* ^{فَعَالٌ} (R),] as [^{خَيْمَةٌ} *a tent or booth*, ^{خَيْمَاتُ} and ^{خَيْمٌ} and (S)] ^{خَيَْامٌ} *tents or booths*, and [^{رَوْضَةٌ} *a meadow or lawn*, ^{رَوْضَاتُ} and ^{رَوْضٌ} and (S)] ^{رِيَاضٌ} *meadows or lawns* [238, 713] (S, R) ; and [^{بُيُوتٌ}, (KF) as ^{فُعُولٌ}] : (d) similarly in the defective, [as ^{سَرَوَةٌ} *a cypress* and ^{سَرَوٌ} *cypresses*, ^{شَرِبَةٌ} *a colocynth* and ^{شَرِبٌ} *cnlocynths*, and (S)] as ^{صَعْرَةٌ} *a small sparrow*, ^{صَعْرٌ} and (S)] ^{صَعَاءٌ} *small sparrows* (S, R) ; and the reduplicated, as ^{حَبَّةٌ} *a grain* and ^{حَبٌ} *grains* (S) : (e) the broken *pl.* is not regular in it, nor in any other [measure] of this *cat.* (R) : (b) ^{فَعْلٌ}, the predicament of which is like that of ^{فَعْلٌ} (S, R), in that the generic *n.* denotes *multitude*, and the ^ا and ^ت *paucity* (R), as ^{سِدْرَةٌ} *a lote-tree*, ^{سِدْرَاتُ} [17, 238, 240] and ^{سِدْرٌ} *lote-trees*, and ^{تِبْنَةٌ} *a straw*, ^{تِبْنَاتُ} *straws* and ^{تِبْنٌ} *straw* (S) ; while ^{فَعْلَةٌ} sometimes takes the broken *pl.* ^{فَعْلٌ}, as ^{سِدْرٌ} [238], by assimilation to ^{كِسْرَةٌ} *pl.* (R)] ^{كِسْرٌ} [238] : (c) ^{فَعْلٌ}, [the predicament of which is like that of ^{فَعْلٌ} (S),] as ^{دُخْنَةٌ} *a grain of millet*, [^{دُخْنَاتُ} *grains of millet* and ^{دُخْنٌ} *millet* (S)] ; and [similarly the reduplicated (S),] as ^{دُرَّةٌ} *a pearl*, [^{دُرَاتُ} and ^{دُرٌ} *pearls* (S),] and ^{بُرَّةٌ} *a grain of wheat*, [^{بُرَاتُ} *grains of wheat* and ^{بُرٌ}

wheat ; and similarly the hollow, as ^{تُومَةٌ} *a silver bead*, ^{تُومَاتُ} and ^{تُومٌ} *silver beads* (S) : while ^{فَعْلَةٌ} sometimes takes the broken *pl.* ^{فُعْلٌ}, as ^{دُرٌّ} and ^{تُومٌ} (S, R), by assimilation to ^{غُرْفٌ} [238] (R) : (d) ^{فَعْلٌ}, [the predicament of which is like that of ^{فُعْلٌ} (S),] as ^{بَقْرَةٌ} *a cow, bull, or ox*, [^{بَقَرَاتٌ} *cows, bulls, or oxen* and ^{بَقَرٌ} *cattle* (S),] and ^{شَجَرَةٌ} *a tree* (S, R), ^{شَجَرَاتٌ} and ^{شَجَرٌ} *trees* ; and similarly in the hollow, as ^{هَامَةٌ} *an owl*, ^{هَامَاتٌ} and ^{هَامٌ} *owls*, ^{رَاحَةٌ} *a palm of a hand*, ^{رَاحَاتٌ} and ^{رَاحٌ} *palms of hands*, [as says a poet, describing some cloud drawing near to the ground,

يَكَادُ يُمَسِّكُهُ مِنْ قَامٍ بِالرَّاحِ

They that stand well-nigh grasp it with the palms of the hands (BS),] ^{شَامَةٌ} *a mole*, ^{شَامَاتٌ} and ^{شَامٌ} *moles*, ^{سَاعَةٌ} *an hour or a time*, [^{سَاعَاتٌ} and (Mb, Jh, KF)] ^{سَاعٌ}, as says AlKutāmī

فَكُنَّا كَالْحَرِيقِ أَصَابَ غَابًا * فَيَنْخَبُ سَاعَةً وَيَهِيْجُ سَاعًا

Then we were like fire that, or when it, has reached beds of reeds, so that it sinks down at one time, and rises up at times (S), and ^{حَاجَةٌ} *a want or need*, ^{حَاجَاتٌ} and ^{حَاجٌ}, as in the saying

وَقَدْ تُخْرِجُ الْحَاجَاتُ يَا أُمَّ مَالِكٍ * كَرَأْتُمْ مِنْ رَبِّ بَيْنَ ضَنِينِ
And sometimes wants, or needs, elicit, O Umm Mālik, noble deeds from a master niggardly of them and the saying of ArRā'ī

وَمُرْسِلٍ وَرَسُولٍ غَيْرِ مُتَّهِمٍ * وَحَاجَةٍ غَيْرِ مُزَجَّاةٍ مِنْ الْحَاجِ
طَارَعَتْهُ بَعْدَ مَا طَالَ النَّجِيُّ بِنَا * وَظَنَّ أَنِّي عَلَيْهِ غَيْرُ مُنْعَاجِ

*And many a sender, and unsuspected messenger, and want
not light in burden, of the wants, have I yielded to after
the secret colloquy with us has lasted long, and he has
thought that I am not inclined towards him, not حَوَائِجُ ,*

[which is not of the speech of the Arabs, notwithstanding its frequency upon the tongues of post-classical poets (Mb),] as in the saying of one of the moderns

إِذَا مَا دَخَلْتُ الدَّارَ يَوْمًا وَرَفَعْتُ * سَتُورَكَ لِي فَانْظُرْ بِمَا أَنَا خَارِجُ
فَسَيَّانٍ بَيْتِ الْعَنْكَبُوتِ وَجُوسُقُ * رَفِيعُ إِذَا لَمْ تُقْضَ فِيهِ الْكَوَائِمُ

*Wherever I enter the mansion one day, and thy curtains
are raised for me, then consider thou what I shall go out
with . For equal are the web of the spider and a lofty
palace when the wants are not satisfied in it [255] (D) ;*

and the defective, as حَصَاةٌ a pebble, حَصِيَّاتٌ and حَصَى
pebbles [238], and قَطَاةٌ a sand-grouse, قَطَوَاتٌ and قَطَاً

sand-grouse (S) : (a) فَعْلَةٌ sometimes takes the broken
pl. فِعَالٌ, as أَكْمَةٌ a hill or mound, أَكْمٌ and (S)) أَكَامٌ hills or

mounds, أَجْمَةٌ a thicket, أَجْمٌ and أَجَامٌ thickets (S),] and
ثَمَرَةٌ a fruit, ثَمَرٌ fruit and (S)) ثِمَارٌ fruits [256], by assimilation to

رَحَابٌ [238] (S, R) ; رَحْبَةٌ a courtyard, pl. (R) ;

أَشْجَارٌ and أَجَامٌ, as أَفْعَالٌ, as أَكْمٌ [238] ; and أَفْعُلٌ,

أَفْصَا, أَفْصِيَّاتٌ or أَفْصَوَاتٌ, أَفْصَاةٌ a pool, (R) ; and they say أَفْصَاةٌ

and (S)] *إِصْنَاءُ* *pools* [238] (S, R) ; for we have heard that from the Arabs (S) ; but the broken *pl.* in the defective is rare : (b) S says that *فَعْلَةٌ* with quiescence, and *فَعَلٌ* with Fath, of the *ع* sometimes occur (R) : they say *حَلَقٌ* *rings* and *فَلَكٌ* *whirls* of spindles, [for the genus (R)] ; and *حَلَقَةٌ* *a ring* and *فَلَكَةٌ* *a whirl* of a spindle, lightening, [says he (R),] the *n. un.* [by making the *ع* quiescent (R)], when they affix the augment, [i. e., the *ة* (R),] to it, [and alter the sense (S),] as they lighten [such as *كَبَّرِي* (R)] in [affixing the *ي* of (R)] relation (S, R) to it [296], since the *ة* is akin to the *ي* [253, 294] (R) : but this is rare (S) ; while *حَلَقَةٌ* [with Fath of the *ع* (R)] is transmitted [by Y (S)] on the authority of IAl (S, R), in which case *حَلَقٌ* is not anomalous ; and some of the Arabs say *حَلَقَةٌ* with quiescence of the *ع*, and *حَلَقٌ* [238] with Kasr of the *ف* in the generic *n.*, like *بَدْرٌ* *pl.* *بَدَرٌ* : (c) the reason why, in the whole of this *cat.*, we have assigned the broken *pl.* to the *n. un.*, not to the generic *n.*, is only that the generic *n.*, being i. q. the *pl.* of multitude, ought not to be pluralized (R) : (e) *فَعِلٌ*, in which [the predicament is the same as in *فَعَلٌ*, except that (S)] the broken *pl.* [of the *n. un.* (S)] does not occur, [as it does in *فَعَلٌ* (R),] because of the rarity of *فَعِلٌ* [in comparison with *فَعَلٌ* (S)], as *نَبِيقَةٌ* *a fruit of a lote-tree*, [*نَبِيقَاتٌ* and *نَبِيقٌ*

fruit of a lote-tree, لَبْنَةٌ *a brick*, لَبْنَاتٌ and لَبْنٌ (S),] and كَلِمَةٌ *a word* [238] (S, R), كَلِمَاتٌ and كَلِمٌ [above] (ـ) : (f) فَعَلَ, which [is treated like, but (S)] is rarer than فَعِلَ, as عِنْبَةٌ *a grape*, [عِنَبَاتٌ and (Jh) عِنَبٌ *grapes* (S),] and حَدَاةٌ *a kite* (S, R), حَدَاتٌ and حَدَاً *kites* (S) : (a) the [broken] pl. of حَدَاةٌ is حَدَاً (Jh, KF, HH), says As, like لَبَاً *biestings* (HH) ; and حَدَاً (KF) ; and [IKb adds (HH)] حَدَانٌ (KF, HH) with Kasr (KF) : (g) فَعَلَ, which [is treated in the same way, but (S)] is rarer than فَعِلَ, as سَمْرَةٌ *a gum-acacia tree* (S, R), سَمَرَاتٌ [and أَسْمَرٌ in paucity (Jh)] and سَمْرٌ, and ثَمْرَةٌ *a fruit*, ثَمَرَاتٌ and ثَمْرٌ (S) : (h) فَعَلَ, [which also is rare (R),] as بُسْرَةٌ *a full-grown unripe date*, [بُسَرَاتٌ and بُسْرٌ (S),] and هُدْبَةٌ *an eyelash* (S, R), هُدْبَاتٌ and هُدْبٌ (S) : (i) فَعَلَ, [which is similar (S),] as عَشْرَةٌ *a shrub named gigantic swallow-wort*, [عَشَرَاتٌ and عَشْرٌ (S),] and رُطْبَةٌ *a fresh ripe date* (S, R), رُطْبَاتٌ and رُطْبٌ [238] ; while some people say أَرْطَابٌ for رُطْبٌ [237], as they say أَعْنَابٌ for عِنَبٌ [237] (S) : and [similarly (S)], in the defective, مَهَاةٌ *seed of the stallion in the she-camel's womb*, مَهَى (S, R) ; while Akh asserts that the n. un. of طَلَى *necks* is طَلَاةٌ ; and, if you mean paucity, you pluralize with the [ت and] ت (S) : (a) the rule in all these measures is, as we mentioned first, that in paucity they

are pluralized with the **ا** and **ت**, while in multitude the **ة** is elided : (2) of more than three letters, as نَعَامٌ ostriches and نَعَامَةٌ an ostrich, سَفَرَجَلٌ and سَفَرَجَلَةٌ [above] (R). This [n. (R)] mostly occurs in things [created (M, R) by God (IY),] not manufactured (M, SH), because, [say the GG (R),] the former are [often (R) a genus (IY)] created by God in an aggregate, like تَمْرٌ dates [and تَفَاحٌ apples (R)]; so that, [the aggregate being anterior to the individual (IY), a n. is constituted to denote *the genus* ; and afterwards (R),] when the individual is required to be distinguished, the **ة** is affixed (IY, R) to it (R), as تَمْرَةٌ a date [and تَفَاحَةٌ an apple (Jh)]: while the counterpart of that is the *inf. n.*, such as ضَرْبٌ striking and أَكَلٌ eating, which is a generic n. indicative of multitude, denoting *acts* ; but, when they affix the **ة**, saying ضَرْبَةٌ a stroke and أَكَلَةٌ a meal, repast, becomes limited, and indicates a single instance [336] (IY) : whereas in manufactured things the individual is anterior to the aggregate (IY, R) ; so that in the expression also their *sing.* is anterior to their *pl.* But this requires consideration, because the generic *ns.* mentioned are not constituted to denote *the collection*, as the GG imagine, so that their reasoning should be correct ; but denote mere *quiddity*, whether it be with paucity or with multitude (R). And [the few that occur in manufactured things (R),] such as

لِبْنٌ *ships or boats* [and سَفِينَةٌ *a ship or boat* (M, R)], لِبْنٌ *bricks* (M, SH) and لِبْنَةٌ *a brick* (M, R), for which, says ISk, some of the Arabs say لِبْنٌ and لِبْنَةٌ, like لِبْدٌ *felt* and لِبْدَةٌ *a piece of felt* (Jh), نَرِيْ *nose-rings for camels and anklets* and بُرَّةٌ [238, 260] (R), قَلَنْسِيَةٌ *caps* [721] (M, SH) and قَلَنْسِيَةٌ *a cap* (M, R), are [anomalous (Jrb),] not regular (M, SH), the rule in such *ns.* being to form a broken *pl.*, as قَصْعَةٌ *a dish or platter*, *pl.* قِصَاعٌ [above], and جَفْنَةٌ *a bowl*, *pl.* جِفَانٌ [238]; but are assimilated to created things. And sometimes they assimilate created to manufactured things, giving them a broken *pl.*, as طِلَاحٌ [above], سِخَالٌ, and صُخُورٌ (IY). But كِمَاءَةٌ *truffles or mushrooms* and كِمٌّ *a truffle or mushroom*, [فَقْعَةٌ *white truffles* and فَقْعٌ *a white truffle* (R),] جَبَاءَةٌ *red truffles* and جَبٌّ *a red truffle* are the converse of تَمْرٌ and تَمْرَةٌ (M, SH), and are extraordinary (IY), because they [generally (R)] denote *the collection* when they contain the ة, and *the individual* when they are denuded of it (IY, R); though sometimes the reverse (R). And sometimes they have broken *pls.*, according to analogy, as جَبَاءَةٌ, like فَقْعَةٌ [237]; and أَكْمُرٌ, like أَكْلُبٌ [237], whence وَلَقَدْ جَنَيْتَكَ الْحَبْلَ [504, 599] (IY).

§ 255. The [broken (S, IY)] *pl.* is sometimes not formed from the *sing.* [used (M)], but from an assumed

expression *syn.* with it (IY)], whence (1) ^{أَرَاهُطُ} [256] (S, M, SH), as ^{يَا بُرْسُ لِلْعَرَبِ الْحَ} [101] (IY), *pl.* of ^{رَهْطُ}, as though [broken (S)] *pl.* of ^{أَرَهْطُ} (S, IY, R, Jrb) i. q. ^{رَهْطُ} [257] (IY), a *pl. pl.* (T), because the substantive ^{أَفْعَلُ}, however it may vary, takes the *pl.* ^{أَفَاعِلُ} [249] (Jrb) : (a) ^{أَرَهْطُ}, [according to S (T), is not used, not being *pl.* of ^{رَهْطُ}, since, if it were so, ^{أَرَاهُطُ} would not be anomalous ; but (IY), as is said (R) by others (T),] is used [by the poet, when he needs it (IY)], as

وَفَاصِحٌ مُفْتَضِحٌ فِي أَرَهْطَةٍ * مِنْ أَرْعَ الْوَادِي وَلَا مِنْ بُعْطَةٍ

And many a disgracer [of others (MAR)], disgraced among his [own (MAR)] kinsfolk, from the highest part of the valley, and not from the middle of it (IY, R), in which case ^{أَرَاهُطُ} is regular (R) : (b) similarly ^{أَكَرْعُ} *pl.* of ^{أَكَرْعُ} a shank (S, R), as though broken *pl.* of ^{أَكَرْعُ} [246] (S) : (2) ^{أَبَاطِيلُ} (S, M, SH), *pl.* of ^{بَاطِلُ} false (S, IY, R, Jrb), as though [broken (S)] *pl.* of ^{إِبْطِيلُ} (S, IY, Jrb) or ^{أَبْطَالُ} [256], i. q. ^{بَاطِلُ}, though they are not used (IY), by rule ^{بَوَاطِلُ} [247] (IY, R) : (3) ^{أَحَادِيثُ} [257], ^{أَعَارِضُ}, and ^{أَتَاظِيعُ} (S, M, SH), *pls.* of ^{حَدِيثُ} a tradition, ^{عَرُوضُ} last foot of first hemistich of a verse, and ^{قَطِيعُ} a herd or flock (S, IY, R, Jrb), as though *pls.* of ^{أَحْدَرَّةُ} [257], ^{إِعْرِضُ},

and *إِطِيعُ* (IY, Jrb), which are not used, by rule *حَدَّاثُ* ,
عَرَّاضُ , and *قَطَّاعُ* (IY), because their broken *pl.*, the
 number of their letters being four by reason of the aug-
 ment in them, would be *فَعَائِلُ* (S), like *تَمَلَّائِصُ* and *سَفَائِصُ*
 [246] (IY) : (4) *أَهَالُ* (S, M, SH), *pl.* of *أَهْلُ* (S, IY, R,
 Jrb), as though *pl.* of *أَهْلَاءُ* (IY, R, Jrb), which is not
 used, by rule *إِهَالُ* , like *كِعَابُ* [237] ; while *آهَالُ* [below]
 occurs in poetry, like *أَفْرَاحُ* [237], Akh citing

وَبَلَدَةٍ مَا أَلْنَسُ مِنْ آهَالِهَا

*And many a land such that man is not one of its inha-
 bitants* (IY) : and [similarly (IY)] *لَيَالٍ* (S, M, SH), *pl.*
 of *لَيْلُ* (S, Jrb) or *لَيْلَةٌ* (IY), as though *pl.* of *لَيْلَاءُ* (IY, R,
 Jrb), which [sometimes (IY)] occurs in poetry, as

فِي كُلِّ مَا يَوْمٍ وَكُلِّ لَيْلَاءٍ

In every day and every night (IY, R), though it is
 strange : and similarly *أَرَاضٍ* , [*pl.* of *أَرْضُ* (Jh, KF),] by
 rule *pl.* of *أَرْضَاءُ* (R) ; while Akh asserts that they say
أَرَاضُ [upon the measure of] *أَفْعَالُ* , as they say *آهَالُ* [above]
 (S) ; and *أَرُوضُ* is [sometimes used as (Jh)] a *pl.* (Jh, KF) :
 (a) *فَعَالُ* is extraordinary in *أَهْلُ* [and *أَرْضُ*] , and in *كَيْلَةٌ* a
night and *كَيْكَةٌ* an *agg.* (A), *pl.* *كَيَالٍ* (KF) : (5) *حَبِيرُ*
 (S, M, SH), *pl.* of *حِمَارُ* a *he-ass* (S, IY, Jrb), as though

pl. of حَمْرٌ (IY), because فَعِيلٌ, according to S [257], is one of the *pl.* forms, but by rule is *pl.* of فَعُلٌ (R), like كَلِيبٌ *dogs* [237, 257] (IY, R), عَبِيدٌ *slaves* [237, 239] (IY), مَعِيزٌ *goats* [257], and ضَّئِيبٌ *sheep* (R) : (6) أَصْحَابٌ [246, 247] and أَطْيَارٌ (S, IY), *pls.* of صَاحِبٌ *a companion* and طَائِرٌ *a bird*, as though broken *pls.* of صَحْبٌ and طَيْرٌ [257] (IY)'; and أَفْلَاحٌ *pl.* of فُلُوحٌ [239, 246] (S) : (7) أَمْكَنٌ [246, 264] (S, M, SH), *pl.* of مَكَانٌ (R, Jrh), as though *pl.* of مَكْنٌ (S, IY), not مَكَانٌ (S) ; and أَرْمَنٌ [246], *pl.* of رَمَانٌ (R) ; because we do not see فَعَالٌ [or فَعِيلٌ (S)] take the [broken (S)] *pl.* أَفْعُلٌ except when *fem.* (S, IY), like عَقَابٌ *an eagle*, *pl.* أَعْقَبٌ [246] (IY) : (8) تَوَامٌ [257], *pl.* of تَوَامٌ *a twin*, [says S (R), as though broken *pl.* of تَتَمٌ (S), because, according to him, فَعَالٌ also is one of the *pl.* formations, but by rule is *pl.* of فَعُلٌ or فَعِلٌ (R),] like ظَوَارٌ *pl.* of ظَهْرٌ *a foster-mother*, and رُخَالٌ *pl.* of (S, R) رِخْلٌ (S) or (KF) رِخْلٌ *a ewe-lamb* [257] : (9) مَكَاسِينُ *pl.* of حُسْنٌ *beauty*, and مَشَابِهُ *pl.* of شَبَهٌ *a likeness* [257] (R) : (10) طَهَارَى *pl.* of طَهْرٌ *clean* [259], as though *pl.* of طَهْرَانٌ (Jh). طُرُوفٌ [246] is [said by Khl to be (R), as it were (IY),] *pl.* of طَرْفٌ i. q. طَرِيفٌ, though طَرْفٌ is not used in this sense

(IY on § 246, R), as مَدَاكِيرُ is *pl.* of مِدْكَارُ i. q. ذَكَرُ a penis [257], though مِدْكَارُ is not used [in this sense] (R). They say كِرْوَانُ, and for the *pl.* كِرْوَانُ, which is only the broken *pl.* of كَرَا, like إِخْوَانُ [250] (S). And حَوَائِجُ is *pl.* of حَاجَةٌ (Jh, KF, A), as though *pl.* of حَائِجَةٌ (Jh, KF). According to Khl, حَاجَةٌ is *orig.* حَائِجَةٌ, and therefore takes the *pl.* حَوَائِجُ; and so say IAl and ID: and, as all three say (CD), حَائِجَةٌ has been heard (Dm, CD) in this *sing.* (Dm) from the Arabs, like حَاجَةٌ (CD); so that حَوَائِجُ may be *pl.* of it, the *pl.* of حَاجَةٌ being dispensed with (Dm): except that the well-known form is حَاجَةٌ, the use of حَائِجَةٌ being very rare, for which reason IJ says that it has not been heard, and that حَوَائِجُ is *pl.* of an assumed *sing.*; while some lexicologists hold that حَوَائِجُ is *pl.* of حَوَاجَاءُ i. q. حَاجَةٌ, which also is a *sing.* used, as in the saying of Kais Ibn Rifā'a [al Wākifī al Anṣārī (Is)]

مَنْ كَانَ فِي نَفْسِهِ حَوَاجَاءُ يَطْلُبُهَا * عِنْدِي فَأَتِي لَهُ رَهْنٌ بِاصْحَارِ
He in whose mind is a need that he seeks beside me, verily I am responsible to him for disclosure, the pl. of حَوَاجَاءُ being by rule حَوَاجٍ, like صَحَارٍ [248], but the ي being put before the ح by transposition (CD). And [the use of

(CD)] حَوَائِجُ is frequent in the [correct and chaste (CD)] language (Jh, CD) of the Arabs (Jh), as in the saying of the Prophet اسْتَعِينُوا عَلَىٰ إِنْجَاحِ الْحَوَائِجِ بِالْكَتْمَانِ لَهَا Seek ye help for the accomplishment of your needs in concealment of them, and in [another] tradition اُظْلِمُوا الْحَوَائِجَ Seek ye your needs beside the handsome in face, and in the saying of AlA'shà

النَّاسُ حَوْلَ فَنَائِهِ * أَهْلُ الْحَوَائِجِ وَالْمَسَائِلِ

Men round his court-yard are needy and petitioners, and the saying of AlFarazdak

وَلِي بِلَادِ السِّندِ عِنْدَ أَمِيرِهَا * حَوَائِجُ جَمَاتٍ وَعِنْدِي ثَوَابُهَا

And I have, in the countries of AsSind, at the court of its governor, many needs ; and in my power is their recompense, and countless other exs. in prose and verse (CD), as

نَهَارُ الْمَرْءِ أَمْثَلُ حِينَ يَقْضَىٰ * حَوَائِجُهُ مِنَ اللَّيْلِ الطَّوِيلِ

The man's day is more convenient, when his wants are satisfied, than the long night (Jh), which, if all were cited, would make a thick book (CD). It is disapproved, however, by As, who says that it is post-classical [254] (Jh) ; while H, as [pointed out] in the Masā'il of IBr, follows As in what he mentions (CD) : but As disapproves it only because it is irregular (Jh) ; and this is reckoned one of his slips and blunders ; while [his pupils] AHm

and AFR report, on his authority, that he retracted this saying (CD). And similarly ذَوَانِيْقُ [247], خَوَاتِيْمُ, and زَوَارِيْقُ, *pls.* of دَانِيْقُ, خَاتِمُ, and زَوَرَقُ a *skiff*, the rule being to omit the ي [253] ; so that the anomaly in these is the impletion of the Kasr. The preceding are all *pls.* in form and sense, having *sings.* of their form, except that they are irregular. And approximate to this *cat.* are (1) the *mascs.* which, having no broken *pl.*, are pluralized with the ا and ت, as جِبَالُ سَبَخَلَاتٍ [234, 261] and رِبَخَلَاتٍ [261], حَمَامَاتٍ [17, 234], and سُرَادِقَاتٍ [234, 261] : (2) and the like *fems.* pluralized with the و and ن [234, 244, 260] (R). نِسَاءٌ is a [heteromorphous (Jh, KF)] *pl.* of امْرَأَةٌ a *woman* (Jrb), like مَخَاضٌ *pl.* of خَلْفَةٌ [238] and اَوْلِيَّتُكَ *pl.* of ذَاكَ [171, 172] (Jh) ; as also are نِسْوَةٌ or نِسْوَةٌ [21, 257], نِسْوَانٌ [251] (Jh, KF), and نِسْوَنٌ (KF). And sometimes a *pl.* occurs that has no *sing.* at all, regular or irregular, like عَبَايِدُ and عَبَابِيْدُ [257] (R). Jh says (BS), I have not heard the *sing.* of عَسَاقِيْلُ meaning *mirage*, as in Ka'b's saying كَانَتْ اَوْبُ ذِرَاعِيْهَا اَلْحَمْعُ [75] : but the *sing.* of عَسَاقِيْلُ meaning a kind of *large white truffles* or *mushrooms* is عُسْقُوْلٌ ; while the poet says وَلَقَدْ جَنَيْتُكَ اَلْحَمْعُ [504] (Jh, BS), *orig.* عَسَاقِيْلُ, the letter of prolongation being elided by poetic license

[253]. أَشَدُّ [238, 256] in XLVI. 14. *Until, when he reacheth his strongest, or his full powers or strength*, (1) is *pl.* of أَشَدُّ by elision of the augment, as AU asserts, citing in evidence عَهْدِي بِهِ شَدَّ النَّهَارِ الْح at the time of *the highest part of the day* [65], *orig.* أَشَدَّ, according to him, the Hamza having been elided ; and, according to this, شَدَّ *pl.* أَشَدُّ is like أَبْ *pasture, pl.* أَرْب [661, 686] : and this is one of Sf's two saying (BS) : (a) critical judges hold that أَنْعَمُ [238] is *pl.* of the *inf. n.* نَعِمَ, [from their saying يَوْمُ نَعِمٍ *a day of enjoyment* (Jh),] according to analogy ; and that أَشَدُّ is *pl.* of شَدَّ, like أَقْدُ *pl.* of قَدَّ *a kid's skin* (IY on § 238) : (2) is *pl.* of شِدَّة [238], as S says, like أَنْعَمُ *pl.* of نِعْمَةٍ (BS) ; and this is good in respect of the sense, because بَلَغَ الْغُلَامُ شِدَّتَهُ *The young man reached his full vigor* is said (Jh) ; but فَعَلَةٌ does not take the *pl.* أَفْعُلُ (Jh, KF) : (3) occurs [as *pl.* of شَدَّ (Jh, KF),] by elision of the ة, as IJ says (BS), like أَزْرَبُ *pl.* of ذَرَبُ [237] (Jh, KF) : (4) is a *pl.* having no *sing.* [of its own crude-form (Jh, KF)], as Mz says ; and this is the second of Sf's two sayings (BS) : (5) is [said to be (B)] a *sing.* [in the form of a *pl.* (Jh, KF, AKB)], like أَنْكُ *pure lead* [256] (Jb, B on VI. 153, KF, AKB), these two having no counterpart (Jh, KF, AKB) ; and

[this is the saying of AZ, who relates that (AKB)] its Hamza is pronounced with Damm (KF, AKB) as a *dial. var.* of Fath (AKB).

§ 256. Necessity sometimes leads to pluralization, as to dualization [252], of the *pl.* (A). The [broken] *pl.* is [sometimes (SH)] pluralized (M, SH), when they mean to intensify the *multiplication*, and to notify *different kinds* of that sort, by assimilation of the *pl.* expression to the *sing.* (IY). The *pl. pl.* is of two kinds, sound and broken (Jrb). When they mean to form a broken *pl.* of a [broken (A)] *pl.*, they [assume it to be a *sing.*, and (Jrb)] form its [broken (A)] *pl.* like that of the *sing.* resembling it (Jrb, A) in measure (Jrb), i. e., in number of letters, and [arrangement of] vowels and quiescences, even if differing from it in the sort of vowel (Sn), as **أَعْبُدُ** [239] and **أَقْوَالُ** *speeches, pls.* **أَعَابِدُ** and **أَقَارِيلُ**, because assimilated to **أَسَوْدُ** and **إِعْصَارُ** [379], *pls.* **أَسَارِدُ** [249] and **أَعَاصِيرُ** [255]; and as **غَرْبَانُ** [246], *pl.* **غَرَابِينُ** by assimilation to [**سِرْحَانُ** *pl.* (Jh, KF)] **سَرَا حِينُ** [250] (A). And, when they mean to form a sound *pl.* of a [broken] *pl.*, they affix the **ل** and **ت** to its final, as **جَمَالُ** [237], *pl.* **جَمَالَاتُ**, and similarly the rest (Jrb). The *pl.* is pluralized with the **ل** and **ت** because the broken *pl.* is *fem.* [270] (IY, R). A seems to say that the *pl.* of the *pl.* not excepted [below] is regular : but AH says that, in the *pl.*

of multitude, it is not regular, by common consent ; and that, in the *pl.* of paucity, its regularity is disputed, the majority holding it to be regular, while IU adopts the opinion that it is not regular (Dm) IH says "sometimes" in order to make known that (Jrb), as S and others say (R), the *pl. pl.* is not regular (IY, R, Jrb), universal (R, Jrb), whether it be broken, like أَكَلِبٌ [below] ; or sound, like بَيُوتَاتٌ [below] (R) : but is confined to what the Arabs have pluralized, and does not exceed that (IY, R), because the object of the *pl.* is to indicate *multitude* ; and, this being realized by the *pl.* expression, we have no need of a second pluralization : S says that (IY) every *pl.* is not pluralized, as every *inf. n.* is not pluralized (S, IY), nor every *n.* that is applied to the collection [254] (S) ; and [Jr says that (IY)], if you said أَفَالِسُ as *pl.* of أَفَلَسٌ [and أَكَالِبُ as *pl.* of أَكَلَبٌ (IY)], it would not be allowable (IY, R) : and, that being the case, the *pl. pl.* is anomalous (IY). Similarly the *pl.* of the generic *n.* is not regular (R, Sn), by common consent, if its sorts do not differ, whether it have a *n. un.* distinguished by the ة [254], or not : while, if they do differ, the majority hold that its *pl.* is not regular, because of its rarity ; but Mb, Rm, and others hold it to be regular (Sn). And similarly the *inf. n.*, because it also is a generic *n.* [336] : so that you do not say نُصَرُّ and شَتْرُمُ, as *pl.* of نَصَرٌ and شَتَمٌ, nor أَبْرَارٌ as *pl.* of بُرٌّ [254] ; but confine

yourself to what has been heard, except that the poet, if constrained; pluralizes the *pl.*, as

بِأَعْيُنَاتٍ لَمْ يَخَالِطْهَا الْقَدَى

With eyes that notes have not troubled (R). And, as for the *quasi-pl. n.*, S seems to say that its *pl.* is not regular ; while أَقْرَامٌ and أَرَاهِطٌ, *pls.* of قَوْمٌ [257] and رَهْطٌ [255, 257], are instances of what has been heard : so [says Syt] in the Ham' (Sn). The *pl. pl.* occurs in the *pl.* of paucity, and in the *pl.* of multitude (IY) : but is frequent in the *pl.* of paucity ; and rare in the *pl.* of multitude, except [when the *pl. pl.* is formed] with the ا and ت (Jrb) : being easier in the *pl.* of paucity, because this indicates *few* ; so that, when *many* are meant, they pluralize it a second time (IY). It has been often heard in أَفْعُلُ , أَفْعَلَةٌ , and أَفْعَالٌ (R) : but, as for Z's saying "every أَفْعُلُ or أَفْعَلَةٌ" and "every أَفْعَالٌ" [below], it is a careless expression, the correct doctrine being what we have mentioned (IY). In the *pl.* of paucity (S, IY), (1) every (M) أَفْعُلُ or أَفْعَلَةٌ takes the [broken (S)] *pl.* أَفَاعِلُ (S, M), because أَفْعُلُ is assimilated to أَفْعَلُ , [like أَرْنَبٌ (IY),] and أَفْعَلَةٌ to أَفْعَلَةٌ (S, IY), like أَرْمَلَةٌ [249] (IY), as (a) أَيَادٍ *pl.* of أَيَدٍ [243, 260] (S, IY, R), *pl.* of يَدٍ a hand (IY), as says the Rājiz, [describing snow. (Jh)]

كَانَهُ بِالصَّخَصَكَاَنِ الْأَنْجَلِ * قُطْنٌ سَخَامٌ بِأَيَادِي غُرُلٍ

As though it, on the broad plain, were cotton soft to the feel, in hands of spinners (IY) ; and *أَوَاطِبُ* *pl. of* *أَوَاطُ* (S, IY, R), *pl. of* *وَطْبُ* *a skin for holding milk* (IY), as says the Rājiz

تُحَلَبُ مِنْهَا سِتَّةُ الْأَوَاطِبِ

The six skins of milk are milked from her (S, IY) : [and] as *أَكَالِبُ* (M, SH), which, I think, does not occur, for which reason Jr says [above] that, if you said *أَكَالِبُ*, it would not be allowable ; though Jh has transmitted it as (IY) *pl. of* *أَكْلَبُ* *dogs* [237] (IY, Jrh) : and *أَيْنُقُ* *pl. of* *أَيْنُقُ* [238] (Jh, KF, HH) : (a) Jh says (HH), the *pl. of* *نَاقَة* in paucity is *أَنُقُ* ; and then, deeming the Damma too heavy upon the و, they make the و precede [the ن], saying *أَنُقُ*, which is transmitted by ISk from some of the Tā'is ; and then they substitute a ي for the و, saying *أَيْنُقُ* (Jh, HH) : (b) *أَسَايُ* *pl. of* *أَسْقِيَة* (S, IY, R), *pl. of* *سِقَاء* *a skin used to hold water or milk* (IY) ; and *أَسَاوِرُ* (M), *pl. of* *أَسْوَرَة*, *pl. of* *سَوَار* *a bracelet*, as *يَحْكُرْنَ فِيهَا مِنْ أَسَاوِرَ مِنْ ذَهَبٍ* XVIII. 30. *They shall be adorned therein with bracelets of gold* (IY) ; and [sometimes (IY)] *أَسَاوِرَة* (S, IY, R), *pl. of* *أَسْوَرَة* (S, R), the ة being affixed for femininization of the *pl.* [265], as *فَلَوْلَا أَلْقَى عَلَيْهِ أَسَاوِرَة مِنْ ذَهَبٍ* XLIII. 53. *Then wherefore have not bracelets of gold been put upon him ?* (IY), so read by some (K, B) : (2) every (M) *أَنْعَالٌ*

takes the [broken (S)] *pl.* أَفَاعِيلُ (S, M), because أَفْعَالُ is assimilated to أَفْعَالُ [379] (S, IY), as أَنْعِيمُ (S, M, SH), *pl.* of أَنْعَامُ [253] (S, IY, R, Jrb), *pl.* of نَعَمُ camels (IY); and أَقَاوِيلُ (S, IY, R), *pl.* of أَقْوَالُ sayings, speeches (S, R); and أَبَايْتُ *pl.* of أَبْيَاتُ tents or houses [242]; while a poet says

تَرَعَى أَنَاظٍ مِنْ حَزِيرِ الْخَصْفِ

*Emaciated camels browse off the rugged ground of the salt plants, pluralizing أَنْصَاءُ [239, 251], pl. of نَصْرٌ, [and contracting أَفَاعِيلُ into أَفَاعِلُ] (S). And they say أَعْطِيَاتُ [pl. of أَعْطِيَةٌ pl. of عَطَاةٌ a gift (KF)] and أَسْقِيَاتُ, using the sound pl. [of أَفْعَلَةٌ (S, IY)], like أَنْمَلَاتُ [253] (S, IY, R). And [in the *pl.* of multitude (IY)] they say (1) [in فِعَالُ (S, R),] (a) جَمَائِلُ (S, M, SH), *pl.* of جَمَالُ [237] (S, IY, R, Jrb), *pl.* of جَمْلٌ a he-camel (Jrb), using the [broken (S)] *pl.* فَعَائِلُ (S, R), like شَمَائِلُ (S, IY, R, Jrb), *pl.* of شَمَالُ (S, Jrb), which is the wind that blows from the direction of the pole-star (Jrb), [or] *pl.* of شِمَالُ [246] (IY, R), as though they meant different kinds of he-camels, not intending multiplication here, because the o. f. imports multitude (IY); (b) جَمَالَاتُ, [as كَانَتْ جَمَالَاتُ] LXXVII. 23. As though they were yellow he-camels (IY), as they say (S)] كِلَابَاتُ (S, M, SH), *pl.* of كِلَابٌ dogs*

(KF), رَجَالَتْ (S, M, R), *pl. of رَجَالٌ men* [235, 237] (Jh, KF), and نِيَاقَاتُ *pl. of نِيَاقٌ she camels* [238] (KF), using the sound *pl.* (S, IY, R), which is frequent in comparison with the broken (IY) : (2) in فُعُولُ (S, R), بُيُوتَاتُ (S, M, SH), *pl. of بُيُوتٌ tents or houses* [242] (S) : (3) in فُعُلُ (S, R), حُمَرَاتُ and جُزَرَاتُ (S, M, SH), *pls. of حُمُرٌ* [246] and جُزُرُ, *pls. of حِمَارٌ a he-ass and جَزُورٌ a camel for slaughter* (IY), طُرُقَاتُ (S, M, R), *pl. of طُرُقٌ roads* [246] (S, IY), and مَعْنَاتُ (M), *pl. of مَعْنٌ, pl. of مَعِينٌ running water* (IY) : (4) in فُعَلُ (R), عَوْدَاتُ (S, M, R), *pl. of عُوْدٌ* [247] (S, IY), *pl. of عَائِدٌ* (IY, R), as says the poet [ArRā'i (IY)]

لَهَا بِحَقِيلٍ فَالْثَنِيْرَةِ مَنْرِلُ * تَرَى الْوَحْشَ عَوْدَاتٍ يِهْ وَمَتَالِيَا
She has in Ḥaḳīl and AnNumaira an abode, wherein she sees the wild animals when recently delivered, and followed by their little ones (S, IY) ; and [similarly (S, IY)] دُورَاتُ (S, M, R), *pl. of دُورٌ* [285] (IY), *pl. of دَارٌ a house, dwelling, or abode* (IY, R) : (5) in فُعْلَانُ [or فِعْلَانُ], [250] فَعَالَيْنُ, like (R) مَصَارِيْنُ (S, M, R), *pl. of مَصْرَانُ* (S, IY, R), *pl. of مَصِيْرٌ a gut or bowel* (IY, R), like كُتْبَانُ *pl. of كَثِيْبٌ* [246] (IY) ; and حَشَاشِيْنُ (S, M, R), *pl. of حَشَانُ* (S, R), *pl. of حَشٌ a garden* [below] (R), or of حَشِيْشٌ *dry fodder* (R on § 237) ; [or] *pl. of حَشَانُ* [237] (IY), which may be

(R) *pl.* of حَشَّ [above] (IY, R), because it is a *dial. var.* of حُشَّ [237], like ثِيرَانُ *pl.* of ثَوْرٌ a bull (R). And, says ISd, it is my opinion that أَبْرَأُ and بَرَكَانُ are *pls.* of بَرَكٌ, which is *pl.* of بَرَكَةٌ, as says Zuhair, describing a sand-grouse fleeing from a hawk to some water flowing on the surface of the earth,

حَتَّى اسْتَعَاثَتْ بِمَاءٍ لَا رِشَاءَ لَهُ * بَيْنَ الْأَبَاطِحِ فِي حَافَاتِهِ الْبُرُنْ

Until she took refuge on some water that had no well-rope, among the wide pebbly water-courses, at whose sides were ducks or frogs (HH). But none of that is to be copied (R on § 256). The *pl. pl.*, [says Jrb (Sn),] is not unrestrictedly applicable to less than nine, as the *pl.* of the *sing.* is not unrestrictedly applicable to less than three [234], except by a trope (Jrb, Sn). If you said عِنْدِي أَنَاعِيمُ I have several camels, the least number necessarily implied would be twenty-seven, because the least that the *quasi-pl. n.* is unrestrictedly applicable to is three ; so that, when you pluralize نَعَمٌ, saying أَنْعَامٌ, it, being multiplied at least three times, becomes [at least] nine ; and therefore, when you pluralize أَنْعَامٌ, it becomes [at least] twenty-seven (IY). The *pl. pl.* is sometimes pluralized, as أَصَائِلُ *pl.* of أَصَالٌ, *pl.* of أَصْلٌ, *pl.* of أَصِيلٌ an evening ; but some disapprove of that (MASH). أَكْمٌ is *pl.* of أَكْمٌ, like أَكْمٌ *pl.* of عُنُقٌ [237] ; and أَكْمٌ is *pl.* of أَكْمٌ, like كُنْبٌ *pl.*

of كِتَاب [246] ; and إِكَام is pl. of أَكَم [254], like جَبَال pl. of جَبَل a mountain ; and أَكَم is pl. of أَكَمَة : and the counterpart of this is ثَمَر pl. ثَمَرَة ; and ثَمَر pl. ثِمَار [254] ; and ثِمَار pl. ثُوم [238] ; and أَثْمَار pl. ثُوم : Jh mentions them, transmitting the second from Fr ; and I know no counterpart of them in Arabic (BS). The [ultimate, i. e., ultimate broken (R),] pl. (R on IH upon the diptote, A) upon the measure of مَفَاعِلُ or مَفَاعِيلُ (A), i. e., agreeing with them in number [of letters] and conformation, even though differing from them in conventional measure (Sn), is named "ultimate" because the n. forms broken pls., pl. after pl., until it reaches this measure, when it (R) refuses to form a [further] broken pl. (R, A), because it has no counterpart among sings., that it might be made to accord with (A) : but it sometimes forms a [sound (R)] pl. (R, A), as F mentions in the Hujjat (R), with the و and ن, like نَوَاسٍ pl. of نَوَاسٍ (A), as in the saying [of Al'Ajjāj, describing a ship or boat (AKB),]

لَا يَأْتِيَنَّهَا مِنَ الْجُرُورِ * جَذَبُ الصَّرَاطِينَ يَأْتِكُرُورِ

[Slowly and laboriously does the hauling of the sailors on the sheets keep her away from yawing (AKB)], صَرَاطِينُ being the sound pl. of صَرَاطِي, pl. of صَرَآء, pl. of صَارٍ a sailor, and in

وَإِذَا الرِّجَالُ رَأَوْا يَزِيدَ رَأْيَتَهُمْ * خَضَعَ الرِّقَابِ نَوَاسِي الْأَبْصَارِ

[247] (R), نَوَاسِي with the ي being transmitted by many

(AKB) ; or with the **ا** and **ت** (A), whence [the tradition (A)] **إِنَّكُمْ لَأَنْتُنَّ صَوَاحِبَاتُ يُوسُفَ** *Verily ye, assuredly ye are the mistresses of Joseph* (R,A) : though the sound *pl.* is not regular, universal (R). And IM adds in the *Tash-hil* **فَعَلَّةٌ** and **فَعَلَةٌ** ; so that, says Dm, whatever is commensurable with any of these four paradigms does not form a [broken] *pl.* (Sn). The ultimate *pl.* [18] is the *pl.* whose initial is pronounced with *Fath* : and whose third is a [non-compensatory (A, Fk)] **ا** followed by two letters, [whether one of them be incorporated into the other, as in **دَوَابٌ**, or not, as in **مَسَاجِدُ** (R)] ; or by three, the middle one of which is quiescent (R, Jm, A, Fk, upon the diptote), such that it and what follows it are not meant to be understood as separable [from the **ا**] (A) : while the letter next after the **ا** is pronounced with *Kasr* not accidental (A, Fk), either expressed, [as in **مَسَاجِدُ** and **مَصَائِمُ** (YS)] ; or understood, as in **مَدَارِي** [and **دَوَابٌ** (YS)], *orig.* **دَوَابٌ** [731] (A, YS) and **مَدَارٍ** [248] (YS). When the *pl.* is of this description, it is excluded from the forms of Arabic *sings.*, because you do not find a *sing.* whose third is an **ا** followed by two or three letters except when (1) its initial is pronounced with *Damm*, as **عَدَائِرُ** [395] : or (2) its **ا** is a compensation for one of the two **ي** s of relation, (a) really, as in **يَمَانٍ** and **شَمٍّ**, *orig.*

شَامِي and يَمِينِي, one of the two ي s of relation being elided, and the | put as a compensation for it, [while the Hamza of شَام is pronounced with Fath for affinity to the | (Sn)]; or constructively, as in تَهَام [and ثَمَان (A)], the | of which was present before [the formation of the *rel.*, so that it is a quasi-compensation (YS)], as though the *rel.* were formed from فَعَلٌ, [like يَمِين (YS, Sn),] or فَعَلٌ, [like شَام (YS, Sn), and then one of the two ي s were elided, and the | put as a compensation for it (A)]: or (3) the second of the three [letters after the |] is mobile, as in [the *inf. ns.* (YS)] كَرَاهِيَّةٌ *dislike* and طَرَاعِيَّةٌ *obedience* [below] (A, YS); for which reason such as مَلَانِكَةٌ [below] and صَيَارِفَةٌ [253] are triptote (A): or (4) the second and third are accidental, added to denote *relation*, and meant to be understood as separable [from the |], the canon of which [accidental addition to denote *relation* (Sn)] is that the second and third should not precede the | in existence, whether they be (a) preceded by it, as in رِبَاحِي [and (A)] طَفَارِي [rels. to {الرِّبَاحُ (Jh)} a country from which camphor is imported and طَفَار a city in AlYaman (Sn)]; or (b) inseparable [from the | (YS)], like حَوَارِي an assistant and حَوَالِي cunning: contrary to such as قَمَارِي, [بَحَاتِي (A), and كَرَاسِي (YS),] which correspond to مَصَابِيحُ

(A,YS), because [the second and third, i. e.] the two *س*s, being found in the *sing.* [248], are not accidental in the *pl.* (YS) : or (5) the letter next after the *ا* [is not pronounced with an original Kasr, but (A)] is (a) pronounced with (a) Fath, as in *بَرَآءَ* [246] ; (b) Damm, as in [the *inf. n.* (YS)] *تَدَارُكٌ* ; (c) an accidental Kasr on account of the unsoundness [of the final (YS)], as in *تَوَانٍ* and *تَدَانٍ*, [*orig.* *تَدَانِي* and *تَرَانِي*, the Damma being converted into Kasra (YS, Sn) for affinity to the *س* (Sn)] : (b) quiescent, as in *عَبَالٌ pl.* of *عَبَالَةٌ a weight*, as in the saying *أَلْقَى عَلَيْهِ عِبَالَهُ* *He threw his weight upon him* (A, YS), *عَبَالٌ* being triptote because the quiescent in it next after the *ا* has no share in any vowel (A), since *عَبَالٌ* has no *o. f.*, in which the quiescent was mobile, contrary to such as *دَوَابٌ* (Sn). The reason why the ultimate *pl.* is so strong as to be equivalent to two causes [18] is, (1) as the majority hold, because it has no counterpart among Arabic *sings.* : (a) as for such as *أَكْلَبٌ* and *أَجْبَالٌ*, which also have no counterpart among *sings.*, the strength of their plurality is broken by their being *pls.* of paucity, the predicament of which is that of *sings* [235] : (b) the opinion is attributed to S that *أَفْعَالٌ* is a *sing.* ; and that for this reason the text has *مَا فِي بَطُونِهِ* XVI. 68. [146], though the *pron.* refers to *الْأَنْعَام* ; and the *sing.* may be qualified by it [146, 235, 257], though not by any other *pl.* measure : but it would not be

correct to urge that أَفْعُلْ occurs as a *sing.* in أَذْرُحْ a name of a place, because it is transferred [4] from the *pl.*, like مَدَائِنُ; nor in أَجْرُ baked bricks and أَنْكُ [255], because they are foreign; nor in أَبْلَمْ, because it is a corrupt, anomalous, *dial. var.*, the chaste pronunciation being *Ḍamm* of the Hamza [372]; nor in أَشْدُ [238, 255], because it is an irregular *pl.* of شِدَّةُ, or a *pl.* having no *sing.*, as is proved by the saying

بَلِّغْتَهَا وَاجْتَمَعَتْ أَشْدَى

I was brought to it, when my strength was collected, the v. being made fem. [270] (R) : (c) R's argument, in which he follows IH in the CM, that the femininization of the *v.* proves أَشْدُ to be a *pl.*, is controvertible; for, the Commentators and Lexicologists being agreed upon interpreting it by قُوَّةُ strength, the femininization of its *v.* may be from regard to its meaning, not to its being *pl.* : while the true version of the saying, which is by Abū Nukhaila, praising Hishām Ibn 'Abd AlMalik, is

بَلِّغْتَهَا مُجْتَمِعَ الْأَشْدِ * فَأَنْهَلَ لَهَا قُوتَ صَوْبِ الرَّعْدِ

in the 2nd *pers.*, not the 1st, *Thou wast brought to it* (the Khilāfa), *when collected as to thy strength; and, when thou didst rise to the throne, the thunder-shower poured down, i. e., the doors of bounty were opened; though it may be from another Rajaz poem, and God knows!* (AKB): (2) as some say, because it is the ultimate

broken *pl.*, [as explained above]: (3) as others say, because, having no counterpart among *sings.*, it resembles the foreign, which has no counterpart in the Arabic language ; but, according to this, it contains two causes, pluralization and quasi-foreignness, not one cause equivalent to two causes : (4) as Jz says, because it contains pluralization and want of a counterpart among *sings.*, want of a counterpart being, according to him, an independent cause, not needing [to be combined with] plurality ; so that, according to him also, it contains two causes ; and the causes, according to him, are more than nine : (5) as IH says, because the pluralization is really repeated, as in أَكَالِبُ ; or because this *pl.* is on the measure of the *pl. pl.*, as in مَسَاجِدُ : so that, according to him, its being the ultimate *pl.* has no effect. This form [of *pl.*], however, [in order to be an independent preventive of triptote declension,] must be without a *š*, a condition intended to exclude such as مَلَائِكَةُ [253, 265], because the *š* approximates the expression to the measure of the *sing.*, as كَرَاهِيَّةٌ [above], عِلَاقِيَّةٌ *publicity*, and طَرَايِيَّةٌ, so that the strength of its plurality is somewhat broken (R).

§ 257. What [Z followed by] H mentions in this section is the *quasi-pl. n.* (R on SH). The *n.* is [sometimes] applied to the collection, though it is not a broken *pl.* of its *sing.* (S, M), but is [only a *sing. n.* applied to a mul-

titude (IY),] like ^{قَوْمٌ} *men*, ^{نَفَرٌ} *a member of men from three to ten*, [and ^{رَهْطٌ} *a number of men less than ten* (Jh, KF),] except that it has the same crude-form [and composition (IY)] as its *sing.* (S, IY), while ^{قَوْمٌ} [273], ^{نَفَرٌ}, [and ^{رَهْطٌ}] have crude-forms different from those of the *sing.*, because their *sing.* is ^{رَجُلٌ} *a man* (IY), as (1) ^{رُكْبٌ} [*owners of camels on a journey, exclusively, from ten upwards* (IY), *sing.* ^{رَاكِبٌ} (S, IY), ^{رَجُلٌ} *footmen, pedestrians, sing.* ^{رَاكِبٌ} (Jh, K, B on XVII. 66)], ^{سَفَرٌ} *travellers* (S, M), *sing.* ^{سَافِرٌ} (IY), like ^{صَحْبٌ} *companions, sing.* ^{صَاحِبٌ}, [^{طَائِرٌ} *birds, sing.* ^{طَائِرٌ} (S)], ^{تَجَرٌ} *traders* (S, IY), *sing.* ^{تَاجِرٌ} (IY), and ^{شَرِبٌ} *drinkers* [below] (S): (2) ^{أَدَمٌ} [*tanned hides* (IY), *sing.* ^{أَدِيمٌ} (S, IY), ^{أَفَقٌ} *partly tanned hides, sing.* ^{أَفِيقٌ}, and ^{أَهَبٌ} *untanned hides, sing.* ^{إِهَابٌ} (S)]; ^{عَمَدٌ} [*poles of tents* (IY), *sing.* ^{عُمُودٌ} (S, IY)]; ^{خَدَمٌ} *servants* (S, M), *sing.* ^{خَادِمٌ}, and ^{غَيْبٌ} *absent, sing.* ^{غَائِبٌ} (S), like ^{حَرَسٌ} *guards, [sing.* ^{حَارِسٌ} (KF)], as ^{حَرَسًا شَدِيدًا} LXXII. 8. *Filled with strong guards* (K, B), where, being *sing.*, it is qualified by ^{شَدِيدًا}, whereas, if its sense were regarded, ^{شَدَادًا} would be said; while a similar construction occurs in

^{أَخْشَى رُجَيْلًا أَوْ رُكَيْبًا غَادِيَا * وَالذِّئْبَ أَخْشَاهُ وَكَلْبًا عَادِيَا}

I dread a small band of footmen or a small troop of camel-riders going out early in the morning; and (dread) the

wolf, dread him [62], and a howling dog, [where the poet says غَادِيَا (N),] because رَجُلٌ and رَكْبٌ are sings. (K): (3) جَامِلٌ [a herd of camels with their herdsmen and owners, as فَاِنْ تَكُ ذَا شَاءَ كَثِيرٍ فَانَّهُمْ * ذُوو جَامِلٍ مَا يَهْدُ الْلَيْلَ سَامِرَةٌ (IY), by AlḤutai'a, satirizing AzZibriḳān Ibn Badr at-Tamimi asṢahābī, And, if thou be owner of many sheep, verily they are owners of a herd of camels, whose talkers rest not in the night, meaning that the herdsmen stay awake all night to keep watch over the camels (AKB),] and بَاقِرٌ (S, M) a herd of cows [with their herdsmen (Jh)], as in the reading اِنَّ الْبَاقِرَ تَشَابَهَ عَلَيْنَا II. 65. Verily the herd of cows described are so much alike as to confuse us (IY), sings. جَمَلٌ a he-camel and بَقَرَةٌ a cow [273] (S, IY); and جَانٌ genii, sing. جِنٌّ (KF): (4) سَرَاةٌ nobles, chiefs [246] (S, M), orig. سَرَوَةٌ (IY), sing. سَرِيٌّ (S, IY): (5) فَرَّهَةٌ (S, M) sharp in pace, said of he-asses (IY), sing. فَارَةٌ, like صُحْبَةٌ companions, sing. صَاحِبٌ (S, IY): (6) ضَانٌ sheep (S, M), sing. ضَائِنٌ, and مَعَزٌ goats, sing. مَاعِزٌ (S, IY); and sometimes ضَانٌ and مَعَزٌ, like رَكْبٌ (IY): (7) غَزِيٌّ raiders (S, M), as سَرَيْتَ بِهِمْ حَتَّى تَكِلَ غَزِيَّهُمْ * وَحَتَّى الْحَيَادَ مَا يُقْدَنَ بِأَرْسَانِ Have I made to journey by night, so that even their raiders are weary, and so that even the generous coursers etc.

[501], *sing.* غَارِ ; and [similarly (IY)] عَرِيبٌ [camels that do not return to the tribe at evening (IY)], *sing.* عَارِبٌ , and قَاطِنٌ inhabitants, *sing.* قَاطِنٌ (S, IY) : (8) تَوَّامٌ (M), *sing.* تَوَّامٌ [255] (IY) ; ظَوَّارٌ , *sing.* ظِئْرٌ [255] (S), أَنَاسٌ tribe (K on VII. 160), *sing.* إِنْسٌ (KF on نوس) , and ثَنَاءٌ she-camels that have brought forth twice, *sing.* ثَنِيٌّ (S) ; رَخَالٌ (M), *sing.* رَخِلٌ [255] (IY) ; and رَعَاءٌ herdsmen, [*sing.* رَاعٍ ,] as الرَعَاءُ read in XXVIII. 23. [247] (K, B) : (9) عَدَى and عُدَى (10-11) : (10-11) أَخٌ (S) : [237], *sing.* أَخٌ brothers إخوة enemies, foes, *sing.* عَدُوٌّ [368] (KF). This kind of *n.* (IY), such as رَكْبٌ [above], جَامِلٌ , etc. (SH), though it indicates multitude (IY), is not a [broken (IY)] *pl.* (IY, SH) of the *sing.* (IY), according to the soundest [opinion] (SH) ; but is a *quasi-pl. n.* (MASH). The *quasi-pl. n.*, as إِبِلٌ camels [232, 273] and غَنَمٌ sheep, is excluded [from IH's definition of the *pl.*], because, although it indicates units [234], still those units are not intended [and indicated] by taking the letters of its *sing.*, and subjecting them to some alteration ; but its *sing.* is a heteromorphous expression, like بَعِيرٌ a camel and شَاةٌ a sheep : for, if it be said that رَكْبٌ [above], طَلَبٌ pursuers, and جَامِلٌ are included in the definition, since their *sings.* رَاكِبٌ , طَالِبٌ , and جَمَلٌ are of their crude-forms,

as you see, رَاكِبٌ, c. g., being taken, and its letters altered, so that it becomes رَكِبٌ, I say that رَاكِبٌ is not the *sing.* of رَكِبٌ, though they happen to have the same *rad.* letters, because, if they were *pls.* of these *sings.*, (1) they would not be *pls.* of paucity, since the measures of the latter are limited [235], but *pls.* of multitude; and the *pl.* of multitude does not make its *dim.* according to its own form, but is restored to its *sing.*, while these are not restored, as رَكِيبٌ and جَوَيْمِلٌ [285]: (2) they would be restored to their *sings.* in forming the *rel.* [310], and رَكِيبٌ and جَامِلِيٌّ would not be said: (3) it would not be allowable to put the *pron.* relating to them into the *sing.*, as in ذُو جَامِلٍ الْخ [above] and

فَعَبَّتْ غَشَاشًا ثُمَّ مَرَّتْ كَأَنَّهَا * مَعَ الصُّبْحِ رَكِبٌ مِنْ أَحَاطَةِ مُجِفِلٍ

[271] (R on IH), from the ode celebrated as the *Lāmiyat al'Arab*, by Ash-Shanfarā, *Then they* (the sand-grouse) *gulped water down hastily, and afterwards passed, as though they were, with the dawn, camel-riders from, or of, Uhāza, hurrying along,* where the *pron.* relating to رَكِبٌ from its *ep.* مُجِفِلٌ is *sing.* (AKB). But Akh [below] says that every *n.* which imports the sense of the *pl.*, and whose *sing.* is an *act. part.*, like صَحَبٌ and شَرِبٌ [above], *sings.* صَاحِبٌ and شَارِبٌ, is a broken *pl.*, whose *sing.* is that *act. part.*; and it follows from the opinion of Akh,

although he does not expressly declare it, that *بَعْدُ* *distant*, *sing.* *بَعِيدٌ*, *أَهَبٌ*, *عَمِدٌ*, *خَدَمٌ* and *غَيْبٌ* and *جَامِلٌ*, *سَرَاةٌ*, *كَلِيبٌ* and *مَعِيزٌ*, *ظَوَارٌ* and *نَوَامٌ*, *غَزَى*, *صُحْبَةٌ* and *فُرْهَةٌ* [237, 255], *sings.* *مَعَزٌ* and *كَلْبٌ*, *مَشِيخَةٌ* *elders*, *sing.* *شَيْخٌ*, and *مَشِيخَاءُ* *elders* [273], *مَعِيرَاءُ* *asses* [273], and *مَأْتُونَاءُ* *she-asses*, *sings.* *شَيْخٌ*, *عَيْرٌ*, and *أَتَانٌ*, are all broken *pls.*, since they resemble *رَكْبٌ*, *سَفَرٌ*, and the like, because the *pl.* has an expression of its own composition applicable to an individual (R on SH) ; and [thus], according to Akh, the whole of the *quasi-pl. ns.*, that have *sings.* of their own composition, are *pls.*, contrary to the opinion of S : while, according to Fr, whatever has a *sing.* of its own composition, whether it be a *quasi-pl. n.*, like *رَكْبٌ* and *بَاقِرٌ*, or a generic *n.*, like *تَمْرٌ* and *رُومٌ* [254], is a *pl.* ; and whatever has not [such a *sing.*] is not [a *pl.*], such a *n.* as *إِبِلٌ* being a *sing.*, according to him. As for the *quasi-pl. n.* and the generic *n.*, that have no *sing.* of their own crude-form, they are not *pls.*, by common consent, as *إِبِلٌ* *camels* and *تُرَابٌ* *dust* ; while the reason that a *n.* like *تُرَابٌ* and *خَلٌّ* *vinegar* has no *n. un.* with the ة is that it has no individual distinguishable from another, as *تَفَاحٌ* *apples* and *تَمْرٌ* *dates* have [254] (R on IH). This sort [of *quasi-pl. n.*], which has no *sing.* of its own crude-form, is mostly *fem.* [271] (R on SH). If it be said that some *pls.* also, i. e.; the

pl. of the assumed *sing.*, as عَبَائِدُ and عَبَائِدُ [255], meaning [*horsemen*, and (KF)] *parties* [*of people, going in every direction* (Jh, KF)], and نِسْوَةٌ *pl.* of امْرَأَةٌ [21, 255, 275], being excluded by the saying "intended [and indicated] by the letters of its *sing.*" [234], ought to be *quasi-pl. ns.*, like اِبِلٌ and غَنَمٌ, I say that the *quasi-pl. ns.* are such as import the sense of the *pl.*, while differing from the measures peculiar to, or notorious in, the *pl.*; whereas, the measure of such as عَبَائِدُ and عَبَائِدُ being peculiar to [256], and [the measure] of such as نِسْوَةٌ being notorious in [235], the *pl.*, their measure necessitates their being *pls.*; so that, a *sing.* being assumed for them, as عَبَادٌ and عَبْدُودٌ, and as نِسَاءٌ, like غُلَامٌ *pl.* غِلْمَةٌ [246], they have, as it were, a *sing.* subjected to some alteration. And such as مَذَاكِيرُ *pl.* of ذَكَرٌ [255], مَكَاسِينُ *pl.* of حُسْنٌ [255, 285], and مَشَابِهٌ *pl.* of شَبَّهٌ, are co-ordinated with the *pl.* of the assumed *sing.*, although they have a *sing.* of their own crude-form, because it is not regular; so that their *sing.* is, as it were, مَذْكُورٌ or مِذْكَارٌ, مَحْسَنٌ, and مَشْبَهٌ: and similarly the أَحَادِيثُ *traditions* of the Prophet [255], *pl.* of حَدِيثٌ, not of the أُحْدُوْثَةٌ used, because the latter denotes a *facetious, low story* (may the like of it be shunned!) (R on IH). The difference between the *pl.*, the *quasi-pl. n.*, and the collective generic *n.* [254] is (1)

id. : for the *n.* indicative of *more than two* is (a) applied to denote *an aggregate of units collected*, indicating them as the repetition of the *sing.* with coupling [228] would indicate them ; (b) applied to denote *an aggregate of units*, indicating them as the *sing.* indicates the *whole of the parts* of its named ; (c) applied to denote *the essence*, the consideration of individuality being neglected in it : so the first is the *pl.*, whether it have a *sing.* of its own crude-form used, like رَجَالٌ and أُسُودٌ [237] ; or not, like أَبَايِلُ *separate companies, flocks, or beves* : the second is the *quasi-pl. n.*, whether it have a *sing.* of its own crude-form, like رَكْبٌ and صَحْبٌ ; or not, like قَوْمٌ and رَهْطٌ : and the third is the collective generic *n.*, which is distinguished from its *n. un.* mostly by the ة, as قَبْرٌ and قَبْرَةٌ [254] ; and sometimes by the ي of relation, as رُومٌ and رُومِيٌّ [294] : (2) *lit.* : for, (a) if the *n.* indicative of *more than two* have no *sing.* of its own crude-form, then, (a) if it be upon a measure peculiar to the *pl.*, as أَبَايِلُ and عَبَادِيدُ, or prevalent in the *pl.*, as أَعْرَابٌ, it is a *pl.* of an assumed *sing.* : (a) we say that أَعْرَابٌ is upon a prevalent measure, because أَعْعَالٌ is extraordinary in *sings.*, as بَرْمَةٌ أَعْشَارٌ [146] : this is the opinion of some GG ; but most of them hold that أَعْعَالٌ is a measure peculiar to the *pl.*, and make بَرْمَةٌ أَعْشَارٌ a qualification of the

sing. by the *pl.* [235, 256], for which reason IM in the Kāfiya mentions only the [measure] peculiar to the *pl.* : (β) ^{اَعْرَابٌ} is not *pl.* of ^{عَرَبٌ}, because ^{عَرَبٌ} is common to the *settled Arabs* and the *nomad Arabs*, whereas ^{اَعْرَابٌ} is peculiar to the *nomads* : (b) if not, it is a *quasi-pl. n.*, as ^{رَهْطٌ} and ^{اِبِلٌ} : (b) if it have a *sing.* of its own crude-form, then, (a) if it be distinguished from its *sing.* by [elision of (Sn)] the ^ى of relation or the ^ة of feminization, [which is in its *sing.* (Sn),] it is, when not invariably *fem.*, a collective generic *n.*, as ^{رَوْمٌ} and ^{تَمَرٌ} [254, 294] ; and, when invariably *fem.*, a *pl.*, as ^{نَحَمٌ} and ^{تَهَمٌ} [238] : (b) if it be not so [distinguished (Sn)], then, if it accord with the preceding measures of the *pl.* [235, 237-253], it is a *pl.*, so long as it is not equal with the *sing.* in being *masc.* [270], and in having a *rel. n.* formed to it [310], in which case it is a *quasi-pl. n.*, for which reason ^{غَرِيٌّ} is decided to be a *quasi-pl. n.* of ^{غَارٍ}, because it is equal with the *sing.* in being *masc.* ; and ^{رَكَابٌ} *riding-camels* is decided to be a *quasi-pl. n.* of ^{رُكُوبَةٌ} [246], because they say ^{رُكَابِيٌّ} : while, if it differ from the preceding measures of the *pl.*, it is a *quasi-pl. n.*, as ^{صَحْبٌ} and ^{رَكْبٌ}, because ^{فَعْلٌ} is not one of the *pl.* formations, contrary to the opinion of Akh [above]. As for the integral generic *n.*, like ^{لَبَنٌ} *milk*, ^{مَاءٌ} *water*, and ^{ضَرْبٌ} *striking*, it does not indi-

cate *more than two*, [nor *two* (Sn)]: for it is applicable to *little* and *much* ; though, when ^{فَرْبَة} is said, with the ة , it is an unequivocal designation of *unity* [254, 336] (A). ^{فَعْلٌ} is not regular in [the *quasi-pl.* of] ^{فَاعِلٌ} , so that ^{جَلَسَ} and ^{كَتَبَ} are not said (R on SH). As for ^{فَعِيلٌ} and ^{فُعَالٌ} , like ^{عَبِيدٌ} and ^{ظُرَّاءٌ} , some mention that they are *quasi-pl. ns.* ; but IM says in the Tashīl that, according to the soundest [opinion], they are paradigms of the broken *pl.* [237, 239, 255]. IS holds that ^{فَعْلَةٌ} is a *quasi-pl.*, not a broken *pl.*, because it is not regular in any formation [of *sing.* (Sn)], but is remembered in six measures, (1) ^{فَعْلٌ} , as ^{شَيْخَةٌ} [239] and ^{ثَبْرَةٌ} *bulls* ; (2) ^{فَعْلٌ} , as ^{فَتِيَّةٌ} [243, 246] ; (3) ^{فَعْلٌ} , as ^{ثَنِيَّةٌ} *pl. of ثَنِيٌ second in rank as a chief*, [like the *Minister* in relation to the *Sovereign* (Sn)] ; (4) ^{فُعَالٌ} , as ^{غُرْلَةٌ} *gazelles* ; (5) ^{فُعَالٌ} as ^{غُلْمَةٌ} [246] ; (6) ^{فَعِيلٌ} , as ^{صَبِيَّةٌ} [246] : the source of all that being report, not analogy (A).

§ 258. The [*sing.* (S, R)] *n.* containing the sign of feminization is [sometimes (R)] applied to [the individual and (S, M)] the collection [under one form (S, M)], as [^{حَنْزَلَةٌ} *Saint John's wort* (M), an odoriferous plant (IY),] ^{بُهْنَى} *wall-barley grass* [248, 272], ^{طَرَفَاءٌ} *tamarisk trees*, and ^{حَلَفَاءٌ} [273] (S, M, R), a plant [growing] in water (IY),

the *n. un.* being distinguished by the *ep.* [وَاحِدَةً (S,R)], as [وَاحِدَةً وَاحِدَةً (IY),] حَنَوَةٌ وَاحِدَةً, and طَرَفًا وَاحِدَةً (S, IY, R) ; not by the ّ [254], because two signs of femininization are not combined (IY, R) in one word (IY). But بُهْمَةٌ is transmitted, which, according to S, is anomalous, because the ِ in بُهْمِي, according to him, is for femininization : while, according to Akh, the ِ is for co-ordination with بُرَقَع [392] ; so that, according to him, بُهْمِي is pronounced with Tanwin, triptote ; and عُلُقَةٌ is not anomalous (R). You say أَرْطَاً and عُلُقَةً [272], because the ِ of أَرْطَى and عُلُقَى is [for co-ordination (IY, R),] not for femininization (S, IY, R) : but some of the Arabs pronounce عُلُقَى without Tanwin, holding the ِ to be for femininization ; so that they say عُلُقَى وَاحِدَةً (R).

Some [lexicologists (R)] mention that the *n. un.* of طَرَفًا and قَصَبًا reeds or canes [273] is طَرَفَةٌ and قَصَبَةٌ [with mobilization of the ع (R)] : and, as for حَلَفًا, its *n. un.* is said by As to be حَلِفَةٌ, and by AZ [and Fr (IY)] to be حَلَفَةٌ (IY, R). And حَلَفًا sometimes forms the broken *pls.* حَلَانِي and حَلَانِي, like صَحْرَاء [248] (R).

§ 259. The *n.* is [sometimes] made to accord with another [because of their approximation (IY)] in sense ; and therefore takes its *pl.*, as مَرَضَى sick, جَرْنَى mangy,

[*crippled* (IY)], *هَلَكِي* *perishing*, *مَوْتِي* *dead*, *حَمَقِي* *stupid*, [and *فُؤَكِي* *foolish* (IY),] which are made to accord with *جَرَحِي* [246], *قَتَلِي*, *عَقَرِي* *hamstrung*, *لَذَعِي*, and similar instances of *فَعِيل* i. q. *مَفْعُول* (M), because they participate with it in the [sense of] *disagreeable* (IY). *فَعَلِي* is *orig. pl.* of *فَعِيل* i. q. *مَفْعُول* in the sense of *afflicted* (R). And what resembles *فَعِيل* i. q. *مَفْعُول* in [this (R)] sense is made to accord with it, vid. (1) *فَاعِل* i. q. *فَعِيل* (1), [which is the nearest, because of its resemblance to the former *فَعِيل* in form and sense (R),] as *مَرَضِي* *pl.* *مَرِيض*; (2) *فَعِل*, as *رَمَنِي* *pl.* *رَمَن*; (3) *فَاعِل*, as *هَالِكِي* *pl.* *هَالِك*; (4) *فَعِل*, as *مَوْتِي* (R, IA, A); (5) *أَفْعَل*, as [*أَحْبَقِي* *pl.* (A)] *فَعِل*, as *مَيِّتِي* *pl.* *مَيِّت*; (6) *فَعْلَان*, *جَرَبِي* (R) [*أَجْرَبِي* *pl.* (Jh)] (R, A) and *حَمَقِي* (R, A), whence *وَتَرَى النَّاسَ سَكْرِي وَمَا سَكْرَانُ* *pl.* *سَكْرِي* (R, A), *XXII. 2. And thou shalt see men as though they were drunken, when they are not really drunken*, as read by Hamza and Ks (A), and *رَوَّابُنْ* *weakened by journeying*, [so that he is *heavy with sleep* (Jh),] *pl.* *رَوَّابِي* (R), as *فَأَمَّا تَبِيبُ الْحِمِّ* [62] (Jh). But that does not occur regularly, so that *بَحْلِي* and *سَقَمِي* are not said (IY, R) as *pls.* of *بَحِيل* *niggardly* and *سَقِيم* *ailing* (IY). And *فَعَلِي* in other cases is dependent upon memory, as *كَيْسِي* *clever*, *pl.*

كَيْسَى, which does not contain that sense; and ذَرْبٌ *sharp*, *pl.* ذَرْبَى (A). As for كَيْسَى, it is made to accord with حَمَقَى as being its *opp.* (R). And such words, though often made to accord with the sense, are sometimes made to accord with the form, as (1) مَرِيضُونَ and مَرَاضٌ, like [ظَرِيفُونَ and] ظِرَافٌ [246] : (2) جَرَبُونَ and جِرَابٌ, like [239], because فَعِلٌ and فَعُلٌ approximate one to the other : (3) هَلَّاكٌ and هَالِكُونَ (3), like [247] : (4) جُرْبٌ [pl. of أَجْرَبٌ (Jh, AAz)], according to analogy [249], whence the saying [of Duraid Ibn As-Simma (AAz)]

مَا إِن رَأَيْتُ وَلَا سَعَيْتُ بِهِ * كَأَلَيْمٍ هَانِيٍّ أَيْنِقِ جُرْبٍ

(IY) *I have not seen, إِن being red., nor have I heard of, like the one that I have seen to-day, a smearer of mangy she-camels with pitch* (AAz). Similarly أَيَامَى *widows* and يَتَامَى *orphans* are made to accord with وَجَاعَى *suffering pain* and حَبَاطَى *having pain in the belly* (M). فَعَالَى [in the masc. (R)] is *orig. pl.* of فَعْلَانُ [250]; while فَعِلٌ and فَعْلَانُ are often associated, like عَطِشٌ and عَطْشَانُ (IY, R); so that فَعِلٌ sometimes takes the *pl.* فَعَالَى, as وَجَاعَى *pl.* [239] and حَبِطٌ *pl.* حَبَاطَى, because made to accord with سَكَرَانُ *pl.* سَكَارَى [250] (R) : and then أَيْمٌ and

يَتِيمٌ, [participating with the *cat.* of فَعِلٌ in sense, because the widow and orphan must suffer *grief* and *pain*, and also approximating to it in form, take the *pl.* أَيَامِي and يَتَامِي; so that they (R)] are made to accord with فَعِلٌ (IY, R), which is made to accord with فَعْلَانُ (R). but فَعَالِي is dependent upon memory as *pl.* of such as حَبِطٌ, رَئِيسٌ, يَتِيمٌ, آيَمٌ hurt in the head, said of a sheep, [*pl.* رَاسِي (Sn),] and طَاهِرٌ [255] (A).

§ 260. The elided [letter] is restored in the broken *pl.*, as شَفَا pl. شَفَا and شَاءَ pl. شِيَاءَ [234], اسْتَأْ pl. اسْتَأْ [667], and دُمِي [and دِمَاءَ pl. دَمٌ (M), and يَدِي and أَيَدٍ pls. يَدٌ, That [*tril.*] which is curtailed of a letter, and remains *bil.*, is of two kinds, (1) what has the *ṣ* of feminization affixed to it as a quasi-compensation for the elided, like سَنَاءَ [265], قَلَاءَ, شَفَاءَ, and شَاءَ; (2) what has no *ṣ* in it, like اسْتَأْ, يَدٌ, and دَمٌ (IY). What is *bil.*, and contains the *ṣ* of feminization [244], is [ordinarily (IY)] pluralized with the [ا and (IY)] ت, [as سَنَوَاتٌ and قَلَاتٌ, through the influence of the *ṣ* at its end (IY)]; and [sometimes (IY)] with the و, and ن, [as سِنُونَ and قَلُونَ (IY), like the *masc.*, as مُسْلِمُونَ (S)]: but occasionally makes a broken *pl.*, in which [case (IY)] the elided [letter (S)] is restored, as شَفَا a lip, pl. شَفَا, and شَاءَ a sheep, pl. شِيَاءَ (S, IY). The measure of شَفَا and شَاءَ is فَعْلَةٌ, the *o. f.* being

شَفْهَةٌ and شَوْهَةٌ [275, 683], with quiescence of the ع , for which reason the *pl.* is شِفَاءٌ and شِيَاءٌ , like جَفْنَةٌ *pl.* جَفَانٌ [238], and the ج being a * ; and, when the ج is elided, the ع is pronounced with Fath, because of the vicinity of the ة of femininization, so that the , of شَوْهَةٌ is converted into ا [684, 719]: while Sf holds that their *o. f.* is شَفْهَةٌ and شَوْهَةٌ with mobilization of the ع , their broken *pl.* being upon the measure فَعَالٌ , like رَقَبَةٌ *pl.* رِقَابٌ [238] ; but the right view is what we have mentioned, because the *cat.* of جَفْنَةٌ is more numerous than that of قَصَبَةٌ (IY). And they say بَرَّةٌ *pl.* بَرَى [238, 254], and لُغَةٌ *pl.* لُغَى , making their broken *pl.* according to the *o. f.*, like the broken *pl.* of their counterparts that are not curtailed, as كَلْبَةٌ *pl.* كَلَى [238]. What is *bil.*, and does not contain the sign of femininization [719], (1) when its *o. f.* is فَعَلٌ , has for its broken *pl.*, in paucity, أَفْعَلٌ , as آيِدٌ *pl.* آيَدٌ [243, 256]; and, in multitude, فِعْعَالٌ and فُعْعُولٌ , as دِمَاءٌ and دُمَى [243]: (2) when its *o. f.* is فَعْلٌ , has for its broken *pl.*, in paucity, أَفْعَالٌ , as أَبٌ [orig. أَبُو (Jh, KF),] *pl.* آبَاءٌ , and, as Y asserts, أَخٌ , [orig. أَخُو (Jh),] *pl.* آخَاءٌ ; while [in multitude] they say أَخْرَانٌ , like خَرَبٌ *pl.* خِرْبَانٌ [239] (S). As for اسْتٌ [667], its *o. f.* is سَتَةٌ , with Fath of the ع , as is shown by their saying اسْتَاءٌ in its *pl.* of paucity ; whereas,

if it were *فَعْلٌ* [237], *أَسْتَهْ* would be said. The *o. f.* of *يَدٌ* is *يَدَيٌ* with quiescence of the ع, without dispute : and, because it is *فَعْلٌ*, its *pl.* of paucity is *أَفْعُلٌ* [237], as *أَيْدٍ*, like *أَدْلٍ* and *أَجِرٌ* [243]; while [in multitude] they say *يُدَيٌ* (IY). According to S (Jh), the *o. f.* of *دَمٌ* is *دَمَيٌ*, (Jh, IY); while Akh and Mb hold that its *o. f.* is *دَمِيٌّ*, as is shown, say they, by the fact that the poet, when constrained, reverts to the *o. f.*, as in

فَلَسْنَا عَلَى الْأَعْقَابِ تَدْمِي كُلُّوْمَنَا * وَلَكِنْ عَلَى أَقْدَامِنَا يَقْطُرُ الدِّمَاءُ
[by AlḤusain Ibn AlḤumām alMurri, *Then we are not such that our wounds bleed upon the heels; but upon our feet drops the blood* (T, AKB),] and

كَأَطْرَمٍ فَقَدَتْ بُرْغَرَهَا * أَعْقَبَتْهَا الْغُبْسُ مِنْهُ عَدَمًا
غَفَلَتْ ثُمَّ أَتَتْ تَطْلُبُهُ * فَإِذَا هِيَ بِعِظَامٍ وَدَمًا

[Like a wild cow that missed her calf, when the ashen wolves, or dogs, had brought loss of him upon her. She was heedless; and afterwards came, seeking him; and lo, she was alone with bones and blood! (AKB)]: but the right view is the first (IY), because its *pls.* [of multitude (IY)] are *دِمَاءٌ* and *دُمَيٌّ*, like *طَبَيٌّ* *pls.* *طِبَاءٌ* [237] and *طَبِيٌّ*, and *دَلَوٌ*, *pls.* *دَلَاءٌ* and *دَلِيٌّ* [237, 243] (Jh, IY); whereas, says S, if it were like *تَقَا* and *عَصَا*, it would not have those *pls.* (Jh); while *فَإِذَا هِيَ الْحِ*, [like *الْحِ* *فَإِذَا هِيَ الْحِ*,] *وَلَكِنْ عَلَى أَقْدَامِنَا الْحِ*,

is according to the *dial.* of those who abbreviate [231] (IY), saying دَمًا (AKB). The broken *pls.* of the *bils.*, therefore, are analogous to those of their counterparts that are not curtailed ; but the *bils.* in the language are few (S).

§ 261. The [irrational] *masc.* [*n.* (IY)] that has no broken *pl.* is pluralized with the [ا and (M)] ت , as سُرَادِقَاتُ [234, 255] (S, M), حَمَامَاتُ [17, 234, 255], and إِوَانَاتُ (S), *sing.* سُرَادِقُ *a tent of cotton* (IY), حَمَامُ *a hot bath* (Jh, KF), and إِوَانُ *a portico, palace* (KF) ; and [hence (S)] سِبْطَرَاتُ *bulky he-camels* [234, 255] and رِبْعَلَاتُ *big* [255] (S), *sing.* سِبْطَرُ (S, IY) and رِبْعَلُ (KF). In such cases they are constrained to have recourse to the *pl.* with the ا and ت , though it is not the regular form, because the broken *pl.* does not occur, while the *pl.* with the و and ن is disallowed for want of its condition [234] (R). But they do not say جَوَالِقَاتُ , since they say جَوَالِقُ (S, M, R), *sing.* جَوَالِقُ [below] (S, IY) *a sack of wool or other material* (IY). And the *fem.* not containing the sign of feminization is treated in this way (S): you do not say فِرْسَنَاتُ [or خِنْصِرَاتُ or مِخْلَجَاتُ (S)], since you say فِرَاسِنُ *hoofs of camels* (S, R), خَنَاصِرُ *little*

fingers, and مَحَالِجُ *rolling-pins* ; while they say عَيْرَاتُ [241], since they do not give عَيْرُ a broken *pl.* (S). They say, however, بُؤَانَاتُ, [*sing.* بُؤَانُ (S, IY, R) a *tent-pole* (IY, R),] notwithstanding their saying بُونُ (S, M, R), a broken *pl.* (IY, R), as they say عُرْسَاتُ *weddings* or *wedding-feasts* [241] and أَعْرَاسُ ; and some of them say شِمَالَاتُ [and شِمَائِلُ (Jh)] as *pl.* of شِمَالُ a *north wind* (S): but that is rare, to be remembered, and not copied (IY). As for جَوَالِقُ [above], S mentions that only جَوَالِيقُ has been heard from them in its *pl.* ; but others allow جَوَالِقُ, like غَرَانِقُ *pl.* of غَرَانِقُ a *handsome youth*, حَلَاحِلُ *pl.* of حَلَاحِلُ a *grave chief*, عَرَاعِرُ *pl.* of عَرَاعِرُ a *captain of the people* (D), and عَدَائِرُ *pl.* of عَدَائِرُ [395] (CD).

CHAPTER VIII.

THE INDETERMINATE NOUN AND THE DETERMINATE.

§ 262. The *n.* is [of two kinds (Sh, KN),] *indet.* and *det.* (Aud, Sh, KN). The *det.* means the *known* thing, and the *indet.* the *unknown* (IY). The indeterminate-ness of a thing means its *being common to [the individuals of] its genus*, and *being an unknown part of a whole*, except in the *non-aff.* [sentence], as مَا جَاءَنِي رَجُلٌ *Not a man has come to me*, where it denotes *totality of the genus* [below] (R on IH). The *indet.* is the primary form (IY, Aud, Sh, A, Fk), because [the *n.* at first is *indet.*, like رَجُلٌ *a man*, which denotes *every one of the genus*; and afterwards what particularizes it by determination is prefixed to it, in order that it may denote *one*, to the exclusion of the rest, *of its genus*, like الرَّجُلُ *the man*, which is restricted to a particular *man*: so that (IY)] no *det.* is found, but has an *indet.* (IY, A), except the name of اللَّهِ *God* [52], because He has no partner (IY); whereas many *indets.* are found that have no *det.* (A). And the *det.* is secondary (IY, Aud, Sh, Fk). The *indet.* is what is common to [the individuals of (YS)] a genus (M, KN) objectively (Fk) existing (KN), like

رَجُلٌ *a man* (M, Fk), which is applicable to *every* [adult (Fk)] *male* [speaking animal (Fk)] of the sons of Adam (IY, Fk), and فَرَسٌ *a horse* (M), which is applicable to *every neighing quadruped* (IY); or assumed (KN) to be objectively existing, like شَمْسٌ *a sun*, which is applicable to a multiple, because it is applied to denote the *diurnal star whose appearance effaces the presence of night*, although only this single individual is objectively existing : what is considered in the *indet.* being its applicability to, not the existence of, multiplicity; while the pluralization of شَمْسٌ, as in the saying [of AlAshtar an Nakha'ī (T)]

حَبِيَّ الْحَدِيدِ عَلَيْهِمْ فَكَأَنَّهُ * وَمَضَانُ بَرَقَ أَوْ شَعَاعُ شُمُوسٍ
 [Upon whom the iron will be hot, so that it will be as though it were a flash of lightning or a beam of suns (T)],
 is from regard to the renewal [of the rising (T)] of the sun on every day (Fk). The *indet.*, (1) when it occurs in the suite of negation, prohibition, or interrogation, (a) apparently denotes *totality of the genus* [above], whether it be *sing.*, *du.*, or *pl.* : (b) possibly does not denote *totality*, because of the context, as مَا جَاءَنِي رَجُلٌ وَاحِدٌ بَلْ
 بَلْ رَجَالٌ One man has not come to me, but two men or رَجَالٌ
 but men, مَا جَاءَنِي رَجُلَانِ هُمَا أَخَوَاكَ Two men that are thy
 brothers have not come to me, and هَلْ جَاءَكَ رَجُلٌ هُمْ إِخْوَتُكَ

Have any men that are thy brothers come to thee ? ; or, but less probably, with no restriction [by the context], for which reason لَا رَجُلٌ *Not a man (is) or A man (is) not* [547], apparently denotes *totality*, but possibly *something else* : (c) unequivocally denotes *totality*, when مِنْ is prefixed to it, as مَا جَاءَنِي مِنْ رَجُلٍ [499], for which reason لَا رَجُلٌ *not any man*, which implies مِنْ [99, 547], is a designation of *totality* : (a) this مِنْ, though *red.*, as the GG predicate of it, still imports *designation of totality* [499], because it is *orig.* the inceptive مِنْ ; and, when *totality of the genus* is meant, you begin at the finite end, which is *one*, and omit the higher end, which is infinite, because it is unlimited, as though you said *This genus has not come to me, from one of them to infinity* : (2) when it occurs in something else than negation, prohibition, and interrogation, (a) apparently lacks *totality* : (b) sometimes denotes *totality*, by a trope, often if it be an *inch.*, as رَجُلٌ خَيْرٌ مِنْ أَمْرَأَةٍ [25] ; seldom in any other case, as عَلِمَتْ نَفْسٌ مَا قَدَّمَتْ LXXXII. 5. *A soul shall know what it hath committed* : (a) the proof that, in the *aff.* [sentence], it is tropical in [the signification of] *generality*, contrary to the *n.* made literally [not ideally] *det.* by the ل [599], as in الدِّينَارُ خَيْرٌ مِنَ الدِّرْهِمِ *The dinar is better than the dirham*, is that the *totality* is preconceiva-

ble with that *J* without the context [explanatory] of particularity, while the *lack of totality* is preconceivable with the *indet.* without the context [explanatory] of generality, preconceivability without an [explanatory] content being one of the strongest proofs of the proper [as opposed to the tropical] signification (R). The *indet.* [is what (IA, Aud)] (1) receives *أَل*, when determinative (IM), like *رَجُلٌ* (IA, Aud, A), as *الرَّجُلُ* (IA): (2) occurs in the place of what has been mentioned (IM), i. e., what receives [the determinative (Aud)] *أَل*, like *ذُو* [i. q. *صَاحِبٌ* (IA, A)], because it occurs in the place of *صَاحِبٌ* (IA, Aud, A); and like *مَنْ* and *مَا*, [when *cond.* and *interrog.*, contrary to the opinion of IK upon the two *interrogs.*, which, according to him, are *det.*, and when qualified *indets.* also (A),] because they occur in the place of *إِنْسَانٌ* [or *شَخْصٌ*] and *شَيْءٌ* [182, 180]; and like *صَه* with TanwIn [187, 193, 603], because it occurs in the place of *سُكْرَتًا* (Aud, A). Its sign is that it receives (1) *رَبِّ*, [like *رَجُلٌ* (Sh),] as *رَبِّ رَجُلٍ* [505] (IY, Sh): for, if you object that you say *رَبِّ رَجُلًا* [168, 498], and the poet says *رَبِّ فِتْيَةٍ أَمَح* [160], while the *pron.* is *det.*, I say that we do not admit the *pron.*, in what you have cited, to be *det.*; but on the contrary, it is *indet.*, because it relates to what follows it, vid. *رَجُلًا* and *فِتْيَةٍ*, which are *indet.*

[below] (Sh) : (2) the ل , as الرَّجُلُ [above] (IY). Some *indets.* are more *indet.* than others (IY, Fk), what is more general being more extreme in indeterminateness : and according to this, شَيْءٌ *a thing* is more *indet.* than جِسْمٌ *a body*, because every body is a thing, but every thing is not a body ; جِسْمٌ than حَيَوَانٌ *an animal* ; حَيَوَانٌ than إِنْسَانٌ *a human being* ; and إِنْسَانٌ than رَجُلٌ *a man* and امْرَأَةٌ *a woman* (IY). The rule is that, when the *indet.* has other *indets.* included under it, then, if it be not included under any other, it is the most *indet.* of the *indets.* ; but, if it be included under another, it is more general in relation to what is included under it, and more particular in relation to what it is included under (Fk). The *det.* is what denotes *a particular thing* (M, IH), being peculiar to *one of the genus*, and not extending to others. That depends upon the knowledge of the person addressed, not of the speaker, since the speaker sometimes mentions what is known to him, but unknown to the person addressed, as فِي دَارِي رَجُلٌ *In my house is a man* and لِي بُسْتَانٌ *I have a garden*, when he knows the man and garden ; while even the speaker sometimes does not know it, as أَنَا فِي طَلَبِ غُلَامٍ أَشْتَرِيهِ وَدَارٍ أَكْتَرِيهِ *I am in search of a male slave to buy, and of a house to hire*, when he does not intend any particular thing (IY). The *det.*

is (1) what does not receive **أَلْ** at all, nor occur in the place of what receives it, like **زَيْدٌ** *Zaid* and **عَمْرٌ** *Amr* [599]; (2) what receives **أَلْ**, but when not determinative, like **حَارِثٌ** [11], **عَبَّاسٌ**, and **ضَحَّاكٌ**, the **أَلْ** prefixed to which denotes *allusion to an original meaning* in them [599] (Aud). It is (1) the *pron.* [160] : (2) the proper name [4] (M, IH, IA, Aud, Sh, A, Fk) : (3) the vague (M, IH) *n.* (IY), which is [one of] two things (M), (a) the *dem* [171] ; (b) the conjunct [176] (M, R, IA, Aud, Sh, A, Fk) : (4) the synarthrous [599] : (5) the *n.* [ideally (M, IH)] *pre.* to one of these [111] (M, IH, IA, Aud, Sh, A, Fk) : (6) the [*indet.* (Sn)] *voc.* (IH, Aud, A, Fk) specifically intended [48], which is added [in the CK (A)] by IM (A, Fk), who is followed in the Aud by IHsh (Fk) ; while some GG do not reckon it [separately] among the *dets.*, because it is a branch of the *pron.*, since it is *det.* because of its occurrence in the place of the **ك** of the second *pers.* (R) : (7) the *interrog.* **مَنْ** and **مَا**, which are added by IK (A). Some *dets.* are more *det.* [than others], the *n.* being more *det.* whenever it is more particular (IY). The most *det.* of them is the *pron.* (M, A), according to the [most (A)] correct opinion (IY, A), which is that of S and the majority, who argue that there is no homonymy in the *pron.*, because it is particularized by what it relates to, for which reason it is not qualified, and does not qua-

lify [147] (IY) : then the proper name (M, A), because, though homonymy occurs in it, and it is qualified, it does not qualify (IY) : then the vague (M), [first] the *dem.* (A), because the *dem.* is qualified and qualifies, and the *ep.* is not more particular than the qualified [148] (IY) ; and then the conjunct (A) : then the synarthrous (N, A), which is the vaguest of the *dets.*, and the nearest of them to the *indets.*, that being shown by the fact that it is sometimes equal in sense to the anarthrous, as شَرَبْتُ

الماء *I drank water* or شَرَبْتُ (IY). As for the *pre.* [to a *det.* (Sh)], it (1) ranks with what it is *pre.* to (M, Sh), except only the *pre.* to the *pron.*, which ranks not with the *pron.*, but with the proper name : this is the correct opinion : (2) as some assert, always ranks with what is [next] below that *det.* : (3) as others hold, ranks with that *det.* unrestrictedly, the *pron.* not being excepted : but the second opinion is falsified by the saying [of Imra alKais (Ahl)]

فَادْرَكَ لَمْ يَغْرَقْ مَنَاطُ عِدَارِهِ * يَمُرُّ كَخُذْرُوفِ الْوَلِيدِ الْمُتَقَبِّ

Then he overtook them, when the place where the headstall is fastened had not sweated, passing swiftly, like the perforated whirling plaything of the boy, the pre. to the synarthrous being here qualified by the synarthrous, though the ep. is not more det. than the qualified [148] ; and the third by their saying مَرَرْتُ بِرَيْدٍ صَاحِبِكَ I passed

by Zaid thy companion (Sh). Some one has arranged the *det.* in a metrical table of precedence

أَعْرَفَهَا الضَّيِيرُ بَعْدَهُ الْعَلَمُ * فَاسْمُ الْأَشَارَةِ فَمَوْصُولُ أَتَمَّ
وَبَعْدَهُ ذُو الْأَلَامِ وَالْمُضَافُ * فِي رُتْبَةِ الَّذِي لَهُ يُضَافُ
إِلَّا الَّذِي أَضِيفَ لِلضَّيِيرِ * فَإِنَّهُ كَالْعَلَمِ الشَّهِيرِ

The most *det.* of them is the *pron.*; after it the proper name; then the *dem.*; then a conjunct that has completed the tale of vague *ns.*; and after it the synarthrous; while the *pre.* ranks with what it is *pre.* to, except that which has been *pre.* to the *pron.*, for verily it is like the well known proper name (MAd). The most *det.* of the *prons.* is the *pron.* of the 1st *pers.*; then [the *pron.*] of the 2nd *pers.*, [because sometimes two or more persons are in the speaker's presence, so that one does not know which of them he is addressing (IY)]; then [the *pron.* (IY)] of the 3rd *pers.* (M, A) free from vagueness (A), i. e., relating to a *det.*, or to an *indet.* particularized by the *ep.* (Sn). As to [whether (Sh)] the *pron.* [of the 3rd *pers.* (Sn)] relating to the *indet.* [be *indet.* or *det.* (Sh)], the GG hold different opinions (Sh, Sn), (1) that it is *indet.*, unrestrictedly (Sh): (2) that it is *det.*, unrestrictedly (Sh, Sn), which is the opinion of the majority (Sn): (3) that it is (a) *indet.*, if the *indet.* that it relates to is necessarily *indet.*, as in رُبَّةُ رَجُلًا and رُبَّةُ فِتْيَةٍ أَلْحَم and رُبَّةُ فِتْيَةٍ أَلْحَم [above], because the *indet.* here is a *sp.*, and the *sp.* [according to the BB (MAd)] is only *indet.*

[83] ; and (b) *det.*, if the *indet.* that it relates to is allowably *indet.*, as in جَاءَنِي رَجُلٌ فَأَكْرَمْتُهُ *A man came to me, and I honored him*, because the *indet.* here is an *ag.*, and the *ag* may be *indet.* or *det.* (Sn) : (4) that, as is said [by R.] (Sn), the *pron.*, when it relates to an *indet.* [previously (R on § 262, Sn)] particularized by some predicament, is *det.*, as جَاءَنِي رَجُلٌ فَضَرَبْتُهُ *A man came to me, and I beat him*, [because this *pron.* relates to *this man, who came to me*, not to any other man R on § 262) : and otherwise is *indet.* (R on §§ 262, 449, Sn), as أَطْبَىٰ كَانَ أَمَّكَ [449] (R on § 262), where the *pron.* latent in كَانَ relates to طَبِي (AKB), whence رُبَّ رَجُلًا [above] (R, Sn), بِئْسَ رَجُلًا and نِعَمَ رَجُلًا *Most evil, and Most excellent, is he as a man!* (R), يَا لَهَا قِصَّةٌ *O marvel at it as a story or fact!* [48, 84], رُبَّ شَاةٍ وَسَخْلَتِهَا [538] (R, Sn), and رُبَّ رَجُلٍ وَأَخِيهِ *Many a sheep etc!* [223, 538], where the *prons.* are all *indet.*, since the *indet.* related to is not previously particularized by any predicament ; whereas رُبَّ رَجُلٍ كَرِيمٍ وَأَخِيهِ would not be allowable, and similarly كُلُّ شَاةٍ سَوْدَاءَ وَسَخْلَتِهَا [538], because the *pron.* becomes *det.* by its relating to an *indet.* particularized by an *ep.* (R) : and this is preferred by Dm (Sn). Inflectionists say that, when the *indet.* is repeated *indet.*, the second is different from the first ; but that, when the *indet.* is repeated *det.*, or the *det.* is

repeated *det.* or *indet.*, the second is identical with the first. They so explain the tradition [that the Apostle of God went out one day laughing, and saying (K)] لَنْ يَغْلِبَ عُسْرُ يُسْرَيْنِ *A difficulty shall not prevail over double ease*: for Zj says that الْعُسْرُ is mentioned [in XCIV. 5. (134) (DM)] with the *art.*, and then its mention [with the *art.* (DM)] is repeated [in XCIV. 6., while يُسْرُ is mentioned twice *indet.*; so that there must be one عُسْرُ and two يُسْرُ (DM)], and therefore the sense becomes *Verily with the difficulty shall be double ease*. The first two cases are evidenced by your saying اشْتَرَيْتُ فَرَسًا ثُمَّ بَعْتُ فَرَسًا *I bought a horse, and afterwards I sold a horse*, the second being different from the first; whereas, if you said ثُمَّ بَعْتُ الْفَرَسَ *and afterwards I sold the horse*, the second would be identical with the first: [the third by what IHsh has transmitted from Zj (DM):] and the fourth by the saying of the Hāmasī [AlFind azZimmūni (T, Jsh)]

صَفَحْنَا عَنْ بَنِي دُهْلٍ * وَقُلْنَا الْقَوْمُ إِخْوَانُ

عَسَى الْآيَامُ أَنْ يَرْجِعَنَّ قَوْمًا كَالَّذِي كَانُوا

[We forgave the Banū Dhuhl Ibn Shaibān, and said "The folk and we are brethren. May-be the days will bring back a folk to a state of friendship and brotherhood like that which they were in" (Jsh)]. But that involves three difficulties: (1) in the text the second *prop.* is apparently

a repetition of the first, as you say **إِنَّ لَزَيْدٍ دَارًا إِنَّ لَزَيْدٍ** *Verily Zaid has a mansion ! Verily Zaid has a mansion !* ; and, according to this, the second is identical with the first : (2) Ibn Mas'ūd says [**وَالَّذِي نَفْسِي بِيَدِهِ (K)** **لَوْ كَانَ الْعُسْرُ فِي جُحْرٍ لَطَلَبَهُ الْيُسْرُ حَتَّى يَدْخُلَ عَلَيْهِ إِنَّهُ نَنْ يَغْلِبَ عُسْرُ يُسْرَيْنِ** *[By Him in Whose hand is my soul (K),] if difficulty were in a burrow, ease would pursue it, until it entered upon it ! Verily the case is this, a difficulty etc., although the text in his reading, and in his Codex, occurs only once ; so that this proves what we have asserted about the corroboration, and shows that the doubling of يُسْرُ [in لَنْ يَغْلِبَ الْحَجَّ (DM)] is not derived from the repetition of يُسْرًا [in the text (DM)], but from something else, as though he had caught the idea of it from the solemnity in the indeterminateness [of يُسْرًا in the text], and interpreted it by the ease of the two abodes, [i. e., The difficulty of the present abode shall not prevail over the ease of the present abode and the ease of the last abode, but over the ease of the present abode only (DM)] : (3) the Revelation contains texts that refute these four rules : for XLIII. 84. [177] is difficult to reconcile with the first, God being one : and **رَدْنَاهُمْ عَذَابًا فَوْقَ الْعَذَابِ XVI. 90.** *We will add unto them a chastisement [for their perversion (B) of others] above the chastisement [due**

to their unbelief (B)] with the second, a thing not being above itself : and LV. 60. [581] with the third, the first [الْأَحْسَنُ] being the work, and the second the recompense : and يَسْأَلُكَ أَهْلُ الْكِتَابِ أَنْ تُنَزِّلَ عَلَيْهِمْ كِتَابًا مِنْ

السَّمَاءِ IV. 152. *The people of Scripture will ask thee to bring down upon them a Scripture from heaven with the fourth ; as also is the saying [of a man of 'Ād (Jsh)]*

بِلَادٍ بِهَا كُنَّا وَنَحْنُ نُحِبُّهَا * إِذِ النَّاسُ نَاسٌ وَالزَّمَانُ زَمَانٌ
[*Countries that we were dwelling in, while we were loving them, when the men were perfect men, and the time was a perfect time (Jsh)*] ; for, if the second were equal to the first in its sense, there would be no use in predicating it of the first ; and this is only of the *cat.* of أَنَا أَبُو النَّجْمِ الْحَمِيقِ [30], i. e., *and my poetry does not alter from its state, [and so in the verse, when the men were not altered, and the time was not altered (DM)].* If, however, it be asserted that the rule holds good only in the absence of circumstantial evidence, and that circumstantial evidence, if present, is to be relied upon, then the matter is easy (ML).

CHAPTER IX.

THE MASCULINE NOUN AND THE FEMININE.

§ 263. The *n.* is *orig. masc.*, the *fem.* gender being a *deriv.* from the *masc.* (IA). The *masc.* is what is free from the three [or four (IY)] signs (M) of femininization (IY). The *fem.* is what contains a sign of femininization (M, IH), literally or constructively (IH), whether the femininization be proper, as in ضَارِبَةٌ [247], حُبْلَى [248, 272], and نَفْسَاء [248, 273], where the sign is expressed ; and in زَيْنَبُ *Zainab* and سَعَادُ *Su'ād* [18], where the sign is supplied : or improper, as in غُرْفَةٌ [238], بُشْرَى [272], and صَحْرَاءُ [248, 273], where the sign is expressed ; and in نَارٌ and دَارٌ [264], where the sign is supplied (R). The signs [of femininization (IY, IH, IM)] are (1) the § (M, IH, IM), either mobile, which is peculiar to *ns.*, as in قَائِمَةٌ ; or quiescent, which is peculiar to *vs.* [607], as in قَامَتْ (Aud, A) : (a) the § of femininization is original in the *n.*, and *deriv.* in the *v.*, because it is affixed to the *v.* on account of the femininization of the *n.*, i. e., its *ag.* [or *pro-ag.*], and the sign is *orig.* affixed to the word that contains what the sign denotes ; and therefore the nominal

§ is more plastic [than the verbal], in its assumption of vowels and its conversion into § in pause [646] : (b) the § of feminization is sometimes affixed to the *p*. [402], like (a) رُبُّ [505], when the *gen.* governed by it is *fem.*, [in order to indicate from the very first that the *gen.* is *fem.*, though the ت is generally held to be added to *ps.* for feminization of the word (AKB),] as

فَقُلْتُ لَهَا أَصَبْتَ حَصَاةَ قَلْبِي * وَرُبَّتْ رَمِيَّةٌ مِنْ غَيْرِ رَامٍ

[Then I said to her, Thou hast hit the kernel of my heart. And many a shot is from one not a shooter (AKB)] ; while

يَا صَاحِبَا رُبَّتْ إِنْسَانٍ حَسَنٌ * يَسْأَلُ عَنْكَ الْيَوْمَ أَوْ يَسْأَلُ عَنْ
[O my companion, many a goodly man will beg of thee to-day, or beg (of me), i. e., عَنِّي (AKB)] occurs, though the poet may mean the *fem.* by إِنْسَانٍ a human being : (b) ثُمَّ [540], when it couples a story to a story, not a single term to a single term : [this is the general opinion ; but I have seen in a poem of Ru'ba Ibn Al'Ajjāj

فَبِالسَّلَامِ ثُمَّ السَّلَامِ

Then in peace, and again peace ; and so IM uses it in the *Alfiya* on the Broken Plurals, saying

أَفْعَلَةٌ أَفْعُلُ ثُمَّ فِعْلَةٌ * ثُمَّ أَفْعَالٌ جُمُوعٌ قِلَّةٌ

أَفْعَلَةٌ, then أَفْعُلُ, then فِعْلَةٌ, then أَفْعَالٌ are plurals of paucity

(AKB):] (c) لَا [109], because of its resemblance to لَيْسَ : (d)

كَلْتَا, هَنْتِي, أَخْتُ, يَنْتُ [277, 689], the ت of يَنْتُ [537] : (c)

فُنْتَانٍ, and مَنْتَانٍ [183], does not merely denote *femininization*, but is a substitute for the J in the state of femininization, for which reason the letter before it is quiescent; while in مَنْتَانٍ [183] it is a quasi-substitute for the J, because its *sing.*, vid. مَنَّةٌ, is like شَفَّةٌ [260] (R) : (2) the إ [497] (M, IH, IM), (a) single [272] (Aud, A), which is the (A) abbreviated (IH, IA, A), as in حَبَلِي (IY, Aud, A); (b) preceded by an إ [272], and therefore converted into Hamza [248, 683] (Aud, A), which is the (A) prolonged (IH, IA, A), as in حَمْرَاءَ (IY, Aud, A), the إ of femininization being the second, which is converted into Hamza, not the first (Sn) : (α) as for the saying of some GG "the two إ s [here meaning the double, i. e., prolonged, إ] of femininization", it is an approximation and a trope; for, since the two are associated, and the word is formed with both, these GG apply the term "إ of femininization" unrestrictedly to the إ of prolongation, and say "the two إ s of femininization" (IY) : (3) the ي, as in دِي [171] (M, R), says Z (R), though it is not a sign of femininization, as he thinks; but is only the ع of the word, the femininization being imported from the formation itself : (a) according to the KK, the *n.* is the ذ alone, the ي being added to denote *femininization* (IY); but it is better to say that this entire formation is applied to denote the *fem.*, like تَا, there being no *unil. dem.* (R) : (4) the Kasra in such as فَعَلَتْ [161 402], which is added

by some (IY). The *fem.* [gender (M)] is [of two kinds (M),] (1) proper, which is [the gender of (M)] what has a male corresponding to it, among animals, as ⁹⁵امْرَأَةٌ *a woman* [265], ⁹⁶نَاقَةٌ *a she-camel* (M, IH), and the like (M); but if [Z and] IH had said "The proper [*fem.*] is the possessor of the ⁹⁷فَرْج [21] among animals", it would have been better, since it is conceivable that there may be a female animal that has no male (R): (2) improper (M), *lit.* (IY, IH), which is the contrary thereof (IH), like [the gender of (M)] ⁹⁸ظُلْمَةٌ *darkness* [265] (M, IH), ⁹⁹نَعْلٌ *a sandal* (M), ¹⁰⁰عَيْنٌ *an eye* (IH), and the like, which depend upon application and convention (M); while the *lit. fem.* is sometimes an animal, as in ¹⁰¹حَمَامَةٌ ذَكَرٌ [54, 271], since there is no male corresponding to it (R). The proper, [*id.*, *fem.* gender (IY)] is stronger (M) than the *lit.*, because the proper *fem.* is *fem.* in form and sense, and the improper in form exclusively (IY). And therefore (1) ¹⁰²جَاءَ هِنْدٌ is disallowed in a case of choice [21, 271]; while ¹⁰³طَلَعَ الشَّمْسُ [below] is allowable, though ¹⁰⁴طَلَعَتْ is preferable [21]: (2) if a separation occur, then such as the saying of Jarir [disparaging Taghlib, and satirizing AlAkhtal (MN),] ¹⁰⁵لَقَدْ وَلَدَ الْأَخْيَطِلُ أُمَّ سَوْءٍ * عَلَى بَابِ اسْتِهَا ضَلْبٍ وَشَامٍ [Assuredly a mother of evil, upon the door of whose anus are crosses and moles, has given birth to AlAkhtal the little (MN, N)] is deemed allowable (M), and similarly

أَمْرًا غَرَّهَ الْح [21] (IY) ; though this [elision of the sign of feminization from the *v.*, when the *ag.* is a proper *fem.* (IY),] is not extensively used, and is rejected by Mb (M), who argues that men and women sometimes share names in common, as

تَجَاوَزْتُ هِنْدًا رَغْبَةً عَنْ قِتَالِهِ * إِلَى مَالِكٍ أَعَشُو إِلَى ضَوْءِ نَارِهِ
[*I have passed on from Hind, through dislike to fighting with him, to Mālik, betaking myself to the light of his fire* (MN)], where هِنْدٌ is a man's name, and

يَا جَعْفَرُ يَا جَعْفَرُ يَا جَعْفَرُ * إِنْ أَنْ دَحْدَاحًا فَأَنْتَ أَقْصَرُ
O Ja'far, O Ja'far, O Ja'far, if I be dwarfish, thou art shorter, where جَعْفَرُ is a woman's name (IY) : while فَمِنْ
جَاءَهُ مَوْعِظَةٌ مِنْ رَبِّهِ II. 276. Then to whomsoever an admonition cometh from his Lord, [وَأَخَذَ الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا الصَّيْحَةَ] XI. 70. And chastisement laid hold on them that had done wrong (IY),] and وَلَوْ كَانَ بِهِمْ خَصَاصَةٌ LIX. 9. Even though want be with them are deemed good (M) ; though expression of the ت is better, as قَدْ جَاءَتْكُمْ مَوْعِظَةٌ مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ X. 58. An admonition hath come to you from your Lord (IY). This is [the predicament (IY, R)] when the *v.* [or its like (R)] is attribute of the [*fem.* (IY)] explicit *n.* (M, R) in the *sing.* or *du.* (R). If, however, it be attribute of a [*fem.* (IY)] *pron.* [in the *sing.* or *du.* (R)], then, (1) [if the *pron.* be attached (R),] the sign must be affixed, [whether the feminization

be proper or improper (IY, R), except in poetic license (R),] the saying وَلَا أَرْضَ أَبْقَدَ الْحَمِ [below] being [rare and ugly, but (IY)] explained by a paraphrase (M, R) of أَرْضُ by مَكَانُ (IY, R), which is *masc.* [246]; and similarly الْحَدَثَانُ is i. q. الْكَوَادِثُ [613], because فَمَا تَرَيْنِي الْحَمِ (a) this is made permissible by two matters, that the feminization is improper, and that this involves a restoration to the *o. f.*, vid. the *masc.*; whereas إِنْ زَيْنَبَ قَامَ would not be allowable, because the feminization is proper: (b) uglier is the saying of Ruwaishid [Ibn Kathīr at-Ṭā'i (Jh)]

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّكَّابُ الْمَرْجِي مَطِيئَتُهُ * سَأْتِلُ بَنِي أَسَدٍ مَا هَذِهِ الصَّوْتُ
O thou camel-rider, urging thy beast along, ask thou the Banū Asad "What is this cry?", as though he meant الصَّيْحَةُ clamour and الْإِسْتِعَاثَةُ call for help: and like it is the saying [of Jarīr, praising Hishām Ibn 'Abd Al Malik (Mb, AKB) Ibn Marwān (AKB)]

إِذَا بَعْضُ السِّنِينَ تَعَرَّقَتْنَا * كَفَى الْإِيْتَامَ فَقْدَ أَبِي الْيَتِيمِ
 [When one, or some, of the droughts gnaws, or gnaw, the flesh off our bones, i. e., destroys, or destroy, our goods and our beasts, he makes good to the orphans the loss of the orphan's father (AKB)], which, [says IJ (AKB),] is [a little (AKB)] easier than the preceding [feminization of صَوْتُ (AKB)], because بَعْضُ السِّنِينَ is سَنَةٌ a drought (IY) or, says Mb in the Kāmil (AKB), are سِنُونَ droughts

(Mb, AKB), as Al A'shà says [111], وَتَشْرُقُ بِالْقَوْلِ الْحَمْدُ because صَدْرُ الْقِنَاءِ is قِنَاءٌ (Mb); though the best saying is that in sense the *enunc.* belongs to the *post.*, the *pre.* being interpolated for corroboration (Mb, AKB): (2) if the *pron.*, be detached, it is like the explicit *n.* [above] (R). Inflectionists say that the *masc.* or *fem.* is allowable with the tropical *fem.*; and this is a stock phrase among Jurists. But it ought properly to be restricted to the attribute of the tropical *fem.*, and to the case where the attribute is a *v.* or its like, and the *fem.* an explicit *n.*, as طَلَعَ الشَّمْسُ [above], يَطْلُعُ الشَّمْسُ *The sun rises*, and أَطْلَعَ الشَّمْسُ *Is the sun rising?*: while طَلَعَ الشَّمْسُ هَذَا or هُوَ الشَّمْسُ is not allowable, nor الشَّمْسُ هَذَا or هُوَ الشَّمْسُ, [but هَذِهِ or هِيَ is necessary (DM)]; nor is طَلَعَ الشَّمْسُ, except in poetic license, contrary to the opinion of IK, who cites as evidence وَلَا أَرْضَ أَبْقَدَ الْحَمْدُ [21], saying that it is not a poetic license, because the poet might have said أَبْقَكْتَ أَبْقَالَهَا by transfer [of the vowel of the Hamza to the preceding quiescent (DM)], which is refuted by our not admitting that alleviation of the Hamza, by transfer or otherwise, is practised in the *dial.* of this poet (ML). As for the *pls.* [270] and the [generic *n.* and] *quasi-pl. n.* [271], their predicament will be explained hereafter (R).

§ 264. The 3 is (M, IM, R) (1) literally expressed (M), which is the general rule, to distinguish the *fem*

from the *masc.*, as ^٩أَمْرٌ and ^٩أَمْرًا, and ^٩قَاتِمٌ and ^٩قَاتِمَةٌ (IY) : (2) supplied, [meant (IY),] in some *ns.* (M, IM, R), like ^٩كَتِفٌ *a shoulder* (IM), (a) *tril.* (M, R), like ^٩عَيْنٌ *an eye* (M, IA, A), ^٩أُذُنٌ *a ear* (M), ^٩يَدٌ *a hand* (A), ^٩هِنْدٌ *Hind*, ^٩قِدْرٌ *a cooking-pot*, ^٩شَمْسٌ [262] (IY) ; (b) *quad.* (M), [or, otherwise] exceeding three letters, by analogy to the *tril.*, which is the *o. f.* (R), like ^٩عَنَاقٌ [246] and ^٩عَقْرَبٌ *a scorpion* (M), ^٩زَيْنَبُ and ^٩سُعَادُ [263] : being elided from the expression because the peculiarity of the *n.* to the *fem.* makes the sign unnecessary (IY). The ة is [the only sign (R, Sn)] supplied (R, IA, Sn), says R (Sn), (1) because, being constitutionally adventitious and separable [266], it may be elided and supplied (R, Sn), contrary to the † (R) ; (2) because it is more frequent [in usage (IA), and more plain in indication (Sn),] than the † (IA, Sn) : while the proof that the ة, and not the †, is supplied is its restoration in the *dim.*, as ^٩هَنَيْدَةٌ and ^٩قُدَيْرَةٌ [274, 282] (R). But the source of this is hearsay (IY, IA). The gender of that [*fem. n.* (IA)] which has no sign expressed (R, IA), [in consequence of] the supply (IY, IM) of the ة (IY, Sn), is made known by (1) [the restoration {of the ة (IY, IA, Aud, Sn)} in (IY, IM)] the *dim.* (IY, IM, R) of the *tril.* [282] (IY, R, Dm), exclusively (Dm), says Dm (Sn), as ^٩قُدَيْرَةٌ (IY, R) and ^٩هَنَيْدَةٌ [above] (IY) ; and similarly of the *quad.*, when its *dim.* is formed by curtailment [282,

291], as عُنَيْقَةٌ *dim.* of عُنَاقُ, and ذُرَيْعَةٌ *dim.* of ذِرَاعُ (Sn); and sometimes, anomalously, in what exceeds three letters, [when its *dim.* is not so formed,] as قُدَيْدِيْمَةٌ and وَرِيْئَةٌ [282] (R): (2) the affixion of the sign of femininization to (R, A) the v. [or similar word (R)] attributed (a) to the *fem. n.* (IY, R, Aud, A), as وَلَمَّا فَصَلَتِ الْعَيْرُ XII. 94. *And, when the caravan set out from Egypt* (Aud), whence وَالتَّفَّتِ السَّانِي LXXV. 29. *And the leg is folded*; or (b) to its *pron.*, whence لَطَى نَرَاعَةً LXX. 15, 16. *Hell-fire will be dragging*, بِكَأْسٍ مِنْ مَعِينٍ بَيْضَاءَ لَذَّةٍ XXXVII. 45, 46. *With a cup of flowing wine, white, delicious*, and وَلُسْلُبَانِ الرِّيحِ XXI. 81. *And We subjected to Solomon the wind, when blowing hard* (R): (3) the femininization of its [enunc. (IY, A), as الْقَعْرُبُ مُرْدِيَّةٌ *The scorpion is noxious* (IY),] *ep.* (IY, IA, A), as أَكَلْتُ كِنْفًا مَشْوِيَّةً *I ate a roasted shoulder* (IA), or *d. s.*, [all included by R under 2 (b)] (A): (4) the gender of (IA, Sn) the *pron.* (IM, R) relating to the *n.* (R, IA, Aud, A), as XCI. 1. [538] (R), whence XXII. 71. (It is) the fire. God hath promised it to them that disbelieve, حَتَّى تَضَعَ الْحَرْبُ أَوْرَاقَهَا XLVIII. 5. *Until the war lay down its burdens*, and VIII. 63. *And, if they incline to peace, incline thou to it* (Aud, Sn): (5) the use

of the [*fem.* (Sn)] *dem.*, [as هَذِهِ جَهَنَّمُ XXXVI. 63. *This is Hell* (Aud)] : (6) the elision of the ة from its *num.* (R, Aud, A), from 3 to 10 (R), as

أَرْمِي عَلَيْهَا وَهِيَ فَرْعٌ أَجْمَعُ * وَهِيَ ثَلَاثُ أَذْرُعٍ وَإِصْبَعُ

(Aud), by Humaid alArkāt, describing a bow, *I shoot with it ; and it is a whole branch, and it is three cubits and a finger*, where the elision of the ة from ثَلَاثُ shows that ذِرَاعٌ is *fem.* (MN) : (7) its *pl.*'s being of a paradigm peculiar to the *fem.*, like فَوَاعِلُ in *eps.*, as طَوَالِقُ and حَوَائِضُ [247] : or prevalent in the *fem.*, like أَفْعُلُ, which is *pl.* of the *fem.* on the measure of عَنَائُ, ذِرَاعُ, كُرَاعُ, and يَبِينُ ; seldom of the *masc.*, as مَكَانُ *pl.* أَمَكْنُ [246, 255], طَحَالُ *pl.* أَطْحُلُ [246], and أَجْبُنُ *a forehead, brow, pl.* أَجْبُنُ (R).

§ 265. The ة is affixed [to *ns.* (A) for various reasons (M)], (1) to distinguish the *fem.* from the *masc.*, (a) in the *ep.* (M, R, IA, Aud, A), being regular in four sorts, (a) the *act. part.* (R), as ضَارِبَةٌ [267, 343] (M, R) ; (b) the *pass. part.*, as مَنْصُورَةٌ [347] ; (c) the assimilate *ep.*, other than the أَفْعُلُ of superiority and the *ep.* أَفْعُلُ, as حَسَنَةٌ [348] ; (d) the *rel. n.* with the ي [268], as بَصْرِيَّةٌ [295] : while such as رَبْعَةٌ [54, 266] and يَفْعَةٌ *adult*, in the *masc.* and *fem.*, are *orig. eps.* of نَفْسٌ, i. e., نَفْسٌ رَبْعَةٌ and يَفْعَةٌ *a middle-sized, and an adult, soul or person* [268] (R) : (b) in

the substantive, as ^{أَمْرَأَة} *a woman* [or ^{مَرَأَة} (IY), ^{شَيْخَة} *an old woman* (M)], ^{إِنْسَانَة} *a woman*, [^{غُلَامَة} *a young woman* (M,R,A),] ^{رَجُلَة} *a woman*, [^{فَتَاة} *a damsel* (A), ^{حِمَارَة} *a she-ass*, ^{أَسَدَة} *a lioness*, and ^{بُرْذَوْنَة} *a jade or hackney mare* (M),] which is rare (M, R, IA, A), irregular (Sn), confined to hearsay (R), because the *fem.* [generally] has a substantive to itself ; while the *opp.* of this is the affixion of the *ṣ* in the *num.*, as ^{ثَلَاثَة} [314], to distinguish the *masc.* from the *fem.* in the generic *n.* [313] (IY) : (2) to distinguish (a) the *n. un.* from the generic *n.*, [ordinarily (IY) in things created (IY, R, A),] as ^{قَمَرَة} [254, 267] (M, R, Aud, A), and [in *inf. ns.* (R),] as ^{قَرْبَة} [336] (M, R), being regular in both (R) ; seldom in things manufactured, as ^{سَفِينَة} [254] : (b) the generic *n.* from the *n. un.*, as ^{كَمَاة} [254, 267] (R, Aud, A), which is rare : (a) the *ṣ* mostly occurs in the two senses mentioned [in 1 and 2] ; and in them it is adventitious, not inseparable [266] : (3) to indicate the *pl.*, in the *eps.* whose qualifieds are not used, and that are (a) on the measure of ^{فَاعِل} or ^{فُعُول} , as ^{خَرَجَتْ خَارِجَة عَلَى الْأَمِيرِ} *Some rebels rebelled against the governor*, ^{شَارِبَة} [267], and ^{رُكُوبَة} [246, 267] ; (b) *rel. eps.* with the ^ي [294], or on the measure of ^{فَعَال} [312], as ^{الْبَصْرِیَّة} and ^{جَمَالَة} [267] : (4) to corroborate the *ep.*, being

used (R) to import *intensiveness* [in the *ep.* (M, R) on the measure of فَاعِلٌ (R)], as رَوِيَّةٌ a great reciter (M, R, Aud, A) of poetry (IY) ; and [to corroborate the *intensiveness* (Aud, A) in the *ep.* on the measure of فَعَالٌ , مَفْعَالٌ or فَعُولٌ (R),] as نَسَابَةٌ a profound genealogist (M, R, Aud, A), مَطْرَابَةٌ highly emotional (R), and فُرُوقَةٌ very timid [246, 269] (M, R) : (a) the ة here denotes *femininization* [in the *ep.*] ; and the suppressed qualified is جَمَاعَةٌ a multitude, the single thing being treated as a multitude of its genus, as in أَنْتَ الرَّجُلُ كُلُّ الرَّجُلِ [142] (R) ; [or] they femininize the *masc.*, because they mean that he is a غَايَةٌ extreme in that [quality], غَايَةٌ being *fem.* (Sn) : and here the ة is separable : (b) the ة is often affixed to فَعْلٌ i. q. فَاعِلٌ , and to فَعْلٌ i. q. مَفْعُولٌ , as سُبَّةٌ great reviler and سُبَّةٌ much reviled, لَعْنَةٌ great curser and لَعْنَةٌ much cursed : and in these two measures it is inseparable (R) : (5) to corroborate the [sense of (R)] *femininization* [in a word peculiar to the *fem.* (A)], as نَعَجَةٌ a ewe (M, R, Aud, A) and نَاقَةٌ [263] (M, R, A), which is rare (IY) : (a) this ة is inseparable : (b) the ة is said to be sometimes put to corroborate the sense of *femininization* in the *ep.*, as عَجُوزَةٌ an old woman, عَجُوزٌ being applied to denote the *fem.* ; and here the ة is not inseparable (R) : (6) to corroborate [the sense of (M)] *femininization* in (IY, R, A)]

the *pl.* [270] (M, R, A), as حَجَارَةٌ [and ذِكَاةٌ (M)]; صُقُورٌ ,
 عُمُومَةٌ , and خُوْلَةٌ (M, A) ; and صَيَاقِلَةٌ and قَشَاعِمَةٌ vultures
 [249] (M) : it is then affixed, (a) necessarily, in two for-
 mations, (α) أَفْعَلَةٌ , as أَغْرِبَةٌ [246] ; (b) فِعْلَةٌ , as غَلِمَةٌ
 [246] : (b) allowably, in three formations, (α) فَعَالَةٌ , as
 جَمَالَةٌ *he-camels*, being sometimes inseparable here, as in
 حَجَارَةٌ and ذِكَاةٌ [237, 253] ; (b) فُعُولَةٌ , as صُقُورٌ *hawks*, being
 sometimes inseparable, as in عُمُومَةٌ [237, 253] and خُوْلَةٌ ;
 (c) the ultimate *pl.*, as صَيَاقِلَةٌ and مَلَاكِكَةٌ [253], not being
 inseparable here : (7) in the ultimate *pl.* (R), as a compen-
 sation for a significant *aug.* [existing in the *sing.*] (Aud),
 [and] as an indication [that its *sing.* is a *n.* (R)] of rela-
 tion (M, R, A), as أَشَاعَةٌ (M, R, Aud, A) and مَشَاهِدَةٌ
 [253] : (a) the ة is here inseparable, because it is a substi-
 tute for the ي : (b) it is affixed to the ultimate *pl.*, exclu-
 sively, in order that, by its means, the *n.* may return to
 its *o. f.* of triptote declension [18, 256] : (8) in the ulti-
 mate *pl.* (R), to indicate *arabicization* [of its *sing.* (R)],
 as مَوَازِجٌ (M, R, A), جَوَارِبٌ (M, R), and كَيْالِجَةٌ [253]
 (R, A) : (a) the ة here is said to be the sign of foreign-
 ness, because the foreign *n.* is transferred to Arabic, as
 the *fem.* gender is transferred from the *masc.* : (b) the ة
 in this kind is not inseparable ; but, on the contrary, مَوَازِجُ

and جَوَارِبُ [253] are allowable (R) : (9) in the [ultimate (R)] *pl.* (IY, R) upon the measure of مَفَاعِيلُ (IY), as a compensation (M, R, Aud) for an unmeaning *wug.* (Aud), [i. e.] for the ي elided (IY, R) before the final (R), [or in fewer words] as an alternative to the ي of مَفَاعِيلُ (A), as جَعَاجِجَةٌ [253] (M, R, A), فَرَارِنَةٌ (M), *pl.* of فِرْزَانُ *a queen* at chess (IY), and زَنَادِقَةٌ (Aud, A), *pl.* of زَنْدِيقُ *a Dualist* (Aud) : for, when the ي is put, the ة is not put, but جَعَاجِجُ and زَنَادِيقُ are said ; so that the ي and ة are alternatives (A) : (a) as for فَرَارِنَةٌ and زَنَادِقَةٌ [253], the ة in them may be a compensation for the elided ي , or a sign of the arabicization of the *sing.* : (b) the ة and the ي not being elided together, nor expressed together, the ة is inseparable with elision of the ي : (10) not to denote any meaning, but (R) for mere multiplication of the letters of the word (A), and (Sn) for *lit.* femininization (R, Sn) also (Sn), as غُرْفَةٌ (R, A) and ظُلْمَةٌ [238, 263, 266], عِمَامَةٌ *a turban* [246] (R) and سِقَايَةٌ [266] (A), and مَلْحَفَةٌ *a wrapper* ; and here it is inseparable (R) : (11) as a compensation for (a) the ف [of the *v.* (R)], as عِدَّةٌ [699] (R, Aud, A) ; (b) the ع , as إِقَامَةٌ [338] (A) ; (c) the ل (R, Aud, A), as سَنَةٌ [260] (Aud, A) : and here it is insepa-

rable (R) : (12) as a compensation for the letter of pro-
 longation in تَفْعِيلٌ, as تَنْزِيَةٌ [338] (A) : (13) as a com-
 pensation for the ي of prothesis, vid. in يَا أَدَبُ and يَا أُمَّتِ
 only [54] : (14) as a mark of transfer from the state of
ep. to that of substantive, and a sign that the *ep.* is pre-
 valent [149], not needing the qualified, as نَظِيكَةً *a sheep,*
or goat, gored to death and ذَبِيكَةً *a sheep, or goat, for*
slaughter [246, 267, 269] : (a) this ة is mostly inseparable :
 (b) the ة in حَلَوْبَةٌ and كُوبَةٌ is most probably like this,
 because the qualified is not mentioned at all with them
 [267, 269] : (c) every *n.* that has this ة affixed to it is
 applied to the male and female alike : (15) as a compen-
 sation, says IAL, for the ا of femininization, as in حَبِيرَةٌ
dim. of حَبَارَى [282] (R) : (16) in such [transferred pro-
 per names] as طَلْحَةٌ *Talḥa* and حَمْرَةٌ *Hamza*, which
 are really of the *cat.* of تَمْرَةٌ [above], طَلْحَةٌ being *a tree*
 [254], and حَمْرَةٌ *a herb*, and both being afterwards used
 as names : Anas [Ibn Mālik (Nw)] who was surnamed
 Abū Ḥamza, says "The Apostle of God surnamed me from
 a *herb* that I used to gather" : so that, when any
 such [name] occurs, one looks at its *o. f.*, before the
 transfer [4] and use as a name, in order to know which
 of the kinds it is of (IY). And [Z says that (R)] these
 reasons may be combined by saying that the ة is affixed
 for femininization and quasi-femininization (M, R).

§ 266. The *ë* is (1) mostly separable, [because it is affixed to a complete *n.*, producing femininization in it, as *قَاتِمٌ* and *قَاتِمَةٌ*, and *أَمْرٌ* and *أَمْرَةٌ*; and therefore is equivalent to a *n.* joined on to a *n.* (IY)]: (2) seldom a fundamental part of the word, [inseparable, like the *l*, as though the word were formed *fem.*, and had no share in the *masc.* gender, so that the *ë* is like one of the letters of the *n.* (IY),] whence *عَبَايَةٌ* a woollen robe [721], *عَظَايَةٌ* a lizard, [*صَلَايَةٌ* a stone used to crack nuts, *نَهَايَةٌ* extremity, *سَقَايَةٌ* a cup, goblet, or tankard (IY),] *عَلَاوَةٌ* something over and above, *شَقَاوَةٌ* wretchedness [229] (M), and *غَبَاوَةٌ* want of intelligence (IY). The *ë* in these *ns.*, being for *lit.* femininization, is in this respect inseparable, as in *غُرْنَةٌ* and *ظُلْمَةٌ* [265]; and, even though in some of them it occurs separable, like *شَقَاوَةٌ* and *شَقَاءٌ* [683, 721, 723], still in the *lit. fem.* it is constitutionally inseparable (R). The *ë* is sometimes inseparable in what is (1) of common gender, like *رَبْعَةٌ* middle-sized [54, 265], said of men and women; (2) peculiar to the *masc.*, as *بَهْمَةٌ* valiant, said of a man (A).

§ 267. Their saying *جَمَالَةٌ* [265] in the *pl.* of *جَمَالٌ* [312] is i. q. *جَمَاعَةٌ جَمَالَةٌ*, and similarly *بَعَالَةٌ* and *حَمَارَةٌ*, [meaning a multitude owning camels and mules and asses, or working as servants, and attending, upon them, though not

their owners (IY)] ; and [similarly (IY)] شَارِبَةٌ [265] and سَابِلَةٌ and سَابِلَةٌ , [meaning *a multitude dwelling upon the side of the river, to whom its water belongs and arriving at water and travelling upon the road* (IY)] : and hence أَلْبَصْرِيَّةُ [265] and الْكُوفِيَّةُ , [meaning *the Basrī, and Kufī, multitude* (IY),] and الْأَمْرَوَانِيَّةُ and الْأَزْهَرِيَّةُ , [meaning *the multitude related to Marwān Ibn AlḤakam and to Az-Zubair* (IY)] ; and رَكُوبَةٌ and قَتْرَبَةٌ and حَلُوبَةٌ [246, 265], as فَمِنْهَا رَكُوبُهُمْ XXXVI. 72. *And of them is their ridden one*, where رَكُوبَتُهُمْ *are their ridden ones* is read (M) by ‘Ā’isha (Jh), and حَمُولَةٌ , meaning *the multitude milked and saddled with a pack-saddle and ridden and laden* (IY). The ة in all of these really denotes *femininization*, as in فَارِسَةٌ [265], not being as in كَمَاتَةٌ [254, 265], because the n. containing the ة is constructively *ep.* of جَمَاعَةٌ , the qualified being necessarily suppressed, because known (R). As for حَلُوبَةٌ for the *individual*, and حَلُوبٌ for the *genus*, they are like قَمَرَةٌ and قَمَرٌ [254, 265] (M, R) ; and here the ة denotes *unity*, not *femininization*. And it is sometimes said that رَكُوبٌ and رَكُوبَةٌ are synonymous [246], and similarly حَلُوبٌ and حَلُوبَةٌ ; and, in that case, the ة denotes *transfer to the state of substantive*, as in دَبِيحَةٌ [246, 265] and أَكُولَةٌ *a sheep set apart, and fattened, to be eaten* [269] (R).

§ 268. They say *أَمْرًا حَائِضٌ* and *طَامِتٌ* and *طَالِقٌ* [247] and *رِيحٌ عَاصِفٌ* *despairing of menstruating*, and *رِيحٌ عَاصِفٌ*, whence *جَاءَتْهَا رِيحٌ عَاصِفٌ* X. 23. *A wind blowing hard shall come upon them*, not putting the *ṣ* in the *ep.*, though the *ep.* belongs to the *fem.*, because it is not conformable to the *v.*, but is i. q. the *rel. n.* [below], i. e., *ذَاتُ حَيْضٍ* and *طَالِقٍ* and *طَامِتٍ*, meaning that *divorce is permanent in her*, [and *ذَاتُ عَصِفٍ* (B)] ; and similarly *مُرْضِعٌ* [252], i. e., *ذَاتُ رَضَاعٍ* ; and hence LXXIII. 18. [below], i. e., *ذَاتُ أَنْفِطَارٍ* : not meaning *حَاصِتٌ* and *أَنْفَطَرَتْ*, since, if that were meant, they would put the *ṣ*, because it would be a thing not permanent, whence *يَوْمَ تَرَوْنها تَذْهَبُ كُلُّ مُرْضِعَةٍ عَمَّا أَرْضَعَتْ* XXII. 2. *On the day that ye shall see it, every woman giving suck shall forget what she hath suckled* and XXI. 81. [264] (IY). The general rule in *eps.* is that their *fem.* is distinguished from their *masc.* by the *ṣ* [265] : but (1) in *eps.* peculiar to the *fem.*, and being on the measure of *فَاعِلٌ* and *مُفْعِلٌ*, the *ṣ* is (a) commonly not affixed, if the sense of *origination* be not intended in them, as *حَائِضٌ* and *طَالِقٌ* [247, 282], *مُرْضِعٌ* and *مُفْطِلٌ* [252] ; (b) inseparable, if the sense of *origination* be intended in them, as *حَاصِتٌ* *فَهِىَ حَائِضَةٌ* *She menstruated, so that she was menstruating* ; (c) sometimes affixed, even if *origination* be not

intended, as مُرْضِعَةٌ and حَامِلَةٌ *pregnant* : (2) an *ep.* common to the *masc.* and *fem.* is sometimes denuded of the ة, when *origination* is not intended, as ضَامِرٌ *lank-bellied* said of a he-camel or she-camel, and عَانِسٌ *unmarried at mature age* said of a man or woman. And, as to the reason for denuding these *eps.* of the ة, when *origination* is not intended, there are three opinions :— (1) the KK say that the ة is put to distinguish between the *masc.* and the *fem.*, and that the distinction is needed only when homonymy exists : but this reason (a) does not extend to such as ضَامِرٌ and عَانِسٌ : (b) requires that the *eps.* peculiar to the *fem.* should be denuded of the ة even when *origination* is intended ; nay, that the *v.* also, when there is no homonymy, as in حَاضَتْ *she menstruated*, should be denuded [of the ت] : (c) requires that only مُرْضِعٌ should be said ; whereas مُرْضِعَةٌ is authorized even when *origination* is not intended : (2) S says that حَائِضٌ is to be paraphrased by إِنْسَانٌ حَائِضٌ [282] or شَيْءٌ *a menstruating human being or thing*, as رُبْعَةٌ is by نَفْسٌ رُبْعَةٌ [265] ; but the agreement of the GG that the ة is affixed, when *origination* is intended, proves that the reason is not this paraphrase : (3) Khl says that the *ep.* is denuded of the ة because it is renderable by the *rel. n.*, meaning, says IH, that, when *unrestrictedness* is intended, not

origination, the *ep.*, though in the form of the *act. part.*, is not in the sense of the *v.*, but of the *rel. n.* [above], like ذُو لَبَنٍ and تَامِرٌ [312] ; so that, as these two mean ذُو لَبَنٍ and ذُو تَمَرٍ *unrestrictedly*, not with the sense of *origination*, i. e., تَمَرِيٌّ and لَبَنِيٌّ, so حَائِضٌ and طَالِقٌ mean ذَاتُ حَائِضٍ and ذَاتُ طَالِقٍ, i. e., حَائِضِيَّةٌ and طَالِقِيَّةٌ : but, even if it be granted that such as طَامِثٌ and حَائِضٌ [247] are formations of the *rel. n.*, how can it to be said that such as مُنْفَطِرٌ and مُرْضِعٌ in السَّمَاءُ مُنْفَطِرَةٌ LXXIII. 18. *Whereby the heaven shall be rent in sunder* and مُرْضِعٌ فَلَانَةٌ *Such a woman is suckling* belong to the *cat.* of the *rel. n.*, when مُنْفَعِلٌ and مُنْفَعِلٌ are not among its authorized formations ? The most probable reason is that the distinction between the *masc.* and *fem.* by the ى prevails especially in the *v.* : then the *act.* and *pass. parts.* are made to accord with the *v.* because of their resemblance to it in form and sense ; so that the ى is affixed to them, as the ى is to the *v.* : then some *eps.* on the measure of the *act. part.* are so used that at one time *origination* is intended by them as by the *v.*, and at another *unrestrictedness* ; and therefore, designing to distinguish between the two senses, the Arabs femininize with the ى that in which they intend *origination*, because of its resemblance to the *v.* in sense, contrary to that in which they intend *unrestrictedness* ; while the assimilate *ep.* and the *rel. n.*

with the **ي**, which always denote *unrestrictedness*, have the **ة** affixed to them [265] not because they resemble the *v.*, but because they resemble the *act.* and *pass. parts.*, since they are *ns.* containing the sense of the *ep.*, like the *act.* and *pass. parts.* (R).

§ 269. The **ة** is not affixed to the following *eps.*, [which are of common gender (R)] :— (1) **فَعُولٌ** [246, 252] (IY, R, IA, Aud, A), when i. q. **فَاعِلٌ** (R, IA, Aud, A), as **رَجُلٌ صَبُورٌ** and **امْرَأَةٌ صَبُورَةٌ** *a very patient man and woman* (IY, IA, Aud, A), whence **وَمَا كَانَتْ أُمُّكَ بَغِيًّا** XIX. 29.

Nor hath thy mother been a harlot, orig. **بَغِيًّا** (Aud) :

(a) the **ة** in **مَلُوءَةٌ** [and **فُرُوقَةٌ** (A)] is intensive [246, 265] (Aud, A) ; and is therefore affixed to the *fem.* and *masc.*

(A), as is proved by **رَجُلٌ مَلُوءٌ** *a man much bored* (Aud) :

(b) they say **عَدُوَّةٌ** [234, 246] (R, IA, Aud, A), which is anomalous (IA, Aud, A), made to accord with **صَدِيقَةٌ**

(Aud) : (c) when **فَعُولٌ** is i. q. **مَفْعُولٌ**, the **ة** is affixed to it

(IA, Aud, A) in the *fem.* (IA), as **رَكُوبَةٌ** i. q. **مَرْكُوبَةٌ** [246]

(IA, A), **أَكُولَةٌ** i. q. **مَأْكُولَةٌ** [267], and **حَلُوبَةٌ** i. q. **مَحْلُوبَةٌ**

(A), whence **جَمَلٌ رَكُوبٌ** and **نَاقَةٌ رَكُوبَةٌ** *a he-camel, and a she-*

camel, ridden (Aud) : or, as R says (Sn), **فَعُولٌ** i. q. **مَفْعُولٌ**

also is of common gender, as **جَزُورٌ** [256], **رَكُوبٌ**, and **قَتُوبٌ** ;

but (R) the **ة** is [often (R)] affixed to it as a sign of transfer to the state of substantive [265, 267] (R, Sn),

not for femininization ; so that, even after affixion of the ة, it is applicable to the *masc.* and *fem.* (R) : (2) مَفْعَالٌ [252] (IY, R, IA, Aud, A), as رَجُلٌ مَهْدَارٌ and اِمْرَاَةٌ مَهْدَارٌ *a babbling man and woman* (IA, A), like مِعْطَارٌ [*a woman* (IY)] *using much perfume* (IY, R), مَذْكَارٌ *wont to give birth to males*, and مِثْنَاتٌ *wont to give birth to females* (IY) : (a) مِيقَانَةٌ *knowing with certainty* is anomalous (IA, Aud, A) : (3) مَفْعِيلٌ [252] (IY, R, IA, Aud, A), as مِعْطِيرٌ *using much perfume* (IY, IA, Aud, A), said of a [man and (A)] woman (IA, A), like مِنْطِيقٌ *eloquent* (IY, R) : (a) they say مِسْكِينَةٌ [234] (R, IA, Aud, A), which is anomalous (IA, Aud, A) ; while اِمْرَاَةٌ مَسْكِينٌ *a needy woman* has been heard, according to analogy (Aud, A), being transmitted by S (A) : (4) مَفْعَلٌ [252] (R, IA, Aud, A), as مَغْشَمٌ *dauntless* (IA, Aud, A), said of a man and woman (A), and مَدْعَسٌ (Aud) : (5) فَعَالٌ [246, 252], as حَصَانٌ *chaste* ; though S transmits اِمْرَاَةٌ جَبَانٌ and جَبَانَةٌ : (6) فَعَالٌ [246, 252], as نَاقَةٌ دَلَّاتٌ (R) : (7) فَعِيلٌ i. q. مَفْعُولٌ [246] (IY, R, IA, Aud, A), if it [is not used as a substantive, but (IA)] follows a qualified (R, IA, A), as جَرِيحٌ *wounded* [and قَتِيلٌ *slain* (A)], said of a [man and (Aud, A)] woman (IA, Aud, A), whence عَيْنٌ كَحِيلٌ

an eye anointed with collyrium (IY, IA); or rather, if its qualified be known, so that such as رَأَيْتُ قَتِيلًا مِنْ النِّسَاءِ I saw a slain one of women may be included, the ة being elided here because its qualified is known, for which reason IM says in the CK "if qualificativity be intended, and the qualified be known, it is denuded of the ة" (A) : (a) the ة is sometimes affixed to it (R, IA, A), notwithstanding the mention of the qualified (R), as خَصْلَةٌ ذَمِيمَةٌ α *blameworthy quality*, i. e., مَذْمُومَةٌ and فِعْلَةٌ حَسَنَةٌ α *praiseworthy kind of deed* (IA), because it is made to accord with فَعِيلٌ i. q. فَاعِلٌ, [on account of their resemblance in form (R)], as فَعِيلٌ i. q. فَاعِلٌ is made to accord with it in being denuded [of the ة (R)], whence VII. 54. [111] (R, A), as is said (R), and XXXVI. 78 [below] (A) : (b) if it [is used as a substantive, and (IA, A)] does not follow a qualified, [expressed, or meant to be understood from some indication (A),] the ة is affixed to it (IA, Aud, A), as هَذِهِ ذَبِيكَةٌ and نَظِيكَةٌ [246, 265, 267] and أَكَلَتْ أَكِيلَةً eaten by a wild beast (IA), from fear of ambiguity (IA, Aud, A) : (c) IHsh says that this reasoning holds good in the remaining *eps.* [of common gender], when you say رَأَيْتُ صَبُورًا or the like: so that, if what the GG say be founded upon analogy, the whole are alike ; but, if their authority be hearsay, which appears to be the case, there

is no difficulty (Sn) : [and IY says that] the *ṣ* is not put in these *ns.* when they follow their qualified ; but, when the qualified is not mentioned, the *ṣ* is expressed, from fear of ambiguity, as رَأَيْتُ صَبُورَةً and مِعْطَارَةً and قَتِيلَةً بَنَى فُلَانٍ (IY) : (d) if فَعِيلٌ be i. q. فَاعِلٌ (IY, IA, Aud, A), (α) the *ṣ* is affixed to it (IA, Aud, A) in the *fem.* (IA), as اِمْرَأَةٌ رَحِيمَةٌ and ظَرِيفَةٌ *a merciful, and witty, woman* (Aud, A) : (b) it is sometimes assimilated to فَعِيلٌ i. q. مَفْعُولٌ, so that (IY) the *ṣ* is elided from it, [which is rare (IA),] as VII. 54. [111] (IY, IA) and مَنْ يُخَيِّبُ الْعِظَامَ XXXVI. 78. *Who will quicken the bones, when they are decayed?* [above] (IA) ; or, as is said, the *ṣ* is elided in VII. 54. because رَحْمَةٌ and رَحْمٌ are one, which is corroborated by هَذَا رَحْمَةٌ مِنْ رَبِّي XVIII. 97. *This is a mercy from my Lord* (IY) : (e) جَدِيدٌ in their saying مِلْكَةٌ جَدِيدَةٌ *a new wrapper* is, (α) as the KK say, i. q. مَجْدُودَةٌ *cut off* (IY, R) from the web at the finish of its weaving (IY), from جَدَّه *he cut it off* (R) ; and [this seems to be the opinion of IHsh, who says that] مِلْكَةٌ جَدِيدَةٌ is anomalous (Aud) : (b) as the BB say, [i. q. فَاعِلَةٌ, i. e., جَدَّتْ *that has become new* (IY),] from جَدَّ *aor.* يَجِدُّ (IY, R), *inf. n.* جَدَّة (R) ; and, according to them, the elision of the *ṣ* is anomalous : (f)

hence رِيحٌ خَرِيقٌ *a violent wind*, as though it *tore up* the ground ; and شَاةٌ سَدِيسٌ *a six-year-old sheep* (IY) : (g) فَعِيلٌ i. q. مَفْعُولٌ, though frequent, is not regular : and فَعِيلٌ occurs i. q. (a) مَفْعَلٌ, seldom, as الذِّكْرُ الْكَكِيمُ *the unambiguous admonition*, i. e., اَلْبُحْكُمُ ; (b) مُفَاعَلٌ, often, as جَلِيسٌ *sat with* [246, 247] and حَلِيفٌ *confederate* : (8) فَعِيلٌ, occasionally, as نَاتَةٌ رِيضٌ [251] (R).

§ 270. The femininization of the *pl.* is not proper, [because it is a femininization of the *n.*, not of the thing meant (IY)] : and therefore the sign [of femininization] may be either affixed to the attribute of the *pl.*, [on the ground that جَمَاعَةٌ is meant (IY),] or omitted, [on the ground that جَنَعَ is meant (IY),] as فَعَلَتِ الرِّجَالُ and فَعَلَتِ الْمُسْلِمَاتُ and الْاَيَّامُ *The men, and The Muslim women, and The days, have done*, or فَعَلَ (M), no regard being paid to the gender of its *sing.*, as XLIX. 14. and XII. 30. [21] ; and no distinction being made between the rational and irrational, because the femininization [of the *pl.*] belongs to the *n.*, not to the thing named. The KK assert that the *masc.* belongs to multitude, and the *fem.* to paucity [235]. If the *pl.* be broken, you are allowed an option in the gender of its *v.*, as قَامَ الرِّجَالُ or قَامَتِ [21], neither being preferable, because the form of the *sing.* disappears in the broken *pl.* [234].

But, if the *pl.* be sound, then, if it belong to a *fem.*, the *fem.* gender is preferable in the *v.* ; and, if it belong to a *masc.*, the *masc.* is preferable : while some make the first *masc.*, which is rare, as قَبْلَ أَنْ يَنْفَدَ XVIII. 109. *Before the words of my Lord should fail*, read by Ḥamza, Ks, and Ibn 'Āmir with the *ى* ; and some make the second *fem.*, which is a poetic license, as

قَالَتْ بَنُو عَامِرٍ خَالُوا بَنِي أَسَدٍ * يَا بُوسَ لِلْجَهْلِ ضَرَارًا لِأَقْوَامٍ
[below] (IY), by AnNābigħa adhDhubaynī, *The Banū 'Āmir said, Forsake ye the Banū Asad. O the calamity of ignorance, when very hurtful to peoples!* (AKB). As for the broken *pl.* and the sound *pl.* with the *ا* and *ت*, whether the *sing.* be a proper *masc.*, as in رَجَالٌ and الطَّلَكَاتُ, or a proper *fem.*, as in نِسْوَةٌ [257] and الرِّيبَنَاتُ, or a tropical *masc.*, as in أَيَّامٌ and جُمُيَلَاتُ [234, 289], or a tropical *fem.*, as in دُورٌ [256] and غُرَفَاتُ [240], the predicament of their attribute is the same as that of the attribute of the improper *fem.* [in the *sing.* or *du.*], except in one thing, that, without separation, the elision of the sign from the *op.* governing the *nom.* is better with the *pl.*, as قَالَ الرِّجَالُ or الرِّيبَنَاتُ or النِّسَاءُ, than with the *sing.* or *du.* [263], because the femininization of the *pl.* is by reason of a paraphrase, vid. its being *i. q.* جَمَاعَةٌ [21]. They do not regard the proper femininization, which was in the *sing.*, because the

adventitious tropical [femininization] removes the predicament of the proper, as it removes the predicament of the proper masculinization in رَجَالٌ. But the proper masculinization in the *pl.* with the و and ن, as الرِّبْدُونَ, is not annulled, because the form of the *sing.*, remaining in it, is respected by them. And, by analogy to this, the proper femininization in the *pl.* with the ا and ت also, as الهِنْدَاتُ, should remain, because the form of the *sing.* remains in it : but, since that *sing.* containing the sign is altered either by elision of the sign, if it be a ة, as غُرَفَاتُ, or by conversion of it, if it be an ا, as حَبَلِيَّاتُ and صَحَرَاوَاتُ [234, 248], that alteration makes the *pl.* like a sort of broken *pl.* ; and it is as though the femininization of the *sing.* had disappeared with the disappearance of the sign : and then that [kind of proper *fem.*] in which the ة is supplied [264], so that the alteration is not apparent upon it, as الرِّبْبَاتُ and الهِنْدَاتُ, is made to accord with the former, because the supplied, according to them, is in the predicament of the expressed. And the proof that the femininization of such as الرِّبْبَاتُ is tropical is the saying of the Ḥamāsī [‘Āriḳ atṬā’ī (T, AKB), addressing ‘Amr Ibn Hind, king of AlḤīra, or, as is said, his brother AlMundhir Ibn AlMundhir Ibn Mā asSamā (AKB),]

حَلَفْتُ بِهَذِي مُشْعَرٍ بَكَرَاتِهِ * تَخْبُ بِصَحَرَاءَ الْغَبِيطِ دَرَادَتِهِ

(R) *I swear by sacrificial victims whose young she-camels are marked by stabs on the humps, and whose young*

camels amble in the plain of *AlGhabit*, where *مُشْعِرٌ*, the attribute of *بَكَرَات* *pl.* of *بَكْرَةٌ* a young she-camel is not made *fem.* [146] (AKB). The predicament of *بَنُونَ* is the same as that of *أَبْنَاءٌ*, though it is with the *ن*, and *ن*, because [the form of] its *sing.* *ابن* does not remain [234], as [594] : *لَوْ كُنْتُ مِنْ مَازِنِ الْحِجْرِ* and *قَالَتْ بَنُو عَامِرٍ الْحِجْرُ* : and similarly the predicament of the *pl.* with the *ن*, and *ن*, whose *sing.* is *fem.*, like *سِنُونَ*, is the same as that of the *pl.* with the *ت* and *ت*, because it ought to be with the *ت* and *ت*, the *ن* and *ن* in it being a compensation for the *ت* and *ت* [244, 260]. The *ت* of the 3rd *pers. sing. fem.* of the *aor.* [404], and the *ن* of feminization, when a *p.* [21, 161, 497], as in

وَلَكِنْ دِيَّافِيَّ أَبُوهُ وَأُمُّهُ * بِحَوْرَانَ يَعَصِرْنَ السَّلِيْطَ أَقَارِبُهُ

[by *AlFarazdaq*, But thou art a man whose father and mother are of *Diyāf* (a town in Syria), whose next of kin press out olive-oil in *Haurān* (a district of Damascus) (AKB)] are equal to the *ت* [of the 3rd *pers. sing. fem.* of the *pret.*] in separability and inseparability. As for the *pron.* of the *pl.*, (1) if the *pl.* belong to the rational *masc.*, its *pron.*, (a) when the *pl.* is formed with the *ن*, and *ن*, is the *ن* alone, as *الزَّيْدُونَ* *قَالُوا*, not *قَالَتْ*, because the form of the proper *masc.* remains : (b) when the *pl.* is not formed with the *ن*, and *ن*, is either a *و*, as *الرِّجَالُ ضَرَبُوا* and *الطَّلِحَاتُ ضَرَبُوا*, from

regard to the rationality ; or the *pron.* of the 3rd *pers. sing. fem.*, as الرَّجَالُ فَعَلَتْ and تَفْعَلُ and فَاعِلَةٌ , and similarly الطَّلَحَاتُ , from regard to the invasion of the expression by the feminization of the sense الْجَمَاعَةُ : (2) if the *pl.* belong to something else than the rational *masc.*, which is of three kinds, irrational *masc.*, like أَيَّامٌ and جُمَيَّاتٌ , rational *fem.*, like نِسْوَةٌ and الزَّيْنَبَاتُ , and irrational *fem.*, like دُورٌ and ظُلُمَاتٌ , its *pron.* may be either the *pron.* of the 3rd *pers. sing. fem.*, because of the paraphrase جَمَاعَةٌ ; or the ن , because the ن is applied to denote *everything but the rational masc.* : so that you say الْآيَّامُ فَعَلَتْ or فَعَلْنَ , and similarly الْجُمَيَّاتُ and النَّسَاءُ and الزَّيْنَبَاتُ and الدُّورُ and الْغُرَفَاتُ : (a) what is added [to denote the attached *nom. pron.*] is one of the soft letters : but the ا is taken by the *du.*, the ي is appropriated to the rational *masc.* in the *pl.*, and the ي is used to denote the *fem. sing.* in تَفْعَلِينَ and اِنْفَعَلِي [161, 402] ; so that, none of the letters of prolongation being left for the *pl.* of everything but the rational *masc.*, the ن is put, because of its affinity to the ي in nasality (R) : (b) the poet [Mutammim Ibn Nuwaira bewailing his brother Mālik (Mb),] says

وَإِنْ تَكُنِ الْآيَّامُ فَرَقْنَ بَيْنَنَا * فَقَدْ بَانَ مَحْمُودًا أَخِي يَوْمَ وَدَعَا

And, if the days have parted us, my brother has passed away praised, on the day he bade farewell : but the *pl.* in

دَنْتُ [161, 234], where the poet ought to say دَنْتُ or دَنْوَنَ , is treated like the rational ; and similar is قَالَتْ نَمْلَةٌ يَا أَيُّهَا الْحَمِيمُ XXVII. 18. *An ant said, O ye etc* [161, 271, 612] (IY) : (c) one says فَاعِلَاتُ [or فَاعِلَاتُ (K)] or فَرَاعِلُ , whence وَلَهُمْ فِيهَا أَزْوَاجٌ مُطَهَّرَةٌ II. 23. *And in them shall they have purified wives*, where مُطَهَّرَاتُ is read (K, B) by Zaid Ibn 'Alī (K), both chaste *dials.* (B), the *pl.* being according to the form, and the *sing.* according to the paraphrase جَمَاعَةٌ (N) : the poet [Sulmī Ibn Rabī'a (T, IY, AAz) ad-Dabbī (IY)] says وَإِذَا الْعَدَاوَى بِالْذُّخَانِ تَقَنَّعَتْ * وَاسْتَعْجَلَتْ نَصَبَ الْقُدُورِ فَمَلَّتْ (M, K, B) *And, when the maidens veil themselves in the smoke, and are in a hurry for the food notwithstanding the setting on of the cooking-pots, so that they bake some meat in hot ashes* (AAz). According to Mz, the Arabs say الْأَجْدَاعُ أَنْكَسَرْنَ *The trunks broke of few*, and الْأَجْدَاعُ أَنْكَسَرَتْ [of many (IY)] : and hence [in dating (IY)] لِكُمِيسَ خَلَوْنَ *After [504] five nights that have passed* [and لَأَرْبَعٌ بَقِيْنَ *On the last night but four* (IY)], and لِكُمِيسَ عَشْرَةٌ خَلَتْ *After fifteen nights that have passed* [and لَثَلَاثَ عَشْرَةَ بَقِيَتْ *On the last night but thirteen* (IY)] are said (M). Various reasons have been assigned for that ; but, in my opinion, it is because, many predicaments of the *sing.* being applicable to the forma-

tion of paucity [235, 256], they speak of it in the *fem.* by the *ن* peculiar to the *pl.*, in order that it may not be fancied to be a *sing.* (IY). That [construction], however, is not a constant infliction (M) : but you are allowed the option of putting it, which is good ; or not putting it, which is excellent Arabic (IY).

§ 271. The generic *n.* (IY, R), such as *قَمَرٌ* (M), whose *n. un.* is distinguished [from it (M)] by the *ة*, is made *masc.* [by the Hījāzīs (R), according to the form (IY) ;] and *fem.* [by others (R), according to the sense *جَمَاعَةٌ* (IY) : and both genders occur in the *Kur* (R)], as LXIX. 7. and LIV. 20. [254] (M, R) : while its *ep.* may be a *pl.*, broken or sound, as XIII. 13. and L. 10. [254] (IY). It and its *pron.* may be treated like the *sing.*, *masc.* and *fem.*, and their *prons.* [263], while its *pron.* may be treated like the *pron.* of the broken *pl.* [270], as *انْقَعَرُوا* *انْقَعَرَتْ* or *انْقَعَرَتِ* or *انْقَعَرَتْ* or *انْقَعَرَتْ* (R). The *fem.* of this *cat.* has no *masc.* of its crude-form, in order that the *n. un.* may not be confounded with the collective, [because, if you said, *حَمَامَةٌ* for the *fem.*, and *حَمَامٌ* for the *masc.*, the latter would be confounded with the collective (IY)] ; and therefore, says Y, when they mean that [distinction of gender (IY)], they [content themselves with the *ep.*, and (IY)] say *هَذِهِ شَاةٌ ذَكَرٌ* *This is a male sheep* and *حَمَامَةٌ ذَكَرٌ* *a male pigeon* [54, 263] (M), and similarly

أُنْثَى شَاةٌ *a female sheep* and أُنْثَى حَمَامَةٌ *a female pigeon* (IY). One may say غَرِدَتْ حَمَامَةٌ ذَكَرٌ *A male pigeon cooed* and عِنْدِي ثَلَاثٌ مِنَ الْبَطِّ ذُكُورٌ *I possess three male ducks*; so that نَمْلَةٌ in XXVII. 18. [270] may be a male, its form being regarded, and its attribute therefore made *fem.*: but the like of that [regard to the form] is not allowable in the proper name of the proper *masc.*, which contains the sign of feminization, like طَلْكَةٌ; so that قَامَتْ طَلْكَةٌ is not said, except according to some of the KK, against whom the lack of hearsay, notwithstanding investigation, is decisive. And, when the *lit. fem.* is a proper *masc.*, as in شَاةٌ ذَكَرٌ, and not a proper name, [like طَلْكَةٌ,] its *pron.* and its *dem.* may be *masc.* or *fem.*, as عِنْدِي مِنَ الذُّكُورِ حَمَامَةٌ حَسَنٌ *I possess a beautiful pigeon of the males* or حَسَنَةٌ, as says Tarafa, [describing the ears of his she-camel (AKB),]

مَوْلَتَانِ تَعْرِفُ الْغَتَقَ فِيهِمَا * كَسَامَعَتَي شَاةٍ بِكَوْمَلٍ مُفْرَدٍ
[Pointed, wherein thou wilt recognize high breeding, like the two ears of a solitary wild bull in Ḥaūmal (AKB)]: whereas such as غُرْنَةٌ حَسَنٌ is not allowable, in what is not a proper *masc.*; nor may you say صَاحَ دَجَاجَةٌ أُنْثَى by rejecting the feminization of دَجَاجَةٌ on the ground that the ة denotes *unity*, not *feminization*, because, even if you reject it, the proper feminization remains, so that

it is like **قَامَ هُنْدٌ**, which is extremely unusual [21, 263] (R). As for the *quasi-pl. n.*, some [specimens] of it are necessarily *fem.*, like **إِيْدٌ** [257], **خَيْدٌ**, and **غَنَمٌ**, in which case its state is like that of the broken *pl.* [270], in the explicit *n.* and the *pron.*; and some of it may be *masc.* or *fem.*, like **رَكْبٌ**, as **مَعَ الصَّبْحِ رَكْبُ الْخَمْرِ** [257], in which case it is like the generic *n.* [above], as **مَضَى الرُّكْبُ** or **مَضَتْ**, and **مَضَى الرُّكْبُ مَضَى** or **مَضَتْ** or **مَضَوْا** (R).

§ 272. As before remarked [263] (IA), the † of feminization is [of two kinds (IY, IA),] (1) abbreviated (IY, IM), as **سَكْرَى** [248] (IA), which is the *o. f.* (A); i. e., single, not accompanied by another †, so that it should be prolonged; but only one †, quiescent in continuity and pause [643], so that no inflection enters it [16] (IY): (2) prolonged (IY, IM), as **حَمْرَاءٌ** [248] (IA), preceded by an † of prolongation [248, 683] (IY). The [*aug.* abbreviated (R)] † added to the termination [of the *n.* (R)] is of three kinds, (1) for feminization, [as in **حُبْلَى** and **دُنْيَا** (IY)]: (2) for co-ordination, as in **أَرْطَى**, [which is co-ordinated with **جَعْفَرٌ** (IY)]: (3) for multiplication [of the letters (R)] of the word, [and amplification of its form (IY),] as in **قَبَعْتَرَى** [401] (IY, R), this † not being for feminization, because it is pronounced with Tanwīn [below]; nor for co-ordination, because we have no *sex. o. f.* for it to be co-ordinated with (IY). The [abbreviated (R)] † of femi-

ninization is distinguished (1) [from the two others (IY)] by [the *n*.s (R)] not having the Tanwīn affixed to it [when *indet.* (IY)]; nor the ة (IY, R) of femininization, in order that two signs of femininization may not be combined : whereas the other two kinds have Tanwīn affixed to them, as قَبَعْتَرَى and أَرْطَى ; and the ة , as أَرْطَاة [below] (IY) and قَبَعْتَرَاة (Jh) : (2) from the | of co-ordination exclusively, by your putting a ل in place of the | , whereupon, if no *n*. of that measure occurs, you know that the | is for femininization, as أَجَلَى and بَرَدَى [below] ; for no *n*. on the measure فَعْلٌ occurs, that the two *ns*. might be co-ordinated with (R). The formations [whose | is (R)] peculiar to the *fem.* are (1) فَعْلَى , (a) a substantive, (α) an *inf. n.*, like بُشْرَى *announcement of glad tidings*, رُجْعَى [248] (M, R), and زُفَى *nearness*, as XXXIV. 36. [539] (IY) ; (b) not an *inf. n.*, like بَهْمَى [258], حَزْوَى (M, R) a place in AdDahná, one of the countries of Tamīm (IY), حُمَى *fever*, رُيَا *a dream* [248] (M), and طُغْيَا *a calf of a wild cow*, transmitted by As with Damm of the initial (IY) : but S transmits بُهْمَا as anomalous [258] (IY, R) ; and some transmit رُيَا , which also is anomalous (R) : (b) an *ep.*, [(α) *fem.* of the فَعْلُ of superiority, like الْفُضْلَى , which is regular ; (b) not so (R),] like حُبْلَى [248], خُنْثَى (M, R), رُبَى (M), and أَنْثَى (R) : (2) فَعْلَى , (a) a substantive, like دَقَرَى [248, 375] and أَجَلَى (M, R), names of

places (IY, R), and بَرْدَى [below] (M) : (b) an *inf. n.* (R), [sometimes used as] an *ep.* (M), like جَمْرَى [below], بَشَكَّى (M, R), and مَرَطَى [248] (M), as هُوَ يَغْدُو الْكَمْزَى and البَشَكَّى and المَرَطَى *He runs quickly, i. e., with this kind of running* ; and as جِمَارُ جَمْرَى a quick he-ass and نَاقَةٌ بَشَكَّى a quick she-camel, like رَجُلٌ عَدُوٌّ [142, 143] (IY) : (c) an *ep.*, like فَرَسٌ وَثْبَى a mare leaping quickly and نَاقَةٌ زَلْجَى a swift 'she-camel' (R) : (3) فُعَلَى, [which occurs only as a substantive (R),] like شُعْبَى [a place (IY, R), اُدْمَى a place (R,) and اُرْبَى [below] (M, R) a name for Calamity (IY, R) : (4) اَفْعَلَى, like اَجْفَلَى [273, 381] : (5) فُعَلَى, like حُبَارَى [below] : (6) فَرْعَالَى, like حَوْلَايَا a place [below] : (7) فُعَالَى, like شُقَارَى [below] : (8) فُعَلَى, like جَحْجَجَى a clan of the Anṣār [282, 397] : (9) فُعَيْلَى, like بُقَيْرَى a game [for boys (Jh)] : (10) فُعَيْلَى, like خَدَيْفَى [below] : (11) فَعْلُونَى, like رَحْمَتَى compassion : (12) فَعُولَى, like حَبُوكَرَى Calamity [398] : (13-14) فُعُولَى and فُعَيْلَى, like خُرْزَى and خَيْرَزَى a kind of gait, wherein is looseness of the joints [273] : (15) يَفْعَلَى, like يَهْيَرَى naught [below] : (16) مَفْعَلَى, like مَكْرَرَى mean [below] : (17) مِفْعَلَى, like مِرْعَرَى the down under, or amid, the hair of the she-goat : (18) فِعْلَلَى, like هِرْبَدَى a kind of walk, inclining to one side [397] : (19) فَعْلَلَايَا, like

بِرَدْرَايَا a place [below] : (20) فَعَلِيًّا [389], like ذَرَبِيَّا *Calamity* : (21) فَعَلِيًّا, like زَكْرِيَّا *Zachariah*, which appears to be foreign : (22) فِعْلَنِي, like عِرْضَنِي a *sidelong gait* [282, 385] : (23) فِعْلِي, like دِفْقِي a *sort of pace* : (24-25) فُعْلَنِي, like جُلْنَدِي a man's name [273, 378] : (26) فُعْلِي, like فِعْلَلِي (28): [248] صَحَارِي, like فَعَالِي (27) : سُمَّهِي [below] : (29) فِعْلِي, like سِبْطَرِي a *swaggering gait* [397] : (30) اِنْفِعْلِي, like اِهْجِيرِي *custom* [386] (R). The [formations (IY)] common [to the *masc.* and *fem.* (IY)] are (1) فَعْلِي, which, (a) when its *l* is for feminization, is of four kinds, (*α*) a substantive, either concrete, like سَلَمِي [a man's name, and one of the two mountains of Tayyi (IY)], رَضَوِي [a mountain at AlMadina (IY)], and عَرَوِي [one of the Mansions of the Moon, namely five stars called the Haunch of the Lion (IY)]; or abstract, [vid. what is an *inf. n.* (IY),] like دَعَوِي [248], رَعَوِي *refraining*, نَجَوِي [secret communing, whence وَ اِنْ هُمْ نَجَوِي XVII. 50. And when they are privily communing together, for which reason it is made *sing.* (IY)], and لَوْمِي *blame* : (b) an *ep.*, either *sing.*, [*fem.* of فَعْلَان (IY),] like عَطْشِي *thirsty*, سَكْرِي [248, 250] ; or *pl.*, like جَرَحِي and اَسْرِي [246, 259] : (b) when its *l* is for co-ordination, is like اَرْطِي and عَلْقِي [248, 258, 375], because

[their Tanwīn indicates that they are triptote ; whereas, if the † in them were for femininization, they would be diptote ; and because (IY)] the Arabs say ^{أَرطَاءُ} and ^{عَلَقَاءُ} [258] (M) : [thus] when ^{فَعْلَى} is *fem.* of ^{فَعْلَانُ}, [like ^{سَكْرَى},] or an *inf. n.*, like ^{دَعْرَى}, or a *pl.*, like ^{مَرَضَى} [259] and ^{جَرَحَى}, its † is for femininization : and, when it is a substantive not an *inf. n.*, the † is sometimes for co-ordination, as in ^{عَلَى}, according to those who pronounce it with Tanwīn, and say ^{عَلَقَاءُ} ; and sometimes for femininization, as in ^{شَرَرَى} like or match (R) : (2) ^{فَعْلَى}, which, (a) when its † is for femininization, is of two kinds, (a) a concrete substantive, either *sing.*, like ^{شِيرَى} [*a black wood of which platters are made* (IY)], ^{دِفْلَى} [*a plant* (IY)], and ^{ذِفْرَى} [248, 375] ; or *pl.*, like ^{حِجْلَى} and ^{طِرْنَى} [237, 250] : (b) an *inf. n.*, like ^{ذِكْرَى} [248, 375] (M), as XXXIX. 22. [234] (IY) : (b) when its † is for co-ordination, is of two kinds, (a) a substantive, like ^{مِعْرَى} *goats* [375] and ^{ذِفْرَى} [248, 375] : (b) an *ep.*, like ^{رَجُلٌ كَيْصَى} *a man that eats alone*, and, according to Th, ^{عِرْهَى} ; while S does not authorize ^{فَعْلَى} as an *ep.* except with the ة, as ^{عِرْهَاءُ} (M) *too haughty, to be amused by play*, said of a man, and ^{سِعْلَاءُ} [248], which is the *most wicked of the ghouls* (IY) : [thus] when ^{فَعْلَى} is an *inf. n.*, like ^{ذِكْرَى}, or a *pl.*, like ^{حِجْلَى}, its †

is only for feminization : and, when it is an *ep.*, in which case, says S, it is only with the *ʔ*, its *ʔ* is for co-ordination, as رَجُلٌ عَرَهَاةٌ and اِمْرَأَةٌ سَعْلَاءٌ ; while ضَيْرِي and حَيْكِي , says he, are *orig.* with Damm of the ف [718] : and, when it is not an *ep.*, nor an *inf. n.*, nor a *pl.*, its *ʔ* is sometimes for co-ordination, as مَعْرِي ; sometimes for feminization, as دِفْلِي ; and sometimes for either, as ذِفْرِي or ذِفْرِي (R). دِفْلِي has two *dial. vars.*, triptote, its *ʔ* being regarded as for co-ordination with دِرْهَمٌ ; and diptote, it being regarded as *fem.* (IY). Each of the two *ʔ*s of feminization has certain measures (IA, Aud), ordinary or extraordinary (Aud), by which it is known (IA). The ordinary measures of the abbreviated are [12 (Aud, Sn)], (1) فُعْلِي , like اُرْبِي [248, 375], اُدْمِي , and شُعْبِي [above] (IA, Aud, A), as اَعْبَدًا حَلَّ اَلْح [Note on p. 161, l. 16] (Aud) : (a) IKb asserts that these have no fourth ; but he is refuted by اُرْنِي *a grain whereby milk is curdled*, جُنْفِي a place, and جُعْبِي *big ants* (Aud, A) ; though IM's reckoning فُعْلِي among the ordinary measures is evidently dubious (Aud) : (b) IM in the Tashil makes this measure common to the abbreviated and prolonged, which is the truth ; and hence خُشَّاء [273], and in the *ep.* عَشْرَاء and نَفْسَاء [248, 273] ; while it is frequent in the *pl.*, as كُرْمَاء [246, 273] and خُلَفَاء [246] (A) : (2) فُعْلِي

[above] : (3) فَعْلَى , (a) a substantive, like بَرْدَى a stream at Damascus [389] ; (b) an *inf. n.*, like مَرَطَى [above] ; (c) an *ep.*, like حَيْدَى (IA, Aud, A), as حِمَارٌ حَيْدَى *a he-ass shying at his own shadow because of his liveliness* : (a) Jh says that no *ep.* of the *masc.* occurs upon the measure of فَعْلَى except حَيْدَى ; but جَبَرَى [above] also occurs (IA) : (b) IM in the Tashil reckons this measure among the common [measures] ; and hence قَرَمَاء [273], جَنْفَاء , and دَانَاء , no other being remembered (A) : (4) فَعْلَى (IA, Aud, A), which is one of the common measures (Sn) : (a) if فَعْلَى be a substantive, its *!* is sometimes abbreviated, as سَلَمَى [above] ; and sometimes prolonged, as الْعَوَاء , one of the Mansions of the Moon, the *!* in which is abbreviated [above] and prolonged (A) ; and so too, if it be an *ep.*, as سَكْرَى and حَمْرَاء (Sn) : (5) فُعَالَى , [(a) a substantive (A),] like حُبَارَى [248, 378] (IA, Aud, A), which is applied to the *masc.* and *fem.* (IA, Sn), and سُمَانَى [248, 278] (Aud, A) ; (b) a *pl.*, like سُكَارَى [250] ; (c) an *ep.* in the *sing.*, as asserted by ABZ, who transmits جَمَلٌ عَلَادَى *a sturdy he-camel* (A) : (a) it is said [by Jh] in the Ṣaḥāḥ that the *!* of حُبَارَى is not for femininization, [nor for co-ordination, being, as it were, a part of the word itself (Jh)] ; but this is a mistake, for he agrees that it is diptote (Aud), when *det.* and when *indet.*, i. e., is not

pronounced with TanwIn (Jh) : (6) *فَعْلَى*, like *سَهَى* *a falsehood* [above] : (7) *فَعْلَى*, as *سَبْطَرَى* [and *دِفْقَى*, each meaning (Aud, A)] *a kind of gait* [397, 385] : (8) *فَعْلَى* [above] : (9) *فَعْلَى*, [which occurs only as an *inf. n.* (A),] like *حَتِثَى* (IA, Aud, A), *خَلِيفَى* (Aud), and *هَجِيرَى* [385] : (a) IM in the Tashil reckons this measure among the common ; and *هُوَ عَالِمٌ بِدُخْيَالَتِهِ* *He is acquainted with his inward mind*, *فَخِيرَاءَ* *particularizing*, *فَخِيرَاءَ* *boasting*, and *مَكِينَاءَ* *tarrying, loitering*, have been heard, prolonged and abbreviated : (b) Ks makes this measure regular ; but the truth is that it is confined to hearsay (A) : (10) *فَعْلَى*, like *كُفْرَى* *a spathe of a palm-tree* (IA, Aud, A), which has Fath of the second also with all three vowels of the ك (A) ; and like *حُدْرَى* *naught* and *بُذْرَى* *naught* (Aud, A) : (a) IM in the Tashil and IKtt transmit *سَلْحَفَاءَ* *a tortoise or turtle*, [which A thus makes out to be with Damm of the ل (Sn)] ; and, according to this, *فَعْلَى* is one of the common measures : but Fr transmits *سَلْحَفَاءَ*, which appears to show that the ل of *سَلْحَفَاءَ* is not for femininization, unless it be treated as anomalous, like *بُهْمَاءَ* [above] (A) : (11) *فَعْلَى*, like *خَلِيطَى* *confusion* (IA, Aud, A), as *وَقَعُوا فِي خَلِيطَى* *They fell into confusion* (IA) ; and like *قُبَيْطَى* *a sort of sweetmeat* (Aud, A) and *لُغَيْرَى* *a riddle* [253] : (a) *هُوَ عَالِمٌ بِدُخْيَالَتِهِ* [above]

has been heard, and nothing else with the prolonged !
 (A) : (12) *فُعَالِي*, like *شُقَارِي* *a plant* [above] (IA, Aud, A), *خُبَارِي* *a plant*, and *خُضَارِي* *a bird* (Aud, A), or, as the KF says (Sn), *a plant* (KF, Sn). The extraordinary measures of the abbreviated are (1) *فَيْعَلِي*, as *خَيْسَرِي* *perdition* : (2) *فَعْلَوِي*, like *هَرَنْوِي* *a plant*, [its, being *aug.* ; but said by some to be *فَعْلِي*, its, being *rad.* (Sn)] : (3) *فَعْوَلِي*, like *قَعْوَلِي* *a kind of old man's gait* : (4-5) *فَيْعُولِي* and *فَوْعُولِي*, like *فَيْضُوْضِي* and *فَوْضُوْضِي*, [as *أَمْوَالُهُمْ فَيْضُوْضِي* and *فَيْنُهُمْ فَوْضُوْضِي* *Their goods are held in common, or promiscuous, among them*, with abbreviation and prolongation (Sn)] : (6) *فُعَلَايَا*, like *بُرَحَايَا* [a word of (Sn)] *wonder* ; [but no other word of this measure occurs (Sn)] : (7) *أَفْعُلَاوِي*, like *أَرْبَعَاوِي* [with Damm of the Hamza and ب, says Shm, and so in the KF, *sitting cross-legged* (Sn)] : (8) *فَعْلَوْتِي*, like *رَهْبَوْتِي* *fear* [and *رَغْبَوْتِي* *supplicating, petitioning* (Sn)] : (9) *فَعْلَلَوْتِي*, like *حَنْدَلَوْتِي* [with Fath or Kasr of the ح, Fath of the د, and Damm of the first ق, or with Kasr of the ح and د, or with Fath or Kasr of the ح, and Fath of the د and first ق (Sn),] *a plant* [its ن being *rad.* ; but said by some to be *فَنْعَلَوْتِي*, its ن being *aug.* (Sn)] : (10) *فَعْيَلِي*, like *هَبْيَلِي* *a swaggering gait* : (11) *يَفْعَلِي*, like *يَهْيَرِي* [above] : (12) *إِنْعَلِي*,

like *إِيحَلِيّ* a place [or, says As, a man : (a) IUK distinctly declares that the ج is pronounced with Kasr ; but Syt makes its measure *إِنْعَلِيّ* with Fath of the ع (Sn)] : (13) *مَفْعَلِيّ*, like *مَكُورِيّ* having a large tip to the nose ; [though in other senses its م has all three vowels, as *رَجُلٌ مَكُورِيّ* a profligate, or mean, or short and broad, man, according to the KF (Sn)] : (14) *مُفْعَلِيّ*, like *مَكُورِيّ* having a large end to the nose, said of beasts : (15) *مِفْعَلِيّ*, like *مِرْقَدِيّ* sleeping much, [but in the KF, a man quick in his affairs ; while IA on the Tashil says that the م is pronounced with Fath also (Sn)] : (16) *فُوعَلِيّ*, like *دُودَرِيّ* large in the two testicles : (17) *فُعِلَلِيّ*, like *شِفِصِلَتِيّ* the fruit of a plant : (18) *فَعَلَيَّا*, like *مَرَحَيَّا* [389], denoting exultation, [and said to be a place (Sn)] : (19) *فَعْلَلَايَا*, like *بَرْدَرَايَا* [above] (A) ; though IKtt mentions that its measure is *فَعْلَعَايَا* (Sn) : (20) *فُوعَايَا*, like *حَوْلَايَا* [above] (A) ; but AH, IUK, and Shm mention that its measure is *فَعْلَايَا* ; and this is in the Dm also, and is more probable than what [R followed by] A says (Sn). But that all these are extraordinary requires consideration (A).

§ 273. The prolonged ʾ of feminization has [many (IA)] measures (IA, A), ordinary and extraordinary (A). The measures of the prolonged ʾ of feminization are (1) *فَعْلَاء*, [which is of two kinds, (a) a substantive,

which is of three kinds (M),] (a) a concrete substantive [in the *sing.* (M, R)], like **صَحْرَاءَ** *a plain* [248, 263] (M, R, IA, Aud, A), **بَيْدَاءَ** *a desert* (M), and **هَيْبَاءَ** *war* (R) ; while they say **الْجَبَّارَةُ** *the sky*, as though they held the stars to be like **جَرَبَ** *mange* upon it, *orig. an ep.*, [meaning *mangy*,] but become a substantive by prevalence of application ; and **الْجَمَاءَ** from their saying **الْغَيْبُ** [78, 147], meaning the *multitude*, a simple substantive, not an *inf. n.* (IY) : (b) a [concrete substantive *sing.* in form (IY),] *pl.* [in sense (IY, Aud, A), a *quasipl. n.* (R), or rather a collective generic *n.*, not a *pl.*, because **فَعْلَاءَ** is not a formation of the broken *pl.* (Sn)], like **طَفَاءَ** [258] (M, R, Aud, A), **قَصَبَاءَ** (M, R), **حَلَفَاءَ**, and **أَشْيَاءَ** *things* (M) : this is the opinion of S ; while Mz transmits from As that the *n. un.* of **طَرْفَاءَ**, **قَصَبَاءَ**, and **حَلَفَاءَ** is **طَرْفَةٌ** [258], **قَصَبَةٌ**, and **حَلَفَةٌ** respectively, the last alone having the ع pronounced with Kasr : and the dispute is not as to whether these *ns.* are broken *pls.* or not, but as to whether they correspond to **قَوْمٌ** and **إِبِلٌ**, which have no *sing.* of their own crude-form ; or to **جَامِلٌ** and **بَاقِرٌ**, which have each a *sing.* vid. **جَمَلٌ** and **بَقَرَةٌ** [257] : and, as for **أَشْيَاءَ**, it is [diptote, says Khl, because (Jh)] *orig.* **شَيْئَاءَ** upon the measure of **فَعْلَاءَ**, like **قَصَبَاءَ** and **طَرْفَاءَ** ; but, disliking the proximity of the two Hamzas [at its end (Jh)], they shift the first

to the position of the ف , saying أَشْيَاء upon the measure of نَفْعَاء : and what proves it to be *sing.* is their giving it a broken *pl.* أَشَارِي (IY) or أَشَايَا , and [a sound *pl.*] أَشْيَاوَاتُ also (Jh) : (c) an *inf. n.* (M, R, Aud, A), like سَرَّاء *happiness*, ضَرَّاء *distress* (M, R), نَعْمَاء *favor*, [as أَذْقَنَاهُ وَلَيْتَن أَذْقَنَاهُ] XI. 13. And, if We make him taste favor after distress, that has afflicted him (IY),] and بَاسَاء *hardship* (M), whence رَغْبَاء *supplicating, petitioning* (Aud, A) ; but the truth is that these are *quasi-inf. ns.*, not *inf. ns.* themselves (IY) : (b) an *ep.* (M, R, IA, Aud, A), which is of two kinds (M), (a) *fem.* of أَفْعُلُ (M, R, IA, A), where it is regular (R), in colors (IY), as سَوْدَاء *black* and بَيْضَاء *white* (M), [and] as حُمْرَاء *red*. [248] (R, IA, Aud, A) and زُرْقَاء *blue* ; and in defects, as عَمِيَاء *blind*, عَرْجَاء *lame*, and عَوْرَاء *one-eyed* (IY) : (b) not *fem.* of أَفْعُلُ (M, R, IA, A), as هَطَلَاء *incessant still rain* (M, R, IA Aud, A), اِمْرَأَةٌ حَسَنَاء *a handsome woman* (M, R, A), حُلَّةٌ شَوْكَاء *a new dress*, [because rough to the fee (IY),] الْعَرَبُ الْعَرَبَاءُ *the pure Arabs* (M, R), like الْعَرَبُ الْعَلَاءُ (IY), دَاهِيَةٌ دَهِيَاءُ *a severe calamity* (IY, R), فَرَسٌ رَوَعٌ or نَاقَةٌ *a spirited mare or she-camel* (IA), an اِمْرَأَةٌ عَجَزَاءُ [248] (IY) ; whereas مَطَرٌ أَهْطَلُ is not said (IY, IA, Sn), but هَطَلٌ (IA, Sn) or هَطَّالٌ (Sn) ;

nor رَجُلٌ أَحْسَنُ , nor جَمْدٌ أَرْوَعُ (IA), nor رَجُلٌ أَعْبَزُ : and the Hamza at the end of فَعْلَاءَ , in its different kinds, is only for femininization, because there is no فَعْلَالٌ in the language for this to be co-ordinated with, except in what is reduplicated, like رَلَّالٌ [332, 396] and تَلَّالٌ [332] (IY) : (2-4) أَنْفَعَاءَ , like أَرْبَعَاءَ Wednesday (R, IA, Aud, A) : (a) أَنْفَعَاءَ is one of the common measures, as IM mentions in the Tashil, whence أَجْفَلِي said of a *general* invitation [272, 381] (A), as دَعَوْتُ الْقَوْمَ الْأَجْفَلِيَّ I invited the people *generally* to the food, or, as Dm mentions, الْأَجْفَلَاءَ (Sn) : (b) أَنْفَعَاءَ (M, R) is either *sing.*, like أَرْبَعَاءَ ; or *pl.* (R), like أَصْدِقَاءَ [246] (M), which is frequent (IY, R) in the *pl.* of [the *ep.*] فَعِيلٌ [unsound in the ل], as أَشَقِيَاءَ and أَتَقِيَاءَ (IY), like أَنْبِيَاءَ [278] (R) : (5) فَعْلَاءَ , like عَقْرَبَاءَ [399] (M, R, IA, Aud, A), denoting a *place* (Aud, A, MKh), and (Sn, MKh), as is said (Sn), a *female scorpion* (IY, IA, Sn) : (a) this is one of the common measures ; and hence فَرْتَنَى a woman's name (A) : (6) فَعْلَاءَ [with Kasr of the ف (Aud, Sn, MKh)], like تَصَاَصَاءَ *retaliation* (IA, Aud, A), as transmitted by ID, no other instance being remembered (A) : (7) فَعْلَاءَ , [which occurs only as a substantive (A),] like ثَرْفُصَاءَ [40] (R, IA, Aud, A) : (a) IKtt transmits قَعْدَ الْقَرْفُصَى ; and, according to this,

فَعْلَاءَ is a common measure : (b) the 3rd [letter] of فَعْلَاءَ may be pronounced with Fath or Damm (A) ; (8) فَعْلَاءَ, like عَاشُورَاءَ (M, R, IA, Aud, A), the *tenth day of the Muharram* exclusively, from عَشْرَةٌ *ten* (IY) : (a) this is a common measure, whence بَادُولَى the name of a place (A) : (9) فَاعِلَاءَ (M, R, IA, Aud, A), like سَابِيَاءَ [247] (M), whence قَاصِعَاءَ [247, 390] (R, IA, Aud, A) : (10) فَعْلِيَاءَ, like كَبِيرِيَاءَ [389] (M, R, IA, Aud, A), an *inf. n.* (IY), meaning *greatness* (IY, IA) : (11) مَفْعُولَاءَ (R, IA, Aud, A), like مَعْيُورَاءَ [257] (R), whence مَشْيُوحَاءَ [257] (IA, Aud, A) : (12) فَعَالَاءَ (M, R, IA, Aud, A), (a) an *inf. n.* (R), like بَرَّاءَ [246, 248, 390] (M, R, Aud, A) ; (b) a simple substantive, like ثَلَاثَاءَ [390] (R), whence بَرَّاسَاءَ (IA, Aud, A), a *dial. var.* of بَرَّنَسَاءَ [399] (IA) ; (c) an *ep.*, like طَبَاقَاءَ [390] (R) : (a) IKtt authorizes فَعَالَى abbreviated in some words, among them خَزَارَى [like حَبَالَى (KF, Sn)], the name of a mountain [whereon the Arabs used to kindle fire on the morning of a foray (Jh, KF, Sn)] ; and, according to this, فَعَالَاءَ is a common measure (A) : (13) فَعِيلَاءَ (R, IA, Aud, A) as قَرِيئَاءَ [246] (R, Aud, A) : (a) IM in the Tashīl reckons it among the common [measures], whence كَثِيرَى *gum-tragacanth* (A) and قَرِيئَى [282] (Jh) : (14) فَعُولَاءَ (M, R, IA, Aud, A), like بَرَّوَاءَ (M, R)

i. q. بَرَآء [above] (IY, R), whence دَبُوقَاء *human dung* (IA, Aud, A), عَشُورَاء a *dial. var.* of عَاشُورَاء [above], and حَرُورَاء a *place*, in relation to which the حَرُورِيَّة [a sect of schismatics (Sn)] are named [311]: (a) IM in the Tashil reckons this measure among those peculiar to the prolonged: but IKtt authorizes فَعُولِي, whence حَضُورِي a *place*, دَبُوقِي a *dial. var.* of دَبُوقَاء [above], دُنُوقِي a *town* in AlBaḥrain, قَطُورِي a *clan* in Jurhum, and عَقَاب تَنُوقِي [545] in the poem of Imra alKais; and, according to this, it is common, which is the truth (A); (15) فَعَلَاء, like جَنَفَاء a *place* [272] (R, IA, Aud, A), قَرَمَاء a *place*, [with ق according to S, and ف according to Jh (R),] دَأَاء [385] (R, Aud), and شَحَنَاء *spite* (R), the only [four (R)] words of this measure (R, Aud), so that IM's reckoning it among the ordinary [measures] is dubious (Aud): (a) as already remarked [272], this measure is one of the common [measures] (A): (16) فَعَلَاء, like سَيَرَاء (M, R, IA, Aud, A) a *garment [made of silk (A)] containing [yellow (IA)] stripes* (IY, IA, A), *like thongs*, and also said to mean *gold* (IY), the only word of this measure (R): (17) فَعَلَاء (M, R, IA, Aud, A), like خِيَلَاء *pride* (IA, Aud), (a) *sing.* (R), like رَحَضَاء *sweat of fever* (M, R), whence نَفْسَاء (M, A) and عَشْرَاء [248] (R, A); (b) *pl.*, like فَهَاء (R), كَرَمَاء [246] (M), and عَلَمَاء [247 (R): these seventeen are

the ordinary measures (Aud, A), as here mentioned by IM : (18) فَيْعَلَاءَ, like دَيْكَسَاءَ *a [large herd or (Sn)] flock* [below] : (19) يِفَاعِلَاءَ, like يَنَابِعَاءَ *a place* : (20) تَفْعَلَاءَ, like تَرْكُضَاءَ *a swaggering gait* ; [while AH, IUK, and Shm say "and تَرْكُضَاءَ is said" (Sn)] : (21) فَعْنَلَاءَ, like بَرْنَسَاءَ [below], i. q. بَرَّاسَاءَ [above] (A) : (22) فَعْلَلَاءَ, like بَرْنَسَاءَ [400] (R) : (23) فِعْلَلَاءَ (R, A), like هِنْدَبَاءَ *endive* [399] (R), whence طَرْمَسَاءَ *a dark night* (A) ; or فَعْلَلَاءَ, like هِنْدَبَاءَ (R) : (24) فَنَعْلَاءَ, like خُنْفَسَاءَ [247, 248, 390] (M, A) and عُنْصَلَاءَ the *squill* (A) : (25) فَعْلَلَاءَ, like خُنْفَسَاءَ (R) : (26) فَعْلُولَاءَ, like مَعْكُوكَاءَ or بَعْكُوكَاءَ *evil and tumult* : (27) مَفْعَلَاءَ, like مَشِيحَاءَ *earnest endeavour* [and مَرَعْرَاءَ the *down beneath the hair of the she-goat* (Sn)] : (28) فُعَيْلِيَاءَ, like مَرْيَقِيَاءَ meaning 'Amr Ibn 'Āmir, king of AlYaman (A) : (29) فِعْلَلَاءَ, like رَمَّيَاءَ (M, R) *a bird's tail* ; but here the usual form is abbreviation [below] (IY) : (30) فَعْلِيَاءَ, like زَكْرِيَّاءَ *Zachariah* [18] : (31) فُعَالِلَاءَ, like جَحَادِبَاءَ [below] (R). The measures common to the two 1 s of femininization are (1) فَعْلَى ; (2) فُعْلَى : (3) فَعْلَلَى [or فُعْلَلَى, like هِنْدَبَى with abbreviation or prolongation (Sn)] : (4) فُعَيْلَى : (5) فُعَيْلَى : (6) فُعَيْلَى : (7) فُعَيْلَى : (8) فَعْلَى : (9) فَعْلَى : (10) فَعْلَى : these have been

already noticed : (10) *إِنْعِيلَى* [272] and *إِنْجِيرَى* [272] like *إِنْجِيرَى* [272] and *إِنْجِيرَى* [above] : (11) *فِرْعَالَى* , like *خَوَزَلَى* [272] and *حَوَصَلَاة* [above] : (12) *فِرْعَالَى* , like *خَيْرَلَى* [272] and *دِيَكْسَاء* *a bird's crop* : (13) *فِرْعَالَى* , like *رِمَكَى* and *رِمَكَاة* *the place of growth of a bird's tail* [above] : (14) *فِرْعَالَى* , like *جُلَنْدَى* [272] and *جُلَنْدَاء* [a king's name ; but, in the KF, Damm of the *ل* is approved when the *ل* is abbreviated, and Fath when it is prolonged (Sn)] : (15) *فِرْعَالَى* , like *جُنَادِبَى* and *جُنَادِبَاء* *a kind of [green (Sn)] locust (A), long in the two hind legs* [400] : (16) *فِرْعَالَى* : (17) *يَفَاعِلَى* , like *يَنَابِعَى* or *يَنَابِعَاء* , as in the Dm (Sn). As for [the two measures (Sn),] (1) *فِرْعَالَى* , like *عِلْبَاء* and *حِرْبَاء* [248, 385, 683], and *سِيَسَاء* [the row of vertebræ of (A) a back (IY, A) and *شِيَشَاء* *dates that do not form hard stones (A), whence فِرْعَالَى and فِرْعَالَى both meaning rough ground (IY)], and (2) فِرْعَالَى* [250], like *حَوَاء* [a plant {whose color remembers that of the wolf (IY)}, *n. un.* *حَوَاءة* (IY, A)], *مَرَاء* [a kind of (A) wine (IY, A)], and *قَوْبَاء* *ringworm* [below] (M, A), and [similarly (IY)] *خَشَاء* , [orig. *خَشَاءة* (Sn),] *the bone projecting behind the ear* [272] (IY, A), they are not measures of the prolonged [*ل* of femininization], because (Sn) their *ل* is for co-ordination (M, A) with

قِرْطَاس [253] and قِرْنَاس 'a crag jutting out from a mountain' (A), not for femininization (IY, Sn), since it is pronounced with Tanwīn (A), they being triptote, because co-ordinated with سِرْدَاح [253, 396, 673] and قُرْطَاس (IY) i. q. قِرْطَاس (Jh, KF). But قُرْبَاء [385] has two *dial. vars.*, (1) قُرْبَاء, of the *cat.* of رَحَصَاء [above], diptote, because, there being no فَعَالٌ among the formations, that it might be co-ordinated with, its Hamza is for femininization ; (2) قُرْبَاء, co-ordinated with قُرْطَاس, and therefore triptote (IY). Some of the prolonged are sometimes abbreviated by poetic license, the elided *!* being then the first, not the last, because the latter has a meaning ; and because, if it were elided, the *n.* would become triptote, on account of the removal of the *!* of femininization [18]: and, when the first is elided, the last returns to its *o. f.* of *!*, since the cause of its conversion into Hamza was the combination of the two [248] (R)

CHAPTER X.

THE DIMINUTIVE NOUN.

§ 274. The *dim.* is the [expression (Jrb)] augmented [by something (R, Jrb)] in order that it may indicate *diminution* (SH). We say the “expression,” and not the “*n.*,” as in some of the Commentaries, in order to include مَا أَحْسَنُ [288] ; and we say “something,” not “ا ى,” as some of the Commentators say, because the augment is not confined to the ى, as you will learn [293] (Jrb). IM mentions this *cat.* immediately after the *cat.* of the broken *pl.*, because, as S says (A), the *dim.* and [broken (M, AArb, A)] *pl.* follow one course [247, 686] (S, M, AArb, A), which means that their treatment is one (IY), because they have many questions in common, as will be mentioned (A), each of them being altered in form and sense (AArb, Sn). For, when you say رَجُلٌ in the *dim.* of رَجُلٌ, you alter the form of the latter by pronouncing its initial with Damm, and its second with Fath, and by adding a quiescent ى third ; while you alter its sense, because you transfer it from *greatness* to *smallness* : just as, when you say رَجُلٌ in its broken *pl.*, you alter its form by adding the ل, and pronouncing the preceding letter with Fath ; while you alter its sense, because you

transfer it from the *individual* to the *collection* (AArb). According to the BB (A), the *dim.* formation imports [four (A)] meanings (IY, Jrb, A), (1) the *smallness* of what may be fancied to be big (IY, A) in substance (Sn), as رَجِيلٌ *a small man* and جَمِيلٌ *a small he-camel* (IY): (2) the *contemptibleness* of what may be fancied to be great (Jrb, A) in degree (Sn): (a) that is either vague, as رَجِيلٌ [above] and عَمِيرٌ *Little 'Amr*, where you pronounce him to be *contemptible* without explaining what necessitates contempt for him; or definite, as عَرِيْلٌ *possessed of little learning* and زَوِيْدٌ *little given to asceticism*, where you pronounced him to be contemptible in respect of the *smallness* of his *learning* and his *asceticism*; and similarly أَحْمَرٌ and أَصْفَرٌ [287], where you mean the *faintness* of his *redness* and his *yellowness* (Jrb): (3) the *fewness* of what may be fancied to be many [in number (Sn)], as دُرَيْهَمَاتٌ *a few dirhams* (IY, Jrb, A) and دُنَيْنِيرَاتٌ *a few dinars* (IY, Jrb); and this is peculiar to pls. [285]: these are the meanings common, and frequent, in the *cat.* (Jrb): (4) the *nearness* of what may be fancied to be far [287] (IY, Jrb, A) in (a) time, as قَبِيلَ الْعَصْرِ *a little before the afternoon* and بُعَيْدَ الْمَغْرَبِ *a little after sunset*; (b) place, as فَوْقَ هَذَا *a little above this* and دُونِ ذَاكَ *a little below that* [286]; (c) degree, as أَصْفَرُ مِنْكَ [287] (A): this meaning is anomalous, rare;

and occurs in the *culv.* more often than in anything else (Jrb). The KK add another meaning, vid. *magnification*, as in وَكَلَّ أَنْاسٍ سَوَفَ الْحَمِّ [117, 177] (IY, A), because there is no *calamity* greater than death (IY) ; the saying [of Aus Ibn Hajar (Jsh)]

فَوَيْقَ جُبَيْلٍ شَاهِقِ الرَّأْسِ لَمْ تَكُنْ * لِتَبْلُغَهُ حَتَّى تَكِدَ وَتَعْمَلَا

(IY, A) *A little above a huge mountain, lofty in summit, that thou art not one to reach until thou tire thyself and walk hard* (Jsh), because he says *lofty in summit* (IY) ; and the saying of 'Umar on Ibn Mas'ūd كَيْفَ مَلَى

عَلَيْنَا *a great wallet filled with learning* and the saying of an Arab [AlHubāb Ibn AlMundhir (Jh, Md, IATH, Is) Ibn alJamūh alAnṣārī (Md, IATH, Is)]

أَنَا جَذَيْلُهَا الْمُحَكَّكَ وَعَذِيْقُهَا الرَّجَبُ *I am their great stump much rubbed against, and their big palm-tree propped up* [282] (A), because the occasion is one of eulogy (Sn).

But, according to the BB, [... of (IY)] that is reducible [by interpretation (A)] to [the meaning of (IY)] *contemptibleness* (IY, A), ذُوَيْهِيَّةٌ being meant to intimate that the death of living beings is sometimes brought about by *small calamities* (Sn) ; and to *the like* (A), such as the *smallness* of what is fancied to be big in substance (Sn), جُبَيْلٌ being meant to intimate that the *mountain* is *small in breadth*, [though high (Sn),] difficult of ascent (IY, Sn) because of its tallness and height (IY), and

كُنَيْفٌ and جُدَيْلٌ and عُدَيْقٌ that abundance of sense sometimes goes with smallness of substance (Sn). And [other] instances of tropical *diminution of substances* are the *dims.* importing (1) *affection and kindness*, as in يَا بُنَيَّ *O my darling son*, يَا أَخِي *O my darling brother*, and أَنْتَ صَدِيقِي *Thou art my dear friend*, because the small are treated with affection and kindness ; (2) *prettiness*, whence يَا مَا أَمِيلِحَ الْعِ *[171, 288]*, because the small are mostly graceful, *pretty* (R). The *dim.* formation in a *n.*, being an indication of the *smallness* of its named, is an embellishment and qualification of the *n.*, because by رَجُلٌ you mean *a small man* [25, 282] (IY). The expression that the *dim.* is formed from has certain conditions, that it be (1) a *n.* ; so that the *v.* and *p.* have no *dim.*, because the *dim.* formation is a qualification in sense ; while the *dim.* of the *v.* of wonder is anomalous [288] : (2) *decl.* [293] ; so that the *prons.* have no *dim.* [292] ; nor have مَنْ [292], كَيْفَ, and the like ; while the *dim.* of some *dems.* and conjuncts is anomalous [293] : (3) susceptible of diminution ; so that such as كَبِيرٌ *great* and جَسِيمٌ *corpulent* have no *dim.*, [because, if they had, a contradiction would result (Sn)] ; nor have the magnified names, [like the names of God, of His Prophets, Angels, and Scriptures, of the Codex, and of the Mosque (Sn)] : (4) devoid of *dim.* forms, [original or

actual (Sn),] and of their like, [i. e., forms having the same vowels and quiescences as the *dim.* (Sn)]; so that such as كَمَيْتٌ [289] and كَعَيْتٌ, [in which the *dim.* form is original, but forgotten, and رَجِيلٌ *a little man* and زَيْدٌ *Little Zaid*, in which the *dim.* form is adventitious without being forgotten (Sn),] have no *dim.*; nor have such as مُبَيْطِرٌ *a farrier, or veterinary surgeon* [289] and مَهْيِيٌّ *a guardian, watcher* (A), which are not *dims.*, but have the same conformation as the *dim.* (Sn). The *dim.* [of the *decl. n.* (M)] has [only (M, R)] three paradigms (M, R, Aud, A), as S distinctly declares (IY), (1) فُعَيْلٌ, as فَلَيْسَ; (2) فُعَيْعِلٌ, as دُرَيْهَمٌ; (3) فُعَيْعَيْلٌ, as دُنَيْنِيرٌ (M, Aud, A). For, (1) if the *n.* be *tril.*, whichever of the ten measures [237, 368] it be upon, then its *dim.* is فُعَيْلٌ; (2) if it be *quad.*, then, (a) if its four [letters] be not accompanied by a letter of prolongation fourth, its *dim.* is فُعَيْعِلٌ; and, (b) if they be accompanied by such a letter, its *dim.* is فُعَيْعَيْلٌ (R). As for فُعَيْعَيْلٌ, it is for every *n.* of five letters, whose fourth is a, or ا or ي, as مُصْبَاحٌ *dim.* مُصَيِّمٌ [283], قَنْدِيلٌ *dim.* قَنْدَيْلٌ [below], كَرْدُوسٌ *dim.* كَرِيدِسٌ [283], قَرَبُوسٌ *a pommel of a saddle* [396], *dim.* قَرَبَيْسٌ, and حَمَصِيصٌ, *a sour vegetable growing in sandy places* [285], *dim.* حَمَيْصِصٌ, the multitude or paucity of the vowels not being heeded, nor their

variation (S). What is meant by these formations is the measure, not the actual paradigm, which is sometimes أَفْعِلُّ , as أَحْنَدُ ; and مُفْعِلُّ , as مُكَيِّمٌ ; and فُعَيْلِيْنٌ , as سُرَيْحِيْنٌ [below] (IY). But the use of these three paradigms [alone] to denote the measures of the *dim.* is a conventional notation peculiar to this *cat.*, the mere form being here considered, [without regard to correspondence of *rad.* to *rad.*, and of *aug.* to *aug.* (Sn),] in order that the number of formations may be minimized ; and is not conformable to the conventional notation [of etymology : for in the *dim.* the measure of أَحْيِرُ and مُكَيِّمٌ and سُفَيْرٌ is فُعَيْلٌ ; whereas their etymological measures are أَفْعِلُّ and مُفْعِلُّ and فُعَيْلٌ (A). Four [*rad.* letters (R)] are not exceeded (SH) in the *dim.* [293] (R). Only the *tril.* and *quad.* [ns. (IY, R)] have a *dim.* (M, R, Jrb), not the *quin.* (R), according to the chastest *dial.* (Jrb), the *dim.* of the *quin.* being disapproved, like its broken *pl.* [245], because of the elision of its 5th [*rad.*] (M). If, however, a *dim.* be formed from the *quin.* (M, SH), notwithstanding its weak authority (SH), a letter (IY), [vid.] the 5th or some other (R), is elided (IY, R), in order that the *quin.* may be reduced to four [letters] ; and the *dim.* is then formed on the paradigm of the *quad.*, vid. فُعَيْلٌ , as سُفَيْرٌ : so that (IY) فَرْزَقٌ is said from فَرْزَقٌ , and جُحَيِّرٌ from

جَكَيْشْ ; while some of them say فَرَبَقْ and جَكَيْشْ [below], eliding the م because it is one of the *aug.* [671], and the د because it resembles one of them, vid. the ت [732] (M). They elide (1) the 5th [275] (IY, SH), as in the broken *pl.* [245] (Jrb), which is the best way (SH), because the heaviness results from it (IY) : (2) as is said, the *quasi-aug.* (SH), (a) one of the letters of augmentation [671] (IY, R, Jrb), although it is a *rad.* (R), as خَدِيرَقْ from خَدَرَقْ, where the ن is elided, although it is not *aug.* (IY); [and, according to Z and Jrb,] as جَكَيْشْ [below] by elision of the م (Jrb) : but, [according to IY and R,] the *quasi-aug. rad.* is elided only when it is near the end, being 4th ; so that جَكَيْشْ [below] is not said, because the م is far from the end, [being 3rd (IY)] ; while Z says that some of the Arabs (IY, R) elide the *quasi-aug.* wherever it be (R), [so that they] say جَكَيْشْ [above] (IY), which is a mistake (IY, R), as I think (IY), [and] as Sf and An distinctly declare (R) : (b) like one of the letters of augmentation [in source (R), and near the end (IY, R)], as فَرَبَقْ from فَرَدَقْ (IY, R, Jrb), where the د is elided because it resembles one of the letters of augmentation, vid. the ت [671] (IY, Jrb), since the د proceeds from the same source as the ت [732] (R). But that [elision of the *quasi-aug.*] is anomalous, rare, for

which reason Z says that (IY) the best way is the first (M). Akh [says that he (M, Jrb)] heard **سَفِيرَجْدٌ** (M, SH) with the ج (IY) mobile [M], the five letters being retained, from dislike to elision of a *rad.* letter ; and the Fathā of the ج being preserved (R), [or] the ج being pronounced with Kasr (Jrb) : and S transmits from some of the GG [in the *dim.* and broken *pl.* such as (R)] **سَفِيرَجْدٌ** and **سَفَارَجْدٌ** [with Fath of the ج in both (R)] ; while Khl says “ If I were forming a *dim.* to the “*quin.* without eliding anything from it, [as some of the “GG say (IY),] I should make the penultimate letter “quiescent, saying **سَفِيرَجْدُ**, by analogy to [what is “authentic in their language, vid. (R)] **دُنَيْنِيرُ**, because “the **ي** is quiescent” (IY, R). In forming the *dim.* [of the *decl. n.* (M) three processes are necessary (Aud),] (1) the initial is pronounced with Damm ; (2) the second is pronounced with Fath ; (3) a quiescent **ي** [497] is inserted third (M, Aud). Then, if the *n.* be *tril.*, one restricts oneself to that formation, which is **فُعَيْلٌ**, like **فُلَيْسٌ** [from **فَلَسٌ**] and **رُجَيْلٌ** [from **رَجُلٌ**] : but, if it exceed three [letters], a fourth process is needed, i. e., the letter after the **ي** of the *dim.* must be pronounced with Kasr ; and then, if this letter pronounced with Kasr be not followed by a soft letter in the penultimate, the formation is **فُعَيْعِلٌ**, like **جُعَيْفِرٌ** from **جَعْفَرٌ** ; while, if it be followed by a soft

letter in the penultimate, the formation is **فَعْيَعِيلٌ**, like **قُنْدِيلٌ** from **قُنْدِيلٌ** [283] (Aud). When the second [letter] of the *n.* is a **ي** [retained in the *dim.*, as in **شَيْخٌ**, **بَيْتٌ**, and **سَيْدٌ**, it is best to say **شَيْيَخٌ** and **سَيْيْدٌ**, with Damm; but (S)] some of the Arabs say **بَيْيْتٌ**, **شَيْيِخٌ**, [and **سَيْيْدٌ** (S), with Kasr, from fear that the **ي** may be converted into **ي**, because of the Damma on the letter before it, and (R)] from dislike to [the heaviness of (R)] the **ي** after the Damma [242, 247] (S, R) if they were to remain like that. When the **ي** of the *dim.* is followed by two homogeneous letters, one of them is incorporated into the other; so that the Kasr is removed by the incorporation, as **أَصِيْمٌ** [281] and **مُدِّيْقٌ** [663] (R). The **ي** of the *dim.* is sometimes changed into **ا** for the sake of lightness, when immediately followed by a double letter, as **شَايَّةٌ** and **دَوَابَّةٌ** for **شَوَيْبَةٌ** and **دَوَيْبَةٌ**, *dims.* of **دَابَّةٌ** and **شَايَّةٌ** [639] (Sn). The rule that the letter after the **ي** of the *dim.* should be pronounced with Kasr in [the *dim.* of] the *n.* exceeding three letters is subject to exception in four cases, vid. when the letter is before (1) the sign of feminization [below], i. e., (a) the **ة**, as in **شَجَرَةٌ**; (b) the **ا**, as in **حُبْلَى**; (2) the *aug.* letter of prolongation preceding the **ا** of feminization, as in **حَمْرَاءَ** [263, 683]; (3) the **ا** of **أَفْعَالٌ** [below], as in **أَجْمَالٌ**; (4) the **ا** of the **نَعْلَانُ** that does

not form the *pl.* فَعَالِينَ [below], as in سَكْرَانُ [250] and عُثْمَانُ [250, 285] : for in these four cases the letter after the *ى* of the *dim.* must remain pronounced with Fath, as it was before the formation of the *dim.* : you say (1) أُجَيْمَالٌ and حَبِيلَى [282] ; (2) حُمَيْرَاءُ [282, 283] ; (3) أُجَيْمَالٌ [283, 285] ; (4) سَكْرَانُ [283] and عُثْمَانُ [285] ; whereas you say سُرَيْحِينَ [above] and سُلَيْطِينَ from سِرْحَانٌ and سُلْطَانٌ, because their *pl.* is سَرَّاحِينَ [280, 282] and سَلَاطِينَ [250] (Aud). The expression “before the sign of femininization” [above] means “immediately before [the sign of femininization (Sn)]”, as exemplified ; for, if the letter be separated [from the sign], it is pronounced with Kasr, according to the general rule, as دُحَيْرَجَةٌ (A). The *ى* of femininization being a word compounded with the first [266], and the final [letter] of the first of two words compounded together being pronounced with Fath [211], the predicament of the *ى*, in having the letter before it pronounced with Fath, is the same in the *dim.* and *non-dim.* (R). The last member of a *comp.*, being treated like the *ى* of femininization, as IM says in the Tashīl, is governed by the same rule as the *ى* ; and therefore you say بُعَيْبَكُ with Fath of the *ل* [290] (A) : but, when the first member ends in *ى*, as in مَعْدِيكُ, the letter [immediately] before the last member is not pronounced with Fath, because it does not follow immediately after the

ی of the *dim.*, but it remains quiescent ; while the letter following immediately after [the ی of the *dim.*] remains pronounced with Kasr, [because it is not immediately before the last member of the *comp.*] ; so that you say مُعَيِّدٌ يَكْرُبُ [290] (Sn). The letter before the abbreviated and prolonged ا of femininization is not pronounced with Kasr, in order that they may be preserved from being converted into ی , since they are signs of femininization, and the sign, so far as possible, is not altered. As for the conversion of the sign of femininization into ی , that would obviously be entailed in the case of the abbreviated ; while in the case of the prolonged, although the sign is the Hamza converted from the ا of femininization, the ا before it being a letter of prolongation, as in حَبَّارٌ , still, since the conversion of the ا of femininization into Hamza, not into و or ی , is on account of the ا before it [248, 683], conversion of the first into ی would necessarily entail conversion of the second also into ی , as in لَقَدْ أَغْدُوْا الْحَ [248]. The ا of أَفْعَالٌ is not altered, in order that the sign of what is deemed strange in the *dim.*, vid. the *pl.* [285], may be preserved, because, if they did not preserve its sign, the hearer would not refer the *dim.* to the *pl.*, on account of the apparent incongruity between them ; and, even when you use أَجْبَالٌ as a name, you say أُجْبِيَالٌ [below]. In such as إِخْرَاجٌ and إِدْخَالٌ , however, the ا , though the sign of the

inf. n., is converted into *ي* in the *dim.*, since the *dim.* of the *inf. n.* is not deemed so strange as the *dim.* of the *pl.* (R). IM [followed by IHsh in the Aud] mentions أَفْعَالٌ [above] without restricting it to the *pl.*, so that it includes the *sing.*; and some MSS of the Tashil have “the *!* of أَفْعَالٌ whether a *pl.* or a *sing.*”: and therefore, if we follow those who authorize أَفْعَالٌ among the *sings.* [146, 256, 257], then the unrestrictedness of IM’s language here and his saying “whether a *pl.* or a *sing.*” in the Tashil necessarily imply that its *dim.* is أَفْعَالٌ, [which is the preferable opinion (Sn)]; while the language of those GG who say “the *!* of أَفْعَالٌ when a *pl.*”, like Jz and IH, necessarily implies that its *dim.* is أَفْعِيلٌ with Kasr; and [Jrb,] one of the Commentators on the SH of IH, says that (A) he adds the restriction “when a *pl.*” [below] in order to exclude what is not *pl.*, as أَعْشَارٌ [146, 257], the *dim.* of which is أَعْشِيرٌ (Jrb, A). BD, however, says “the *!* of أَفْعَالٌ when a *pl.*,” adding the restriction, in which he follows Jz and those who agree with him: but Shl, referring to the dictum of Jz, says “This is a mistake, because S states that, when you form the *dim.* of أَفْعَالٌ a man’s name, you say أَفْعَالٌ, as when you form its *dim.* before it is a name”; and IM speaks without restriction in other books than this; nay, in some MSS of the Tashil, he expressly declares the generality; so that his language [here] is to be interpreted according

to that (A). The | before the *aug.* ن is not converted into ي, because it is assimilated to the | of حَمْرَاء [above]. The *aug.* | and ن, however, at the end of the *n.* do not always resemble the prolonged | of feminization, so that the conversion of its | into ي in the *dim.* should be disallowed. They resemble it when they are in (1) a coined proper name, like عَثْمَانُ [4, 250], عِمْرَانُ [4], سَعْدَانُ, غُطْفَانُ [4, 282], and سَلْمَانُ, because the ة of feminization is not affixed to it, since the quality of proper name is a preventive; and, according to this, you say عَثْمَانُ [above], غُطْفَانُ, سَلْمَانُ, and عِمْرَانُ [below]: (a) as for عَثْمَانُ a young bustard and سَعْدَانُ a plant, their *dims.* are عَثْمِينُ [below] and سَعِيدِينُ: (2) an *ep.* that refuses the ة, like جَوْعَانُ hungry and سَكْرَانُ [250], because of the absence of the ة, so that you say جَوِيعَانُ and سَكِيرَانُ [above]. And, if they be in an *ep.* that does not refuse the ة, like عُرْيَانُ [250], نَدْمَانُ, صَبِيَانُ, and قَطْوَانُ slow [in walking (MAR)], they resemble the | and ن in the *cat.* of سَكْرَانُ, because they are *eps.* like it, although the ة is affixed to them; so that عُرْيَانُ, نَدِيمَانُ, and صَبِيَانُ are said. If, however, they be in a substantive not a proper name, they do not resemble the | and ن in the *cat.* of سَكْرَانُ unrestrictedly, since qualification does not unite them, as it unites عُرْيَانُ and سَكْرَانُ; but you

consider whether the **l** be fourth or upwards. If it be fourth, then, (1) if the substantive be equal in number of vowels and quiescences to a substantive whose final is a **l** preceded by an *aug.* **l**, even if not equal to it in actual measure, its **l** is converted in the *dim.* into **ى**, by assimilation to that **l** which precedes the **l**: but that occurs in only three measures, **فَعْلَانُ**, **فُعْلَانُ**, and **فِعْلَانُ**, as **حَوْمَانُ** a plant growing in the desert, **سُلْطَانُ**, and **زُرْزَالُ**, the **ن** of which occupies the place of the **l** in **زُرْزَالُ** [332], **قُرْطَاسُ**, and **مِفْتَاحُ** respectively; so that you say **قُرَيْطِيسُ**, **زُرَيْرِيذُ**, like **سُرَيْحِينُ**, **سَلَيْطِينُ**, **حَوَيْبِينُ** [283], and **مُفَيْتِيحُ**: (2) if the substantive be not equal to what we have mentioned, like **ظَرْبَانُ** and **سَبْعَانُ**, and like **فَعْلَانُ**, **فُعْلَانُ**, **فِعْلَانُ**, [**فَعْلَانُ**], and **فَعْلَانُ**, if these occur in their language, its **l** does not resemble the **l** preceding the **ل**, since an *aug.* **l** followed by a **ل** does not occupy [in any other substantive] the place of the **l** and **ن** in these substantives; but the **l** and **ن** in them resemble the **l** and **ن** in the *cat.* of **سَكْرَانُ**, [since both are *aug.*]; so that the **l** is not converted into **ى**, as **ظَرْبَانُ** and **سَبْعَانُ**: and by analogy such [substantives] as **وَرَشَانُ** and **كَرَوَانُ** [250] ought to be like **ظَرْبَانُ** [and **سَبْعَانُ**], since a **ل** does not occupy the place of their **ن**, as it does not occupy the place of the **ن** of **ظَرْبَانُ** and **سَبْعَانُ**; but, since *eps.*

also occur on this measure, like صَيَّانٌ and قَطَوَانٌ, and their | resembles the | of سَكْرَانٌ, which is not converted, as before shown, the Arabs intend to make a distinction between substantive and *ep.*, and therefore convert the | in the substantive, saying وَرَيْشِيْنٌ and كُرَيْوِيْنٌ, because assimilation of *ep.* to *ep.* is more meet and proper than assimilation of substantive to *ep.* If, however, the | be after the fourth, then, (1) if it be fifth, as in زَعْفَرَانٌ *saffron*, عَقْرَبَانٌ *a male scorpion* and أَنْعُرَانٌ *a male viper*, and صَلِيَانٌ *a plant*, it may not be assimilated to the | preceding the |, and be converted into ي, since that | is not converted into ي in the *dim.*, except when fourth, as in مِفْتَاحٌ and مِصْبَاحٌ [283]; so that the only alternative remaining is to assimilate it to the | of femininization, saying زَعْفِرَانٌ [282, 283], عَقِيرَبَانٌ [and أَفْيَعِيَانٌ], and صَلِيلِيَانٌ (R): (a) in forming the *dim.* of أَفْكُرَانَةٌ and عُنْظُرَانَةٌ you say أَفْكِيكِيَانَةٌ and عُنْظِيكِيَانَةٌ, as though you were forming the *dim.* of أَفْكُرَانٌ *camomile* [390] and عُنْظُرَانٌ [389] (S): and by analogy the *dim.* of أُسْطُرَانَةٌ *a column, portico, cylinder* ought to be أُسْطِيكِيَانَةٌ; but, the و in it being anomalously elided, the | becomes fourth, so that أُسْطِيكِيَانَةٌ is said, like عُثْيِيِيْنٌ [above]: (b) the *dim.* of إِنْسَانٌ [on the measure of فِعْلَانٌ (Jh, HH)] ought by analogy

to be ^{اُنَيْسِيْن} [286], like ^{سُرَيْحِيْن}; but, since a ^ي is anomalously added before the ^ا [of ^{اِنْسَان}], according to the soundest [opinion], the ^ا becomes [fifth,] as in ^{اَنْعُرَان} and ^{عُقْرَبَان}, [so that ^{اُنَيْسِيَان} is said (HH)]: (2) if the ^ا be after the fifth, then, (a) if the aggregate of the letters preceding it contain one that must be elided, so as to make the ^ا after the elision fifth, the ^ا remains unaltered because it then becomes [fifth,] as in ^{عُقْرَبَان}; so that you say ^{عَبُوْثِرَان} *dim.* ^{عَبِيْثِرَان} [283], because the ^و is *aug.*: (b) if the case be not so, the ^ا and ^ن are elided, as ^{قَرْعَبَلَانَّة} [236, 401], *dim.* ^{قَرْعَبَة} [283], because you elide the *rad.* before them, and therefore cannot leave them. As for the proper name transferred from something, you say (1) ^{سَرْحَان} *Sirhān* (Wolf), ^{وَرَشَان} *Warashān* (Pigeon) and ^{سُلْطَان} *Sultān* (King), when proper names, *dims.* ^{سُرَيْحِيْن} [below], ^{وَرَيْشِيْن}, and ^{سُلَيْطِيْن} [below], diptote in the *non-dim.* because of the quality of proper name and [augmentation by] the ^ا and ^ن [18], and triptote in the *dim.* because of the removal of the ^ا by its conversion into ^ي: (a) this is as you make ^{مِعْرَى} *Goats*, when a proper name, diptote [in the *non-dim.*], because of the resemblance of its ^ا to the ^ا of feminization [18]; and triptote in the *dim.*, because of the conversion of its ^ا into ^ي, as ^{مُعِيْرَ}: (2)

ظَرَبَانُ , عَقْرَبَانُ , سَكْرَانُ , and نَدِمَانُ , when proper names,
dims. ظَرِبَانُ , عَقِيرَبَانُ , سُكَيْرَانُ , and نُدِيمَانُ , [diptote,]
 as they were before their transfer to the state of proper
 name : (a) this is as you say أَجْمَالُ , when a proper name,
dim. أُجَيْمَالُ [above], with the | , as S mentions. The GG
 say, in describing [the *dim.* of the *n.* ending in] the | and ن
 assimilated to the | of feminization, “ Whenever the
 “ | is converted into ي in the [broken] *pl.*, convert it
 “ into ي in the *dim.* also ; and, whenever it is not converted
 “ in the broken *pl.*, do not convert it in the *dim.*”: but
 that does not hold good in such as ظَرَبَانُ , because they
 say ظَرِبَانُ and طَرَابِينُ [248, 250] (R). As for ظَرَبَانُ , its
dim. is ظَرِبَانُ , as though you formed its broken *pl.* from
 طَرَبَاءُ , not from ظَرَبَانُ , since you say طَرَابِي , as they say
 صَلَافِي [248] (S). If the *pl.* فَعَالِينُ be anomalous, it is not
 regarded, but the *dim.* is فَعِيلَانُ , as غَرَثَانُ [250] and
 إِنْسَانُ [above], *pls.* غَرَاثِينُ and أَنَاسِينُ [248] anomalously,
dims. غَرِثَانُ and أُنَيْسَانُ [286] (A). And, when it is
 not known of any *n.* [ending in an *aug.* | and ن (A)]
 whether its | be converted [by the Arabs into ي (A)]
 in the broken *pl.* (R), i. e., whether it take the *pl.*
 فَعَالِينُ (Sn),] or not, then [Sf and F say that (R)] its | is
 not converted, because it is made to conform to the *cat.*
 of سَكْرَانُ , since this is the most numerous (R, A) : while

An says that the rule may be said to be either absence of alteration ; or conformity with the most numerous [cat.], and consequent alteration (R). Except in these cases, only **فَعِيلٌ** [above], **فُعَيْلٌ**, and **فُعَيْعِيلٌ** occur (SH) ; whereas in the excepted cases other paradigms are found. The three paradigms, however, occur before (1) the ة of feminization [277, 282, 283], as **قَدِيرَةٌ** [264], **سَلْهَبَةٌ** [dim. of **سَلْهَبَةٌ** *big-bodied mare* (MAR)], and **زَنْبِيرَةٌ** [dim. of **زَنْبُورٌ** *a hornet* ; (2) the prolonged ا of feminization, as **حَيْرَاءٌ** [above], **خَنِيفَسَاءٌ** [282], and **مُعَيَّرَاءٌ** [282] ; and (3) the ا and ن, as **سَلِيمَانٌ** [above], **زُعَيْفِرَانٌ** [above], and **عَبِيثِيرَانٌ** with the ي as a compensation for the elided و, [283 284] ; but only **فَعِيلٌ** before (1) the ا of the pl., as **أَجِيمَالٌ** ; and (2) the abbreviated ا of feminization, [as **حَبِيلَى**], because, when fifth [or upwards in the *non-dim.*], it is elided in the *dim.* [282]. IH ought to mention the ي of relation also, as **مَشْهَدِي** [dim. of **مَشْهَدِي** [248, 294], **مَشْهَدِي** [dim. of **مَشْهَدِي** [265], and **مُنْطَلِقِي** [dim. of **مُنْطَلِقِي** [284], saying "Except in these cases, and the case of the *rel. n.* formed with the ي, only such and such [paradigms] occur" : for, if he say that **فُعَيْلَى** is **فَعِيلٌ**, the ي being additional, we say that, though the ي is no doubt additional, still it becomes, as it were, part of the word, like the ة of feminization, as is proved by the fact that the inflection of the word rests

upon it, as upon the ة; and the objection holds equally good of such as حَيْرَةٌ [below], حَيْلَى, and حَيْرَاءُ, which are فَعِيل, the ة and the two | s of feminization being additional [282]. And why does he not mention the *du.* and *pl.*, as الْعَيْرَانِ and الْعَيْرُونَ, saying that (R) the letter after the ي of the *dim.* is pronounced with Kasr in the case of the [*n.* containing (Jrb)] four [or more (R) letters, as جَعِيفٌ (R, Jrb) and سُفِيرٌ (R), for the sake of affinity between the ي and the letter after it (Jrb)], except before (1) the ة of feminization, (2) its two [abbreviated and prolonged (R, Jrb)] | s, (3) the | and ن assimilated to the prolonged | of feminization, (4) the | of أفعال when a *pl.* [above] (SH), (5) the ي of relation, [which ought to be omitted, because the letter before it is pronounced with Kasr, as in بُرَيْدِي,] (6) the | and ي of the *du.*, (7) the , of the *pl.*, (8) the | of the [sound] *pl. fem.*, and (9) [the last member of] the *comp.* ? (R). Every *dim.*, when its formation does not take away one of its two causes [of diptote declension], is diptote; and otherwise is triptote (Dm). The *dim.* formation spoils the following causes of diptote declension :—(1) deviation from one measure to another, as رُبَاعٌ [18], *dim.* رُبَيْعٌ, because the measure deviated to is removed by the *dim.* formation, and that measure is observed in deviation, since deviation is a *lit.* matter : (2) the ultimate *pl.*, as

مَسَاجِدُ *mosques* [18], *dim.* مُسَيِّجِدٌ [or rather مُسَيِّجِدَاتٌ], because it must be restored to its *sing.* [285] : (a) even if used as a name for a *masc.*, and then formed into a *dim.* [283, 285], it is triptote, because, [though it is not restored to the *sing.*, still] the sign of the *pl.* and its regarded measure are removed ; [contrary to the *fem.*, where the quality of proper name and feminization are found (MAR)] : (b) when سَرَاوِيلُ [18, 285] is a proper name, its *dim.* is diptote, because the *dim.* formation does not take away the *id.* feminization in it, so that it is like عَنَاقُ [194] when formed into a *dim.* after being used as a name : (3) verbal measure, if its initial be not an augment like the verbal augment [404]; as خُضِضُ *dim.* خُضِضُ and دُحْرِجُ *dim.* دُحْرِجُ ; but not if its initial be such an augment, as أَحْيِدُ *dim.* أَحْيِدُ, فَرَجَسُ *dim.* فَرَجَسُ, يَشْكُرُ, نَرِيحَسُ *dim.* نَرِيحَسُ, أَحْيِدُ *dim.* أَحْيِدُ, and تَغْلِبُ *dim.* تَغْلِبُ, because the *dim.* is on the measure of the *aor.* of فَيَعْلُ, as يَبْطِرُ *aor.* يَبْطِرُ [482] (R on the diptote) : (a) [the diptote declension of the *dim. ep.* أَفْيَعْلُ is similarly explained by A, who says that] the best way is to make the predicament [of diptote declension in the *ep.*] depend upon [the *ep.*'s being on] the verbal measure more appropriate to the *v.*, not the measure of أَفْعَلُ [18], nor merely [the measure] of the *v.*, in order to include such *dims.* as أَحْيِرُ and

أَفِيضٌ [281, 287], which are diptote because of their being on the measure mentioned, [vid. that which is more appropriate to the v. (Sn),] like أَبْيَطُرُ *I practise farriery* or *veterinary surgery*, [aor. of بَيَطُرُ (Sn)] : nor may such [eps.] as بَطْلٌ *valiant, heroic*, جِدْلٌ *hard and strong*, and نَدْسٌ *intelligent* be cited as instances to the contrary ; for, though each of them is *orig.* epithetic, and is on a verbal measure, still the measure, being common, not more appropriate to the v. than to the n., is not taken into account (A on the diptote) : (b) if the measure supervene in the *dim.*, not being found in the *non-dim.*, as تَضَارُبٌ when a proper name, *dim.* تَضَيَّرِبٌ, and تَحَلِيٌّ [372], *dim.* تَحَلِيٌّ [below], some do not regard it, because it is accidental ; but others regard it, because the *dim.* is a fresh measure : (c) one Grammarian says that the qualification supervening in the *dim.* is regarded, because the *dim.* is a fresh formation, as the qualification supervening in such as مَثْنَى and ثَلَاثٌ [18] is taken into account, because it is a fresh application ; and that أَدِيرُ *dim.* of أَدِيرُ [242] is diptote because of the [verbal] measure and of the qualification supervening in the *dim.* : (d) he also says that analogy requires the proper name to be triptote in such as حَمِيرَةٌ [above] *dim.* of حَمْرَةٌ *Hamza*, because of the supervision of

qualification, which is incompatible with the quality of proper name; but that, since the qualification is not obvious in the *dim.*, they do not take it into account : (e) what he says, however, requires consideration, because, if the qualification were not obvious, it would not be taken into account in أُدِيرُ ; and it is best to say that there is no incompatibility between qualification and the quality of proper name : (4) [augmentation by] the ا and ن , if the ا be converted into ي in the *dim.*, as سُلْطَانُ when a proper name, *dim.* سُلَيْطَانُ [above] ; but not if it remain unaltered, as سَكَرَانُ and عُثْمَانُ , *dims.* سُكَيْرَانُ and عُثْيَانُ [above]. According to this, then, the *dim.* formation spoils deviation from a measure and the [ultimate] *pl.*, unrestrictedly ; and [verbal] measure and [augmentation by] the ا and ن , in one case, not in another : but does not spoil qualification, the quality of proper name, feminization, composition, and foreignness (R). When, however, the foreign [proper name] is *quad.*, but one of its [four] letters is the ي of the *dim.*, it is triptote, [as بُرْيَةُ and سُبَيْعٌ (283, 291),] the ي not being taken into account. IM says in the CK that what is diptote with reference to its being *non-dim.* or *dim.* is of four kinds, (1) diptote in the *non-dim.* and *dim.*, as بَعْلَبَكُ , طَلْحَةُ , زَيْنَبُ , حَمْرَاءُ , أَحْمَرُ , إِسْحَاقُ , سَكَرَانُ , يَزِيدُ , because they do not lack the cause of diptote declension in the *non-dim.* or *dim.* : (2) diptote in the *non-dim.*, triptote in the *dim.*,

as *عَمْرُ*, *شَمْرُ*, *سِرْحَانُ*, *عَلْقَى*, and *جَنَادِلُ*, when proper names, because the cause of diptote declension is removed in their *dims.*, which are *عَمِيرٌ*, *شَمِيرٌ*, *سَرِيحِينَ* [above], *عَلِيقٍ*, and *جَنِيدِلُ*, by removal of the paradigm of deviation, the verbal measure, the *ا* of *سِرْحَانُ*, the *ا* of *عَلْقَى*, and the form of the ultimate broken *pl.* : (3) diptote in the *dim.*, triptote in the *non-dim.*, as *تَحَلِيٌّ* [above], *تَوَسُّطٌ*, *تَرْتَبٌ* [372, 678], and *تَهَيِّطٌ* [379], when proper names, because the cause of diptote declension becomes complete in their *dims.*, which are *تَحْكِيلِيٌّ* [above], *تَوَيْسُطٌ*, *تَرْتِيبٌ*, and *تُهَيِّيطٌ*, upon the measure of the *aor.* of *بَيَّطَرَ*; whereas, if a *ي* were put in the *dim.* as a compensation [284] for what is elided, [vid. one of the two double letters in *تَوَسُّطٌ* and *تَهَيِّطٌ* (Sn),] triptote declension would be necessary, [as *تَوَيْسِيطٌ* and *تُهَيِّيِيطٌ* (Sn),] from the want of verbal measure : (4) either diptote or triptote in the *non-dim.*, and only diptote in the *dim.*, as *هَنْدٌ* [18], *dim.* *هَنْدَةٌ* [264, 282] (A).

§ 275. The *n.* either contains a cause of conversion or elision, before the formation of the *dim.*, or does not. If it does, then the formation of the *dim.* (1) removes the cause of (a) conversion [278], as in *بَابٌ* and *نَابٌ* [684, 703,

711] ; [247, 685] *مِيزَانٌ* and [686] *مُرْقَطٌ* ; [685] *لِيٍّ* and *طَيٍّ* ;
 [747] *مَاءٌ* ; [246] *ذَرَاتِبٌ* ; [683, 721, 723] *كِسَاءٌ* and *عَطَاءٌ* ;
 [below] and, according to Mb, [278] *شَاءٌ* ; [below] *فَمٌ* ;
 [683, 708] *بَاطِعٌ* and *قَاتِمٌ* ; [683] *نُورٌ* and *أَنُورٌ* ; and *مُنَلِجٌ*
 and [689] *مُتَعَدٌ* : (b) elision, as in [16, 278, 719] *عَصَا* , [278, 293] *عَمٌ* , the cause being the combination of
 two quiescents : and approximate to this sort is that in
 which the formation of the *dim.* does not remove the
 cause of elision, but in the *dim.* something supervenes,
 which prevents that cause from being regarded, like the
tril. curtailed of a letter, either (a) because an irregular
 alleviation is intended, as in [below] *سَهٌ* and [153, 231,
 292] *أُخْتُ* and *بِنْتُ* , [277] *إِسْمٌ* and *إِبْنٌ* , [below] *قَمٌ* ,
 where, if alleviation be intended by the elision, it
 cannot be regarded in the *dim.*, since the measure is not
 complete without the elided ; or (b) because of a regular
 alteration, as in [below] *رَنَةٌ* and *عِدَّةٌ* : (2) does not remove
 the cause of (a) conversion, as in [689] *تُرَاثٌ* and [278] *أُدُدٌ* :
 (b) elision, as in [276] *مَيْتٌ* , *هَارٌ* , and *نَاسٌ* ; *يَضَعٌ* and *تَضَعٌ* ;
 [276] *يَرَى* ; [276] *أَرَى* and *نَرَى* , and *تَرَى* ; and *خَيْرٌ* and
شَرٌّ [276]. And, if it does not contain a cause of conver-
 sion or elision, before the formation of the *dim.*, then
 that [cause] (1) supervenes in the formation of the *dim.*,
 like the cause of (a) the conversion [279] of (a) the | of .

ضَارِبٌ [278] and حِمَارٌ [281]: (b) the و of عُرُوضٌ [279]; of جَدْوَلٌ [279], أَسْرَدٌ, and مِرْوَدٌ *a bodkin*; of عُرْوَةٌ [279, 280]; and of عُصْفُورٌ [283]: (b) the elision [281] of (a) the 5th, as in سَفَرَجَلٌ [274]; (b) the 3rd of [three] س, as in أَحْرَى [281], مُعَاوِيَةُ, and عَطَاءٌ; (c) the ا of such as مَسَاجِدُ [283], and what is elided from such as مُسْتَخْرَجٌ and اسْتِخْرَاجٌ [283], مُنْطَلِقٌ and اِنْطِلَاقٌ, and the like: (2) does not supervene in the formation of the *dim.*, as in رَجُلٌ and جَعْفَرٌ [274] (R). A *n.* of less than three letters may not form a *dim.*, because the least of the *dim.* formations is فُعَيْلٌ, which is not producible except from *trils.* [274, 292] (IY). Supplement the defective [*n.* (IA, Sn)] in forming the *dim.*, [in order that the formation فُعَيْلٌ may be attainable (A),] so long as [after the elision (Sn)] it does not contain an [*aug.* (Sn)] third [letter (Sn)] other than the ʾ [below] (IM) and the *conj.* Hamza [277] (Sn). The “defective” here means “deficient in a letter” (IA, Sn): our saying “*aug.*” is deducible from a subsequent observation by A [276]: and the *neg.* proviso means that the defective should not contain a third at all, like يَدٌ [below]; or should contain a third such as is mentioned, like سَنَةٌ [below] and ابْنٌ [277] (Sn). The ʾ of feminization [above] is not reckoned (IY, A), because it is [accounted (IY) virtually (Sn)] separable (IY, Sn),

equivalent to a *n.* joined on to a *n.* [266]; so that, as you form the *dim.* from the first member of two *ns.* [compounded together], saying حَضِيرَمَوْتُ [290], and not from the second, so the formation of the *dim.* falls upon what precedes the ة of femininization [274, 282, 283] (IY). Every [*decl.* (IY)] *n.*, when *bil.*, [which happens only by elision of a letter from it, since *decl. ns.* contain at least three letters (IY),] is restored in the *dim.* to its *o. f.*, in order that it may arrive at the paradigm نُعَيْلٌ (M), restoration to its *o. f.* being better than importation of an extraneous letter (IY). It is of three kinds, what is elided being (1) its ف, as عِدَّةٌ, [رِنَّةٌ (IY),] and شَيْءٌ [699], *dims.* أُعِيدَةٌ, [وَزِينَةٌ (IY),] and وَشْيَةٌ (M); or أُعِيدَةٌ [683], أُزِينَةٌ, and أُشْيَةٌ (IY): and as كُلٌّ and خَذٌ [428, 659], when names [of a man (IY)], *dims.* أُكَيْلٌ and أُخَيْدٌ: (2) its ع, as مُدٌ [203, 292] and سَلٌ [from إِسْأَلٌ *Ask thou* by elision of the Hamza (IY)], when names [of a man (IY)], *dims.* مُنَيْدٌ and سُوَيْدٌ; and as سَهٌ [667], *dim.* سَتِيهَةٌ [277]: (3) its ل, as دَمٌ, [يَدٌ (IY),] شَفَةٌ [260], حَرٌ *a vulva*, [*orig.* حَرْحٌ (IY),] فُلٌ [56. A], and فَمٌ [16, 687], *dims.* دُمِيٌّ, [يُدِيَّةٌ (282) (IY),] شَفِيهَةٌ, حَرِيحٌ, فَلَيْنٌ [by restoration of the ل, which is the ن, but not of the ا, because it is *aug.*, and the object is attained by restoration of the ل alone (IY),] and فَوِيَّةٌ (M). And so you do in every defective *tril.*, like the contracted أَنْ [525] and بَخٌ [200], when

used as names, *dims.* ^{أُنَيْنٌ} and ^{بُخَيْمٌ}; and like ^{رَبٌ} [306, 505] in the saying [of Abū Kabīr alHudhālī (AKB)]

أَرْهَيْرَ إِنْ يَشِبَّ الْقَدَالُ فَانَّةٌ * رَبُّ هَيْضَلٍ لَكِبٍ لَفْتُتْ بِهَيْضَلٍ
[O Zuhaira (his daughter), if the back of the head be
hoary, verily the case is this, many a noisy host have I
joined with a host in fighting (AKB)], when used as a
name, *dim.* ^{رَبِيبٌ} (IY). IM says in the CK that some-
times the elided is one letter in one *dial.*, and another
letter in another *dial.*; so that the *dim.* is formed
now by restoring this, and now by restoring that :
as ^{سَنَةٌ}, [*orig.* ^{سَنَوَةٌ} or ^{سَنَهَةٌ} (Jh),] *dims.* ^{سُنَيَّةٌ} and
^{سُنَيْهَةٌ} [277]; and ^{عَضَةٌ}, *dims.* ^{عَضِيَّةٌ} and ^{عَضِيهَةٌ} [306] (A).

He that says ^{سَنَوَاتٌ} years [234, 244] says ^{سُنَيَّةٌ}; while
he that says ^{سَانَهَتْهُ} I contracted with him by the
year [234] says ^{سُنَيْهَةٌ} (IY) : and the letter deficient in
^{عَضَةٌ} is the ^س, because it forms the *pl.* ^{عَضَاهُ}, like ^{شَفَاهُ}
[260]; or, as some say, the ^ي, because it forms the *pl.*
^{عَضَاتٌ} [234, 244] (Jh). The original *bil.* also is supple-
mented in the *dim.*, like the defective, in order that it may
arrive at the formation ^{فُعَيْلٌ}, except that for this sort
no third [letter] is known, that may be restored to it,
contrary to the defective (A). If the word be *orig. bil.*,
or you do not know what letter is gone from it, you add a
^ي at its end in the *dim.*, by analogy to the most frequent

case, because the letter most often elided from the *tril.* is the ل, as in دَم and يَد [260, 719], حَرَم and فَم [above], not the ف or ع; while the letter most often elided from the *n.* is the unsound letter, either ا, or اى; and, if you added ا, it would necessarily be converted into اى [280]; so that you put the اى from the very first, as مَن [277, 293] and مِّن, the subjunctival اَن and the *cond.* اِنْ, when used as proper names, *dims.* اُنِي and اُنِي (R). IM in the Kāfiya and the Tashil allows two methods, (1) that the word should be supplemented by an unsound letter, [a اى (Sn),] as عَن and هَل, when used as names, *dims.* عَنِي and هَلِي; and (2) that it should be treated as belonging to the class of the reduplicated, as عَيْن and هَيْل: but in the Tashil he expressly declares that the first is better, and so some decide [below] (A). And [the full explanation of this matter is that (A)], when what is *orig. bil.* is used as a name, then, (1) if its second [letter] be sound [306], as in هَل and بَل, nothing is added to it until its *dim.* is formed, when it must be reduplicated, or اى must be added to it, as هَلِي or هَيْل: (2) if its second be unsound, reduplication is necessary before formation of the *dim.*, [to obviate the existence of an *infl. n.* consisting of two letters, the last of which is a mobile soft letter, this being unprecedented (Sn)]; so that for كَي, مَآ, and كَي, when proper names, you say

لَوْ [191, 200], كَيْ, and مَاء changing the second | into Hamza, [as in حَمَاء (263, 683) (Sn)] : and therefore, when their *dims.* are formed, they are treated like دَوْ, حَيْ, and مَاء, as لَوَيْ, like دَوَيْ, *orig.* لَوِيَّ and دَوِيَّ [280]; كَيْ with three ي s, like حَيْ; and مَوِي, like مَوِيَّة *dim.* of مَاء *water* [278], except that the ل of this, being a * [683], is reconverted into it (Aud, A). And [similarly (S)] you say ذِيَّة as *dim.* of ذَوْ (S, R) quiescent in the * (R), if it be [a name for] a woman (S), because the * is a substitute for the ي (S, R), as the م in فَم is for the و (S), the *o. f.* being ذِي [171, 263] (R).

§ 276. That [*n.* (IY)] which, after the elision, has enough [letters (IY)] remaining, [vid. three (IY),] to form the paradigm of the *dim.*, is not restored to its *o. f.*, [because the elision does not proceed from a cause removable in the *dim.*, but is made in the *non-dim.* merely for a kind of alleviation, which is more needed in the *dim.*, because of the augmentation of its letters (IY),] as مَيْت [251, 703], هَار [in the text عَلَى شَفَا جُرْفٍ هَارٍ IX. 110. *On the edge of a crumbling bank, orig.* هَارٍ, the ع being elided for alleviation (IY),] and فَاس [52], *dims.* مَيْتٌ, هَوِيَّ, and نَوِيَّ; where, if it were restored, مَيْتٌ, هَوِيَّ and أَنْيَس would be said (M). And

هُوَئِثْرُ [below] by restoration of the elided, [vid. the , (Sn) of هَآثِرُ orig. هَآرُ ,] is anomalous [as *dim.* of هَآرُ] (A). This is the rule in S's opinion ; and, accordingly, if he named a man يَضَعُ or يَدْعُ , he would say in the *dim.* يُضِيعُ and يَدِّيعُ , without restoring the elided, vid. the , [482, 699, 700] (IY). Y, however, asserts that some say هُوَيْثْرُ [upon the measure of هُوَيْعَرُ (S)] ; and he relates that IAl used to say مَرَى , like مَرِيعُ , as *dim.* of مَرٍ showing (S, IY, R), *act. part.* of أَرَى (IY), and يَرَى as *dim.* of يُرَى he shows [658] (S), putting the Hamza, and pronouncing [it] with Kasr (S, R), like مُعِيطُ *dim.* of مُعِطُ giving (R), because [the ي in] it is treated like the ي of قَاضٍ [16] (S) ; and [Mb, as also (IY)] Mz, used to restore [such as يَضَعُ and هَآرُ to its o. f. (R)], saying يَرَبِضُ and هُوَيْثْرُ (IY, R) : but [S says that (IY, R)] هُوَيْثْرُ is *dim.* of هَآثِرُ [below], not of هَآرُ (S, IY, R) ; and [Sf adds (R)] that he who says يَرَبِضُ and هُوَيْثْرُ ought to say مَبِيتٌ and أُنَيْسٌ , and (IY)] أَشِيرُ and أَحِيرُ (IY, R) as *dims.* of خَيْرٌ better and شَرٌّ worse, because their o. f. is أَخِيرُ and أَشَرُّ ; whereas the GG are agreed upon مَبِيتٌ and نَوَيْسٌ without restoration, and similarly they say خَيْرٌ and شَرٌّ without restoration ; and there is no difference between the two

(İY). IM means by his saying "third" [275] what exceeds two letters, even though it be (1) an initial, as in *يَرَى* *he sees* [658], when used as a name, *dim.* *يَرَى* without restoration [of its ع, vid. the Hamza (Sn)], because the aoristic letter [404] is reckoned : but IAl and Mz allow restoration, saying *يَرَى* [with a Hamza after the ي of the *dim.*, and a Tanwīn of compensation for the ي elided because of the concurrence of two quiescents (Sn)] ; while Y restores [the Hamza], but does not pronounce [it] with Tanwīn, [saying *يَرِي*], according to the principle of his opinion on *يَعْلَى* written in some MSS with the ي, according to his opinion, and in some (Sn)] *يَعْلَى* [without a ي, according to the preferable opinion of others (Sn),] *dim.* of *يَعْلَى* [Note on p. 43, ll. 14-20], and the like : (2) a medial, as exemplified (A) in *مَيْتٌ* [above], *هَارٌ*, and *شَانٌ* [below]. The *dim.* of *هَارٌ* and *شَانٌ* [708] is, in the *nom.* and *gen.*, *هُوَيْرٌ* and *شُوَيْكٌ*, with Kasr of the ر and ن [278] ; and in the *acc.*, *هُوَيْرِيًّا* and *شُوَيْكِيًّا* : the *dim.* of *هَاتِرٌ* and *شَاتِكٌ* is *هُوَيْرٌ* [above] and *شُوَيْكٌ* with the double ي, [according to Jr's opinion given in § 278] : and the *dim.* of *هَارٌ* and *شَانٌ* is *هُوَيْرٌ* [above] and *شُوَيْكٌ* with a single ي (Sn).

§ 277. Every *n.* beginning with a *conj.* Hamza drops its Hamza in the *dim.*, whether the *n.* be complete,

as *اِطْلَاقٌ* and *اِقْتِدَارٌ*, *dims.* *نُطِيلِيْقٌ* and *قُتَيْدِيْرٌ* [283]; or defective, as *اِبْنٌ* [667], *اَسْمٌ*, and *اَسْتُ*, *dims.* *بُنَى*, *سُمَى*, and *سُتِيَهَةٌ* [275]. The *conj.* Hamza is elided, because the mobilization of what follows it enables it to be dispensed with, since it is prefixed only as a means to pronouncing the quiescent; while, in the *dim.*, the initial is always mobilized, so that the Hamza is not needed. And [in the defective], when the Hamza is dropped, the elided [ل] is restored, because the remainder does not suffice for the formation of the *dim.*, since it consists of [only] two letters (IY). The *ت* [of *بُنْتُ* and *أُخْتُ* (A)] is not reckoned (R, A) in the formation, because of the tinge of feminization in it [295], since this substitute [263, 689] belongs exclusively to the *fem.*, not to the *masc.* (R); but *بُنْيَةٌ* and *أُخْيَةٌ* are said, by restoring the elided (A), converted in the *dim.* into *ى* [279, 280], eliding the *ت*, and putting the *ة* of feminization (Sn). There are only seven words for whose ل is substituted a *ت* preceded by a quiescent, and pronounced as a *ت* in pause [307, 646], vid. (1-2) *بُنْتُ* and *أُخْتُ* [689]; (3) *هَنْتٌ* [Note on p. 18, l. 9]; (4-5) *كَيْتٌ* and *ذَيْتٌ* [227]; (6) *ثَنْتَانٌ* [313]; and, according to S, (7) *كَلْنَا* [117, 307]: while *مَنْتٌ* with quiescence of the *ن* [183] is like them; but [the *ت* in] it is not a substitute for the ل, since *مَنْ* has no ل by constitution. You

say, in their *dim.*, (1) بُنْيَةٌ and أُخْيَةٌ [307]: (2) هُنْيَةٌ and هُنْيَةٌ, because the ل of هُنْتُ is biform, like [that] of سَنَةٌ, *dims.* سُنْيَةٌ and سُنْيَةٌ [275]: (3) مُنْيَةٌ, as you form the *dim.* of مَنْ [275]: (4) ذُنْيَةٌ and كُنْيَةٌ, because the Arabs also say كُنْيَةٌ and ذُنْيَةٌ in the *non-dim.* [227]; but he who says that their *o. f.* is كَوْنَةٌ and ذَوْنَةٌ [685, 747], because the *conjug.* of طَرَى is more numerous than that of حَى, says كَوْنَةٌ and ذَوْنَةٌ; while, in the *dim.*, you pronounce the letter before the ة with Fath, and change the ة into ة in pause, because, when you restore the ل, the ة is not a substitute for it (R). And, when you use ضَرَبْتُ as a name [for a woman (S)], you [say ضَرَبَةٌ, and (R)] make its *dim.* ضَرَبَةٌ (S, R), eliding the ت, and putting the ة in its place (S), because the word is transferred to the *cat.* of *ns.* (R upon IH on the proper name): and so says Khl (S).

§ 278. The substitute [682] is of two kinds, (1) permanent, i. e., substituted for a kind of alleviation, not for a necessitating cause; (2) not permanent, i. e., substituted for a necessitating cause, either a vowel necessitating, or a consonant in a state necessitating, the conversion of what follows it. And, in the *dim.* and broken *pl.*, the necessitating cause being removed by the removal either of the vowel, or of the state of that consonant, the substitute is restored to its *o. f.* (IY). The substitute,

(1) when not permanent, is restored to its *o. f.*, as in the broken *pl.*: you say (a) مُوَيِّزِينَ [and مُوَايِّزِينَ (11)], *dim.* [and broken *pl.* (IY)] of مَيِّزَان [247, 685]; and [hence (IY)] قَوِيلٌ, *dim.* of قِيلَ [when a man's name (IY)] or قِيلَ (M); and رُوَيْحَةٌ [282] and أَرْوَاحٌ, *dim.* and *pl.* of رِيحٌ [685]; because in the *dim.* and broken *pl.* the و is mobilized, and the Kasra removed: and similarly مُيَيِّقُنْ and مُيَيِّسِرٌ, *dims.* of مُوَقِّنْ and مُوَسِّرٌ [686], because the quiescence of the ي is removed by the formation of the *dim.* (IY): (b) مُوَبِّعٌ and مُيَيِّسِرٌ, *dims.* of مُتَّعِدٌ and مُتَّسِرٌ [689] (M), because the ت of الْإِفْتِعَالُ is elided in the *dim.* [283]: this is the opinion of Zj [below] (IY): (c) نُيَيْبٌ and بُوَيْبٌ, *dims.* of نَابٌ and بَابٌ [684, 703, 711] (M), because the ا does not co-exist with Damm of the preceding letter (IY): (2) when permanent, is not restored to its *o. f.*, you say (a) قَوَيْلٌ *dim.* of قَائِلٌ (M), and بُيَيْعٌ *dim.* of بَائِعٌ [683, 708], with Hamza, which none of our school dispute, except Jr [below] (IY): (b) نُكَيْمَةٌ *dim.* of نُكْمَةٌ [689] (M), by common consent of our school, because the substitution is only for a kind of alleviation, which is as desirable in the *dim.* as in the *non-dim.*; nay, is more suitable in the *dim.*, because the *dim.* is increased in heaviness by the augment in it (IY): and similarly with the ت of ثَرَاتٌ [689] (M), *dim.* ثَرِيَّتٌ (IY); and the Hamza of أَدَدٌ

[below] (M), *dim.* أُدَيْدٌ, because it is pronounced with Damm in the *dim.* also (IY); (c) عَيْدٌ *dim.* of عِيدٌ a *festi-
val*, [where the substitution is considered permanent (IY),] because you say أَعْيَادٌ (M) in the broken *pl.* [below] (IY). Restore the second [letter (A) of the *dim.* (IA, Aud, A) *n.* (IA, A)] to its *o. f.*, when it is soft, converted (IM) from a soft letter (Aud, A), as IM says in the CK; but properly from anything but a Hamza immediately following a Hamza: so that this includes six things, (1) a , converted into (a) ى (A), as قِيمَةٌ *price* [685], *dim.* قُومَةٍ (IM); (b) ا , as بُيُوتٌ *dim.* بَابٌ [above]: (2) a ى converted into (a) و , as مُوقِنٌ *dim.* مَيِّقُنٌ [above]; (b) ا , as نَابٌ *dim.* نَيْبٌ [above]: (3) a Hamza converted into ى , as ذَيْبٌ [658, 685], *dim.* ذُوبٌ [below]: (4) a sound letter other than Hamza, as دِينَارٌ and قِرَاطٌ [685], *dims.* دُنَيْنِيرٌ and قُرَيْطٌ [below] (A). IM means by "conversion" unrestricted substitution, as he phrases it in the Tashīl, because conversion, in the conventional language of the Etymologists, is not applied to the substitution of a soft for a sound letter, [as in دِينَارٌ and قِرَاطٌ, and as in ذَيْبٌ upon the ground that the Hamza is a sound letter (Sn)]; nor to the converse, [as in مُتَعَدٌ (Sn)]: but to substitution of one unsound letter for another. The soft letter substituted for a Hamza immediately following a Hamza is

to be excepted from his language, as he excepts it in the Tashīl, like the ا of ^{أَدَمُ} and the ي of ^{أَيِّمَةٌ} [661], which are not restored to their *o. f.*, the ا of ^{أَدَمُ} being converted into و, [below]; and ^{أَيِّمَةٌ} having a homomorphous *dim.*

(A), ^{أَيِّمَةٌ} (Jh, Sn), says Mz, who does not convert; while Akh says ^{أَوِيْمَةٌ}, converting the Hamza into و, (Jh). And the same [rule (Aud A), as to restoration of the second to its *o. f.* (A),] is prescribed for the [broken (IA, Aud, A)] *pl.* (IM), in which [the vocalization of] the initial is altered (Aud, A), as [^{أَبْوَابُ} *pl.* (IA, A)] ; ^{أَبْوَابُ} ; ^{أَنْبَابُ} *pl.* (IA, A)] ^{أَنْبَابُ} (IA, Aud, A), and ^{مَوَازِينُ} *pl.* (A)] ^{مَوَازِينُ} (Aud, A), except what is anomalous, like ^{أَعْيَادُ} [below], and

حَمَى لَا يُحَكِّلُ الدَّهْرُ إِلَّا بِإِذْنِنَا * وَلَا نَسْأَلُ الْأَقْوَامَ عَقْدَ الْمِيثَاقِ
[by 'Iyād Ibn Umm Durra at-Tā'i, a heathen poet, Our preserve is a preserve that is never made free, save by our leave; nor do we ask of the peoples the contracting of engagements (MN), cited by IAr (Jh)], meaning ^{المَوَاقِيقُ} (A), which I have seen in the Nawādir of AZ (MN); contrary to such as [^{قِيَمَةٌ} *pl.* (A)] ^{قِيَمٌ} and [^{دِيَمَةٌ} *pl.* (A)] ^{دِيَمٌ} [238] (Aud, A), in which, [the vocalization of] the initial not being altered, the second remains as it was (A). Syt, however, in the Ham', does not make restoration peculiar to the soft second, since he says that the

substitute is restored to its *o. f.*, (1) if it be a final, unrestrictedly, whether soft, as in *مَلْهَى* [229, 727], or not soft, as in *مَاء* and *سِقَاء* [683], *dims.* *مُلْكِيَّة*, [*orig.* *مُلْكِيَّهُ*], the | being reconverted into و, which is then converted into ي, because of its finality after a Kasra, *مُوِيَّة* [below], and *سُقَى*; as one says in the broken *pl.* *مَلَاة* [248], *مِيَاء* [below] and *أَمْوَاء*, and *أَسْقِيَّة*; because the formations of the *dim.* and broken *pl.* restore things to their *o. fs.* [282]: (2) if it be not a final, then on two conditions, that it be soft, and that it be a substitute for something other than a Hamza immediately following a Hamza, as *مَالٌ* *wealthy* [703], *قِيلٌ* [above], *رَيَّانٌ* [below], *مِيرَانٌ* [above], and *مُوقِنٌ* [above], *dims.* *مُوبِلٌ*, *قَوِيلٌ*, *رَوَّيَّانٌ*, *مُوبِرِينَ*, and *مُيَيِّقِنٌ*, because the cause of the substitution is removed; and as *فَيْرَاطٌ* and *ذَيْبٌ* [above], *dims.* *فَيْرِيطٌ* and *ذَوَيْبٌ*: whereas, if it be a sound letter substituted for a sound or soft letter, it is not restored to its *o. f.*, but the word forms its *dim.* as it stands, as *تُخَمَّةٌ* *dim.* *تُخَيْمَةٌ* and *تَرَاتٌ* *dim.* *تَرَيْثٌ* [above], *أَبَابٌ* *dim.* *أَبَيْبٌ* [683], and *قَاتِمٌ* *dim.* *قَوَيْثِمٌ* [below]; and so, if it be [a soft letter] substituted for a Hamza immediately following a Hamza, as *أَدَمٌ* *dim.* *أَوَيْدِمٌ* [below], without restoration of the | to its *o. f.*, the Hamza (Sn). When the formation of the *dim.* removes the cause of

conversion [275], then in some cases the GG dispute whether the effect is removed by the removal of the cause, or is not; while in others they agree that it is. They agree upon the reversion of the converted letter to its *o. f.* in the case of (1) the ^ا converted from the ^ي, or ^ي, when second, because mobile, and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath, as ^{بَابُ} and ^{نَابُ} [above], *dims.* ^{بَرِيْبُ} and ^{نَيِيْبُ}, because the Fatha of the preceding letter is removed (R): (a) the KK allow ^{نَوِيْبُ} with the ^ي, in the *dim.* of such as ^{نَابُ}, the ^ا of which is a ^ي; and they also allow the ^ي in such as ^{شَيْخُ} to be changed into ^ي, [as ^{شَوِيْحُ} (Sn)]: while IM agrees with them in the Tashīl that the substitution [in both ^{نَابُ} and ^{شَيْخُ}, as distinctly stated in the Tashīl (Sn),] is allowable, though inferior; and he is corroborated by the fact that ^{بَوِيْضَةٌ} has been heard as *dim.* of ^{بَيْضَةٌ}, which, according to the BB, is anomalous (A): (b) the ^ا [in such as ^{بَابُ} (R)], when its *o. f.* is unknown, is converted into ^ي, [according to S (R), because the class of the ^ي is more numerous in this *cat.* than the class of the ^ي (IY),] as [^{صَابُ} and ^{آءُ}, which are two *trees*, *dims.* ^{صَوِيْبُ} and ^{أَوِيَاةُ}; while Akh makes it a ^ي, because of the lightness of the latter, saying ^{صَيِيْبُ} and ^{أَيِيَاةُ}: but he says (R)] ^{خَوِيْفُ} [and ^{صَوِيْبُ}, with the ^ي, only (R),] in the *dim.* of ^{خَائُ} *timid* [and ^{صَائُ} *woolly*,

the *o. f.* of whose *l* is unknown, because they are (R) *orig.* either خَافٌ (IY, R) and صَافٌ [708], the ع being elided, in which case the *l*, being *aug.*, must be converted into و, as in صَوِّبٌ [below] (R); or خَوِّفٌ [and صَوِّفٌ (R)], like مَالٌ [above] (IY, R), in which case the *l* is restored to its *o. f.*, as in بَوِّبٌ: (c) similarly he says that the *l* in فَتَّى [275, 293] is restored to its *o. f.*, because the Fatha of the preceding letter is removed; and so in عَصَا [275], though the و is then converted into ى [279, 280]: (2) the ى converted from the و, because quiescent, and preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr, as مِيقَاتٌ [685] and رِيحٌ [above], *dims.* مَرِيقِيَّتٌ and رَوْبَكَةٌ, as you say in the *pl.* مَوَاقِيْتُ [and أَرْوَاحٌ (Jh, KF)]: (a) some of the K.K. relate that there are Arabs who do not reconvert it into و, in the *pl.*, as حِمَى لَا يُكَدُّ الْحَمَى [above] (R) and أَرْيَاحٌ (Jh, KF): (b) they say عَيْدٌ *dim.* of عِيدٌ [above] (IM, R), anomalously (IM), by analogy عَوِيدٌ (IA, A), in order to distinguish it from the *dim.* of عُرْدٌ (R, Aud, A); and so they say أَعْيَادٌ [686] *pl.* of عِيدٌ [above] (R, A), and أَعْوَادٌ *pl.* of عُرْدٌ α *piece of wood* (R): (3) قُرَيْيْتُ and دُنَيْيَرٌ [above], because the Kasr necessitating conversion of the first of the double letters into ى is removed, as in [the *pls.*] قَرَارِيْطٌ and دَنَانِيْرٌ [685]: (4) the

ى substituted for the , because of its combination with the ى , and the quiescence of the first, as طَى and لَى [685, 747], *dims.* طَوَى and لَوَى , because the first is mobile in the *dim.* ; and similarly طَبَّانُ *lank-bellied* and رَبَّانُ *satisfied with drinking* [above], *dims.* طَوَّبَّانُ and رَوَّبَّانُ , as you say in the *pl.* طَوَّرَاءُ and رَوَّرَاءُ [685, 713] ; and similarly قَى *a desert, orig.* قَوَى , [*dim.* قَوَى (S)] : (5) the Hamza substituted for the , or ى because of its finality after the *aug.* ا [683, 721, 723], as عَطَاءُ *dim.* عَطَى [279, 281], and قَضَاءُ [*dim.* قَضَى (S)] : (a) similarly you convert the Hamza of coordination in such as حَرْبَاءُ [273, 385, 683] into ى , saying حَرْبَى [282], because its *o. f.* is ى : (b) if the Hamza be original, you leave it alone, as أَلَاةٌ *dim.* of أَلَاةٌ *α bitter tree* ; and, if you do not know whether the Hamza be original, or a substitute for the , or ى , you leave it in the *dim.* as it was, and do not convert it, unless there exists some indication of necessity for its conversion, because the Hamza is present, and there is no indication that it was *orig.* anything else : (c) similarly you restore the *o. f.* of the second ى in بَرِيَّةٌ *creation, mankind* [658], *vid.* the Hamza, according to those who say that it is from بَرَأَ *He created*, because the Hamza is converted into ى only on account of the quiescence of the ى before it, in order that the ى may be incorporated into it ; while

those who say that بَرِيَّةٌ is from الْبَرَى *dust* do not pronounce it with Hamza in the *dim.* : (d) similarly نَبِيٌّ a *prophet* [658], according to S, is *orig.* with Hamza, which is alleviated by incorporation [of the ي into it], as in بَرِيَّةٌ ; so that the *dim.* ought by analogy to be نَبِيٌّ : but, says S, when you form its *dim.* or its *pl.* أَنْبِيَاءُ , you discard the Hamza, because alleviation of the Hamza is prevalent in نَبِيٌّ, saying in the *dim.* نَبِيٌّ with two ي s, by elision of the third, as in أَحَى [281]; and in the *pl.* أَنْبِيَاءُ [273]: (6) the ا of آدَمَ [661, 684] in the *dim.* and *pl.* [247, 661, 686]; though, in both of them, something happens to the Hamza, which necessitates its conversion into و, [below]: (7) ذَوَاتِبُ when a man's name, *dim.* ذَوَيْتِبُ with two Hamzas inclosing the ي, because ذَوَاتِبُ is *orig.* ذَالَاتِبُ with two Hamzas, since it is *pl.* of ذَوَابَةٌ [246]: (8) شَاءَ and مَاءَ [683]: S says that the *dim.* of شَاءَ is شَوِيٌّ, [while that of شَاءَ is شَوِيَّةٌ (S)]: for شَاءَ, says he, is *orig.* شَوِيٌّ or شَوُوٌّ, the ع being converted into ا, and the ج into Hamza; though this is anomalous, involving a combination of two alterations, while analogy requires only conversion of the ج into ا [728]: and, says he, شَاءَ is not from شَاءَ, because the *o. f.* of the latter is شَرَعَةٌ [260, 683], as is proved by [its *dim.* (Jh)] شَوِيَّةٌ [above]; but شَاءَ in relation to شَاءَ is like

نِسْوَةٍ [in relation] to امْرَأَةٍ [21, 255, 257]: and he cites the *pl.* شَرَى, like كَلِيب [237, 255, 257], as a proof that its ل is an unsound letter: but Mb says that شَرَى is a heteromorphous *pl.* of شَاء, which is *orig.* شَوَّة; so that شَاء is from شَاة [orig. شَوَّهَة], like تَمْر from تَمَرَة [254]; the ع being converted into ا, according to analogy, as in بَاب [684, 703, 711]; and then the ا into Hamza, because of its faintness after the ا, which also is faint; and that, this being like مَاء *orig.* مَوَّة, you say شَوِيَّة *dim.* of شَاء, like مَوِيَّة *dim.* of مَاء [275], because, the faint ا being removed in the *dim.*, the ل is restored to its *o. f.*, as you say in the *pl.* شِيَاء [260] and مِيَاء [above]: (9) the م of فَم [275], because the و was made a م lest it should be elided, in consequence of the combination of the two quiescents, in which case the *n.* would remain *unil.* [687]. They dispute about the reversion of the converted letter to its *o. f.* in the case of (1) the *cat.* of قَاتِم [and بَاتِع (S)]; (2) the *cat.* of مُتَعِد [and مُتَسِر]; (3) [the *cat.* of] اَدُور and نَزُور *indigo, woad, lamp-black* [683]. S says that, in the whole [of these *cats.*], the converted letters are not restored to their *o. fs.* in the *dim.*: but you say قَوِيَّت [and بَوِيَّت (S)] and اَدِيَّت with Hamza after, and نَوِيَّت with Hamza before, the ي; and مُتَعِد

[below] and مُتَيِّزٌ with the ت, by elision of the ت of الْأَفْتَعَال [283] (R). Jr, however, [differing from him on the first (R),] says قَوَّيْدٌ and بَوَّيْعٌ without Hamza (IY, R), because the condition of the alteration is gone (R), since the Hamza, says he, was only on account of the transformation of the ع by reason of its occurrence after an *aug.* ١, and its vicinity to the end [683, 708], whereas in the *dim.* the ١ is removed ; while S and his school rely upon the strength of the Hamza here, by reason of its retention in the broken *pl.*, as بَوَّاعٌ and قَوَّاعٌ [247], which all the Arabs pronounce with Hamza, for which reason the Hamza in قَائِلٌ and بَائِعٌ is considered permanent (IY). And Zj, differing from him on such as مُتَعَدِّ [and مُتَسَرِّ], says مُوَبَّعِدٌ [and مُيَبَّسِرٌ], because the cause [of conversion], vid. the occurrence of the و [or ي] before the ت, is gone, since the ت is elided in the *dim.* [283] (R) : while S says مُتَيَّعِدٌ [above], مُتَيِّزٌ, and مُتَيَّسِرٌ, because the rule, in his opinion, is that, when substitution is necessary in the case of the ف or ع on account of a cause, which is afterwards removed by the formation of the *dim.*, the substitute is not altered, as though the formation of the *dim.* supplied the place of the cause ; so that, when the ت of الْأَفْتَعَال is elided in the *dim.*, the first ت remains as it was. The first [opinion, that of Zj,] is

approved by Z and IY as being] more conformable to analogy (IY): but IM's rule [for restoration of the converted second] excludes what is not soft, [which is therefore not restored to its *o. f.* (A)]; so that you say مُتَّعِدٌ [and مُتَّيَسِّرٌ] in the *dim.* of مُتَّعِدٌ [and مُتَّيَسِّرٌ], contrary to the opinion of Zj (Aud, A) and F (Aud); the opinion of S being correct, because مُوَعِدٌ [and مُوَيَّسِّرٌ] would be fancied to be *dim.* of مُوَعِدٌ or مُوَعِدٌ [and of مُوَسِّرٌ or مُوَيَّسِّرٌ] (A). As for such as أَدَوْرٌ and نَوْرٌ, the fact that the cause of the conversion of the , into Hamza, vid. its being pronounced with Damm, disappears in the *dim.* is not heeded by S, because such conversion, though universally allowable in every , permanently pronounced with Damm, is still only approvable, not necessary, the use of the pure , pronounced with Damm being also allowable, as وَجُوَّةٌ [683]; so that this cause also is like no cause: but Mb, differing from him, says أُدِيرٌ with the double ي [279], and نُورٌ with the pure , [658]. There is no dispute about such as تُخَمَّةٌ and تُرَاتٌ [above], because the conversion of the , into ت is on account of its being pronounced with Damm at the beginning of the word, since they dislike to begin [a word] with a heavy letter vocalized with the heaviest of the vowels, while the Damma exists in the *dim.* also; and because this conversion is not universal, contrary to the conversion in such

as اِتَّعَدَ [689] (R). اُدَدُ *Udad*, [a name (S),] i.e., Udad Ibn Zaid Ibn Kahlān Ibn Saba, father of a clan of AlYaman, [triptote, like نُقَبٌ *holes, perforations, bores*, not made to deviate (IY), like عُمُر (S, Jh), and not used with the *art.* (S),] is [said to be (R)] orig. وُدَدُ [from اَلْوَدُّ (IY)], its , being converted into Hamza because [deemed heavy to begin with, when (R)] pronounced with Damm, as in [اُجُوَّةُ and (R)] اُقْتَتَتْ [683] (IY, R) ; but I do not know what induces them to assert that the Hamza of اُدَدُ is converted from the , , and what prevents اُدَدُ from being composed of اَدَدُ , whence اَلَادُّ meaning *the great matter* and other words (R). The *aug.* † (IM), [or rather] every *aug.* letter of prolongation other than the , (R), is [necessarily (IA)] converted [in the *dim.* (R, IA)] into , , when it is second (IM, R), because the letter before it is pronounced with Damm (R), as ضَارِبٌ [275, 281, 373] (R, IA, Aud, A), ضَيْرَابٌ [332, 685], and طَوْمَارٌ [377] (R), *dims.* ضَوَيْرِبٌ [287, 293, 686] (R, IA, A), طَوَيَيْرٌ ; whereas, if not *aug.*, as قَيْرٌ *tar* and نَابٌ *a canine tooth*, it is not converted, but you say قَيَّيرٌ and نَيَّيبٌ [above] (R). Similarly the † whose origin is unknown (IM), as صَابٌ (Aud, A), *dim.* صَوَيْبٌ [above] (A), whence عَاجٌ *ivory*, *dim.* عَوَيْجٌ

(IA, A); and the **ا** substituted for a Hamza immediately following a Hamza, as **أَدِمُ** *dim.* **أَوَيْدِمُ**, as above intimated (A); and the **ا** converted from **و**, as **بَابُ** above. Thus the **ا**, when second, is converted, in the *dim.*, into **و**, in four cases; as it is converted into **ي** in one case, vid. when it is converted from **ا** **ي**, [as **نَابُ** above] (Sn). And [the predicament of (A)] the broken *pl.* [in conversion of the **ا**, when second (A),] is like [that of (A)] the *dim.*, as **صَوَارِبُ** [247, 686] (IA, A) *pl.* of **ضَارِبَةٌ** (IA), and **أَوَادِمُ** [247, 661, 686] (A). When you form the *dim.* of a word containing a transposition, you do not restore the letters to their places, as **لَاثٍ** and **شَاكٍ**, *orig.* **لَاثٌ** and **شَاكٌ** [708]; **قُسَى** when a proper name, *orig.* **قُوسٌ** [243]; and **أَيْنُقُ** [238], *orig.* **أَنُوقُ** [256]; *dims.* **لَوَيْثٌ** and **قُسَى** with Kasr of the **ث** and **ك** [276], **أَيِّنُقُ**; because the inducement to transposition is convenience of speech, which is not removed by the *dim.* formation (R). A transposed *n.* [then] makes its *dim.* according to its [present] form, not according to its *o. f.*, as **جَاهُ** *rank*, from **الرَّجَاهَةُ**, [being *orig.* **رَجَةٌ** (Sn)]; but transposed, [the **ع** being put before the **ف**, and the **ف** then converted into **ا**, because mobile and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath (Sn)]; *dim.* **جَوْدَةٌ**, without

reversion to the *o. f.*, because there is no need of that (A).

§ 279. [Z followed by] IH here [279-281] sets forth the predicament of the *ns.* in which the letter after the *ى* of the *dim.* must be converted into *ى*, and have the *ى* of the *dim.* incorporated into it. They are of two kinds, (1) those in which two *ى* s are combined at the formation of the *dim.* [279, 280]; (2) those in which three *ى* s are combined [281] (Jrb). When the *ى* of the *dim.* is immediately followed by a , , [as in عُرَّة (Jrb),] or by an | converted, [as in عَصَا (Jrb),] or *aug.*, [as in رِسَالَةٌ (Jrb),] this letter is converted into *ى*, [and has the *ى* of the *dim.* incorporated into it (Jrb),] as عَرِيَّة [280], عَصِيَّة [280, 282], and رَسِيلَةٌ; and is seldom sounded true in the *cat.* of أُسَيْدٌ [287] and جَدَيْلٌ (SH), *dims.* of أُسَوْدٌ and جَدَوَلٌ, where أُسَيْرٌ [287] and جَدَيْرٌ occur, which is not a chaste *dial. var.* (Jrb). Such *ns.* belong to the *cat.* in which the cause of conversion supervenes in the formation of the *dim.* [275]. The , or | is not converted unrestrictedly, but upon condition that it be not followed by two letters occurring in the position of the [second] ع and the ل of فُعَيْلٌ in the *dim.*; for, if followed by two such letters, it must be elided, as likewise must every *ى* in such a position, as مُقَيْتِلٌ *dim.* of

مُقَاتِلٌ by elision of the ا, since مُفَيِّعٌ with double ي is not one of the formations of the *dim.*; and similarly تُقَاتِلُ *dim.* of تُقَاتِلُ, when a proper name, by elision of the و; and similarly حَمِيرٌ *dim.* of أَحْمِيرٌ, by elision of the ي together with the *conj.* Hamza [283]. The ا and و are converted into ي only when they occur in the position of (1) the ل of نُفَيْلٌ, as أُدَيُّ *dim.* of إِذَا when a proper name [292], and عُرَّةٌ *dim.* of عُرَّةٌ [280]; (2) the [second] ع of نُفَيْعٌ, as رُسَيْلَةٌ *dim.* of رِسَالَةٌ [above], and عَجَزٌ *dim.* of عَجُوزٌ [below]. They are converted into ي only because, in that case, they must be mobilized; and, when the و is mobilized, while preceded by a quiescent ي, it must be converted into ي [685]; and, when you intend to mobilize the ا, then to make it a ي is better, because, if made a و, it must be converted into ي for the reason mentioned; while to make it a Hamza would be strange, though it is from the same source as the Hamza [732], because approximation in quality is more frequently regarded in the unsound letters than approximation in source. The و occurring [immediately] after the ي of the *dim.*—I mean the و that is not elided—is either a ل [280], or not a ل (R). The و, when it occurs as a medial, is second, [as جَوَّةٌ]; or third, [as أَسَدٌ]; or fourth, [as مُعَاوِيَةُ] (IY). When the و is second, it is not

altered in the *dim.*, because it is mobilized [with Fath in the *dim.* (IY)]; so that its being followed by the *ى* of the *dim.* does not change it into *ى* (S)], as *جَوْرَةٌ* *dim.* *جَوْرَةٌ* (S, IY). When the *و* is (S, M, R) third, [a medial (M), either an *ع* or an augment (S),] as in *أَسْوَدٌ* and *جَدَوَلٌ* [369, 675] (S, M), not a *ل* (R), then, (1) if it be quiescent [in the *non-dim.* (R)], as in *عَجُوزٌ* [and *جَزُورٌ* (R)], it is always converted into *ى* [in the *dim.*, and has the *ى* of the *dim.* incorporated into it (IY)], as *عُكَيْزٌ* (IY, R) and *جَزِيرٌ* (R): (2) if it be mobile [in the *non-dim.* (R)], then, whether it be [*rad.* (R), an *ع* (IY),] as in *أَسْوَدٌ* [and *مَرُودٌ* (R)], or *aug.*, [for co-ordination (IY),] as in *جَدَوَلٌ*, [you have two ways of forming the *dim.*; for (IY)] conversion [with incorporation (IY)] is [more (R)] frequent (IY, R) and excellent (IY), but may be omitted (R): (a) the [more (M)] excellent way is to say *أُسَيْدٌ* (S, M), *مُرَيْدٌ* (S), and *جَدَيْلٌ* (M), because the quiescent *ى* changes the *و*, after it into *ى* (S); but some of the Arabs display (S, M) the *و* (S, IY) in the whole of what we have mentioned (S), as *أُسَيْرٌ*, [*مُرَيْرٌ*,] and *جَدَيْرٌ* (S, M, R), which is the stranger of the two ways, leaving the *و*, as it was before the formation of the *dim.* (S): (b) the latter way (a) is [said by some to be (R)] allowable for conformity with the broken *pl.* *أَسَاوِدٌ*

serpents, [مَرَادُ (S),] and جَدَاوِلُ [253] (IY, R), since the *dim.* and broken *pl.* follow one course [274] (IY); whereas, if that were so, مُقَيِّمٌ and مُقَيَّرٌ would be allowable as *dims.* of مَقَامٌ and مَقَالٌ, like [the broken *pls.*] مَقَاوِمٌ and مَقَاوِلُ [below] (R): but (b) is [correctly (R)] said to be because the , is strong by reason of its mobility (IY, R) in the *sing.*, since they convert the , into ى in the broken *pl.* ثِيَابٌ [242], where it is quiescent in the *sing.* [ثَوْبٌ], but do not convert it in طَوَالٌ [246, 713], where it is mobile in the *sing.* طَوِيلٌ (IY); and because it is not at the end, which is the seat of alteration; and because the ى of the *dim.* is adventitious, not permanent (R): (c) the former way is preferable, because conformity with the broken *pl.* is weak, not universal; since they say مَقَاوِمٌ and مَقَاوِلُ [714, 717], displaying the , in the [broken] *pl.* of مَقَالٌ and مَقَامٌ; and still say مُقَيَّرٌ and مُقَيِّمٌ in the *dim.* (IY). As for مَعَارِيَةٌ [281], the same treatment is allowable in it as in أَسْوَدٌ, because the , is part of the word itself, is *orig.* mobile, and is retained in the *pl.* مَعَارٍ (S). And similarly the Hamza converted [from the ! converted from a , or ى (R)] after the [aug. (R)] ! (SH), which immediately follows the ى of the *dim.* (R), is converted into ى (R, Jrb), which is afterwards elided [281] (R),

as in [عَطَى and قَضَى, *dims.* of] عَطَا [and قَضَا], *orig.* عَطَا [and قَضَا] (Jrb).

§ 280. The [و, when it occurs as a (M)] ل [279] (M, R), whether it be sounded true or altered (M), is always converted into ي, as [عَزَوْ raiding and (R)] عَزَا a loop or handle, *dim.* [غَزَى and (R)] غَزَا [279] (M, R); رَضَى [272] and (M) عَشَوَا weak-sighted, blind by night, *dim.* [رَضِيَا and (M)] عَشِيَا (M, R); غَزَوَان raiding, *dim.* غَزِيَان; غَزَوِيَّة rel. n. of غَزَوْ [281], *dim.* غَزَوِيَّة with two double ي s (R); عَصَا [and قَفَا (IY)], *dim.* عَصِيَّة [279, 282] (M) and قَفَى [281]: and may not be sounded true, as in أُسِيرُوا [279], because the ل is weak by reason of its finality [281], while the ع is strong by reason of its mediality (IY).

§ 281. When three ي s are combined (Jh, IY, SH), [i. e.,] when two ي s are combined with the ي of the *dim.* (M), at the end of the word (IY, Jrb), then, if the first be the ي of the *dim.* (Jh), the last being final, literally, as in أُحْيِي, or constructively, as in مَعْيِيَّة [266], and the second being pronounced with Kasr, [and having the first] incorporated into [it] (R), the last (M, SH) one of them (Jh) is elided (Jh, M, SH) as forgotten, according to the chastest [usage] (SH), the *dim.* becoming of the paradigm فَعِيلٌ (M). The elision is

(IY, R, Jrb) necessary for the sake of alleviation (R) on account of the heaviness of the [combination of (IY)] ى s; and the last is peculiarly distinguished by it, because of the frequency with which alteration makes its way to the final [280, 306] (IY, Jrb). That [elision of the last ى] does not take place in the *v.*, as حَيًّا *preserved alive, saluted, aor.* يُحَيِّي; nor in the *part.*, as الْمَحْيِي [below] (R). For every *n.* wherein three ى s are combined must be examined: and then, if it be not a *part.*, the J is elided from it, as عَطَى *dim.* of عَطَاء and أَحَى *dim.* of أَحَرَى [below]; but, if it be a *part.*, the J is retained, as مَحْيَى *fem.* مَحْيِيَّة, from حَيَّا *aor.* يُحَيِّي [301] (Jh). You say (1) عَطَاء [orig. عَطَا (Jh),] *dim.* عَطَى [above] (Jh, M, SH), the ة being converted into ى [279] (IY, R, Jrb), as in حِمَار [275] (R), *dim.* حَمِير [282, 293], (ID, Jh, KF); so that the Hamza reverts to its *o. f.*, vid. the , (IY, R, Jrb), as عَطِير (Jrb), because of the removal of the ة before it (R); and is then converted into ى [279], because it is [final and (R, Jrb)] preceded by a Kasra [685] (IY, R, Jrb), as عَطِي (Jrb); and, three ى s being then combined, the third is elided (IY, R, Jrb) as forgotten (R, Jrb), the *dim.* becoming like the *dim.* of *trils.*, as قَفَى [280] (IY); so that عَطَى remains, the inflection being placed upon the second (R, Jrb), as هَذَا عَطَى *This is a little gift*; whereas, if

the third were reckoned, عَطِي [below] would be said in the *nom.*, like قَاصِي [16, 720] (Jrb) : (2) إِدَاوَةٌ *a small water-bag* [721, 726], *dim.* أُدِيَّة (M, SH), like عَطَاء (IY, R, Jrb), there being no difference between them, except that the ل of إِدَاوَةٌ is not converted into ا, and then into Hamza, because it is not final, as the ل of عَطَاء is (R) : (3) غَاوِيَةٌ *erring*, [فَاعِلَةٌ from غَى *error* (IY), and i. q. رَاوِيَةٌ *a camel carrying water* (KF),] *dim.* غَوِيَّة (M, SH), on the model of فَعِيكَةٌ, but really upon the measure of فَوَيْعَةٌ (IY), being *orig.* غَوِيَوِيَّة (Jrb), because the ا is converted into و, (IY, R, Jrb) in the *dim.* (Jrb), as in ضَارِبٌ [278] ; and the [second (Jrb)], [of غَوِيَوِيَّة (Jrb), which is the ع of the word (IY, R),] into ي (IY, R, Jrb) ; and the ي of the *dim.* incorporated into it [279] (IY, Jrb), as غَوِيِيَّة (Jrb) ; so that three ي s are combined (IY, R, Jrb) ; and the last is then elided, as above (IY) : (4) مُعَاوِيَّةٌ *a bitch in heat and a fox-cub*, *dim.* مُعِيَّة (KF), [and] مُعَاوِيَّةٌ *Mu'āwiya*, [the son of Abū Sufyān (KF), from تَعَارَى الْقَوْمُ *The people hallooed one another on*, i. e., *called one another, to a fight or some thing else* (ID),] *dim.* مُعِيَّة (Jh, M, SH), *orig.* مُعِيرِيَّة (Jrb), because its ا is elided (IY, R, Jrb), as in [مُضَارِبٌ and] مُقَاتِلٌ [283] (R) ; and the و, [which is the ع (IY,

R) of the word (IY),] is converted into **ي** (IY, R, Jrb); and the **ي** of the *dim.* incorporated into it (Jrb), according to those who say **أَسِيدٌ** [279] (IY); and, [it being followed by the **ي**, which is the **ل** of the word (IY),] three **ي** s are combined; so that the last is elided (IY, Jrb) as forgotten (Jrb); and **مُعِيَّةٌ** remains, upon the measure of **مُفِيْعَةٌ** (IY), as

وَقَاءُ يَا مُعِيَّةٌ مِنْ أَبِيهِ * لِمَنْ أَوْفَى بِعَهْدٍ أَوْ بَعْدٍ

Keeping a promise, O little Mu'āwīya, on behalf of his father, is proper for him that keeps a covenant or a compact (IY, R): (5) **أَحْوَى** [300] (Jh, M, SH), **أَفْعَلٌ** from **حَوْءٌ**, its **ع** and its **ل** being **ا**, and the **ا**, that is fourth being converted into **ي** [685, 727] (IY), *dim.* **أَحَى** (Jh, M, SH), *orig.* **أَحْيَوُ**, the last **ا**, being converted into **ي** because preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr, as **أَحْيَوِي**; and (Jrb) the [first (Jrb)],, [which is an **ع** (IY, R),] being [then (Jrb)] converted into **ي** [279] (IY, R, Jrb); and the **ي** of the *dim.* incorporated into it, as **أَحْيِي** (Jrb); so that three **ي** s are combined (IY, R, Jrb); and therefore the last is elided (IY, Jrb), as **أَحَى** [above]. The GG differ as to whether the elision in **أَحَى** is euphonic or arbitrary: IIU, S, and many GG holding that the elision is arbitrary; while IAl holds that it is euphonic. Moreover those who say that it is arbitrary differ as to whether

أَحْيَ is triptote or not (Jrb). After the elision of the third ي (R), أَحْيَ is (1) [still (R)] diptote (S, Jh, M, SH), according to Y, who says أَحْيَ (S, Jh), which is the regular [and correct (S, Jh)] form (S, Jh, SH), in the opinion of S : Jh, IY, R, Jrb) and many GG, on account of the qualification and verbal measure [18], regard to which is not prevented by the formation of the *dim.*, as is proved by their saying هُوَ أَفْضَلُ مِنْكَ [274, 287] (Jrb), because the [quasi-aoristic] augment is extant in its beginning (S); and [similarly] in the *dim.* of يَحْيَى John you say يُحْيَى, [orig. يَحْيَى] (Jh): for, although the verbal measure [يَفْعِلُ or أَفْعِلُ] is removed [in أَحْيَ and يُحْيَى], literally and also constructively, by the elision of the ل as forgotten, still the Hamza [or ي] in the beginning directs attention to, and gives notice of, it; just as such [proper names] as يَعْدُ and يَرَى are diptote by common consent, although they are deficient in verbal measure by reason of the necessary elision of the ف and ع respectively (R): (2) triptote, according to IIU (S, Jh, M, SH), who says أَحْيَ (S, Jh, IY): but, [says S (Jh),] this is a mistake; and, if it were allowable, أَصَمٌ would be triptote (S, Jh), because it is lighter than أَحْمَرٌ; and so would أَرُوسُ heads [below], when used as a name, and pronounced أَرُسٌ without Hamza (S); and so

would أَصِيْمٌ [274] (Jh). Here IIU [apparently (IY)] regards the fact that أَحَيٌّ is [permanently (R)] deficient in, [and excluded from (IY),] the verbal measure (IY, R), contrary to such as أَرَسٌ, a contraction of أَرَسْتُ [above], where the deficiency caused by elision of the Hamza is not permanent; but this is of no account, because the necessary [deficiency] and the allowable [deficiency], as we have mentioned, are alike in such cases when the [quasi-aoristic] letter exists (R). And IAl says أَحَيٌّ (S, Jh, M, SH), like أَحْيَرٌ [below] (Jh), as though he made it defective (IY), not eliding the third as forgotten; but only eliding it with Tanwīn, as the ي in قَامِي is elided; and restoring it with the ل and prothesis, as الْأَحْيَى (R): but [S says that (Jh)], if this were allowable, you would say عَطِي [below] as *dim.* of عَطَاءٌ (S, Jh), because the elided is a ي like this ي, and follows a ي pronounced with Kasr; and سُقْيِيَّةٌ as *dim.* of سَقَايَةٌ [below] (S). F, however, says that IAl does this only because of its resemblance in form to the *v.*, as though it were a *part.*, like الْبَكِيَّةُ [above]; and that so he would say يَحْيَى as *dim.* of يَحْيَى John, [because it has no Tanwīn] (R). Those who say أُسْبِرُدٌ [279] say [only (IY)] أَحْيَرٌ [above] (Jh, M, SH), making it defective (IY); and غَوْبِيَّةٌ (R) and مُعْيَبِيَّةٌ (IY, R), without

converting or eliding anything [except the ا] (IY); because three ي s are not combined (IY, R) at the end (IY), so that the third should be elided as forgotten (R). If, however, the first ي be not the ي of the *dim.*, you elide nothing, saying حَيَّةٌ *a serpent*, *dim.* حَيَّيَّةٌ [297]; مَيَّةٌ *Mayya*, *dim.* مَيَّيَّةٌ; and أَيُّوبُ *Job*, *dim.* أَيُّيُوبُ with four ي s, which you tolerate because they are in the middle of the *n.*; whereas, if they were at the end, you would not combine them (Jh). Jh says that (MAR) [all of] this is the saying of the BB; and, as for the KK, they elide nothing, saying مَعْيِيَّةٌ according to those who say أُسَيْدٌ, and مَعْيِيَّةٌ according to those who say أُسَيُودٌ [279] (Jh). IH's saying "the last is elided as forgotten, according to the chastest [usage]" suggests that it is not elided according to the less chaste [usage]: whereas this is not so; but, subject to the restrictions mentioned, elision of the ي is necessary, by common consent, [as regards both the fact and the character of the elision,] except where the initial is a quasi-aoristic letter, as in أَحَى, where IAl, as above shown, [elides the ي euphonically, but] does not elide it as forgotten. Sf says "You say عَطَاٌ *dim.* عَطَىٌ and قَضَاٌ *dim.* قَضَىٌ [278], إِدَاوَةٌ *dim.* إِدَايَةٌ and سَقَايَةٌ *dim.* سَقَايَةٌ; and nothing else is allowable in this": and IKh says "Analogy requires

alteration like that of قَاضٍ [16], but the [usage] heard is elision of the third as forgotten." Jh and An, indeed, say that the elision is omitted by the KK ; but I believe what they attribute to the KK to be a mistake of theirs. Similarly you elide the final double ي following a double ي, when the second [double ي] does not denote *relation*, as مَرِيَّةٌ *pass. part.* of رَرَى, *dim.* مَرِيَّةٌ, *orig.* مَرِيَّةٌ : and similarly the *dim.* of أَرِيَّةٌ a female mountain-goat [is أَرِيَّةٌ (S)], according to those who say that أَرِيَّةٌ is أَفْعُولَةٌ ; whereas those who say that it is فُعْلِيَّةٌ, the ي denoting *relation*, say أَرِيَّةٌ with two double ي s, like غَزِيَّةٌ *dim.* of غَزَوٍ *rel. n.* of غَزَوٍ [280]. Similarly the *dim.* of عَلَرِيٌّ and عَدَرِيٌّ is عَلِيٌّ and عَدِيٌّ with two double ي s [299]. The reason why you do not elide anything when the *dim.* formation invades the *rel. n.*, as in the *exs.* mentioned, while you elide the ي of the *dim.* when the *rel.* formation invades the *dim.*, as in أَمَرِيٌّ and تَصَرِيٌّ [299], is only that, in the *dim.* of the *rel. n.*, the *rel. n.* is the principal [part of the formation], since it is the qualified, the sense of عَلِيٌّ being مُصَغَّرٌ عَلَرِيٌّ a diminutive 'Alawī, so that its sign may not be discarded ; nor is the sign of the *dim.* discarded, since the *dim.* is the invader, and, when the invader is prevented from annulling the predicament of the invaded, the least that can happen is that its own

predicament should not be annulled by the invaded : whereas, in the *rel. n.* of the *dim.*, the *dim.* is not a principal, since it is not qualified ; but it is subordinate to the *rel. n.*, the sense of ^{جَهَنِّي} قُصْرِي being related to *Kuṣayy*, so that its sign may be discarded in compliance with the inducement of dislike to heaviness ; whereas, the *rel. n.* being an invader, its sign is not discarded. And, according to this rule, the *rel. n.* of [the *dim.*] ^{جُهَيْنَةُ} *Juhaina* is ^{جَهْنِي} جُهْنِي [297], by elision of the ي ; and then the *dim.* of [the *rel. n.*] ^{جُهْنِي} جُهْنِي is ^{جُهَيْنِي} جُهْنِي (R).

§ 282. The ة [of feminization (M)], (1) when expressed [in the *n.* (IY)], is always retained (M, Jrb) in the *dim.*, whether its letters be few or many (IY), as ^{صَارِبَةٌ} *dim. صُورِبَةٌ*, to distinguish between the *dims.* of the *masc.* and the *fem.* (Jrb), because, the ة being equivalent to a *n.* joined on to a *n.* [266], as in ^{حَضْرَمَتْ} [4, 215], the process is to form the *dim.* of the *n.*, of whichever *cat.* it be, and then put the ة, as you do with the *comp.* [290], as ^{تَمْرَةٌ} *a date*, *dim.* ^{تُمَيْرَةٌ} ; ^{قَرْقَرَةٌ} *a rumbling, cooing*, *dim.* ^{قُرَيْقَرَةٌ} ; and ^{سَفْرَجَلَةٌ} *a quince*, *dim.* ^{سَفِيرَجَةٌ} (IY) : (2) when supplied [264], is expressed in [the *dim.* of (IY)] every [*fem.* (IY)] *tril.* (M, Jrb) *n.*, as ^{قَدَمٌ} *a foot*, *dim.* ^{قَدِيمَةٌ} [below], ^{يَدٌ} *a hand*, *dim.* ^{يَدِيَّةٌ} [275], and ^{هِنْدٌ} *Hind*, *dim.* ^{هِنْدِيَّةٌ} [264, 274] (IY), except

in such anomalies as عَرِيسٌ and عَرِيبٌ [below] ; but not in the *quad.*, [because it is deemed heavy (Jrh),] except in such anomalies as قَدِيدِيَّةٌ and وَرَيْكَةٌ [below] (M, Jrh). The ة [of feminization (IM)] is added to [the *dim.* of (IM)] the *fem.* bare [of the ة (SH, Aud, A)]. when *tril.* (SIL, IM), (1) *orig.* and (Aud) actually (Aud, A), like سِنٌ *a tooth* (IM), نَارٌ *fire* (Jh), and دَارٌ *a house* (Aud, A) *dims.* سَنِينَةٌ, [نَوِيرَةٌ (Jh),] and ذَوِيرَةٌ (A) ; (2) *orig.*, [but not actually (Aud),] like يَدٌ (Aud, A), *dim.* يَدِيَّةٌ : (3) ultimately (A) if its trilateralness supervenes because of the formation of the *dim.* (Aud), which [*tril.*] is of two sorts, (a) what is *quad.* by reason of a letter of prolongation before an unsound ل (A), like سَبَاءٌ *sky* (Aud, A), unrestrictedly (Aud), *dim.* سَبِيَّةٌ [below] (A) ; and (b) [the *n.* of three *rad.* (A),] like حَبَلِيٌّ [and حَمْرَاءٌ (Aud)], when the *dim.* is formed by curtailment [264, 291] (Aud, A). Then IM excepts from the rule mentioned two sorts [of *tril. fem. n.*], to [the *dim.* of] which the ة is not affixed, indicating the first by his saying (A) “ so long as it is not seen to be ambiguous by reason of the ة, like شَجَرٌ and بَقَرٌ [254] ” (IM), according to the *dial.* of those who make them *fem.* [271] (A), *dim.* شَجِيرٌ and بُقِيرٌ, because شَجِيرَةٌ [274] and بُقِيرَةٌ would be confounded with the *dim.* of شَجَرَةٌ and بَقَرَةٌ [254] (IA, A) ; “ and [like (Aud)] نَمْرٌ ” (IM), *dim.* نَمِيرٌ (IA, A).

and سِتُّ [dim. سَدَيْسُ] (Aud, Sn), because خَمِيسَةٌ [and سَدَيْسَةٌ (Jh)] would be confounded with the *dim.* of [the *masc. num.* (IA)] خَمْسَةٌ (IA, A) and سِتَّةٌ [314, 758] (Jh); and similarly بَضْعٌ and عَشْرٌ, *dims.* بُضِيعٌ and عَشِيرٌ, because بُضِيعَةٌ and عَشِيرَةٌ would be confounded with [the *dim.* of] the *masc. num.* [بَضْعَةٌ and عَشْرَةٌ (Jh, KF)]: and the second by his saying (A) "and omission [of the ة (Aud, A)] without ambiguity is anomalous" (IM). The ة is affixed to the *dim.* of the *fem.*, when it is *tril.*, because of two matters, that the *fem.* gender is generally accompanied by a sign, and that the *tril.* is light; and, since these two matters are combined, and the formation of the *dim.* restores things to their *o. fs.* [278], they express the sign supplied for that gender (IY). The *dim.* formation produces in the substantive the sense of the *ep.*, since رَجُلٌ means رَجُلٌ صَغِيرٌ [25, 274]; so that the *dim. n.* is equivalent to the qualified [*non-dim.*] together with its *ep.*; and therefore, as you say قَدَمٌ صَغِيرَةٌ a small foot by affixing the ة to the end of the *ep.*, so you say قَدِيمَةٌ [above], by affixing the ة to the end of this *n.*, which is like the end of the *ep.* Some GG, seeing that the *dim.* formation produces in the substantive the sense of the *ep.*, and that there is no sense of qualification in the proper name [147], say that the *dim.* of proper names [287]

is not correct : but what they imagine is of no account, because by forming the *dim.* you do not make the *non-dim.* itself an *ep.*, so that their objection should apply ; but you qualify the *non-dim.*, except that you make the single expression, vid. the *dim.*, like the qualified and *ep.* [together] ; and qualification of proper names is not disapproved, but is common, frequent (R). As for the *qual. n.*, the ة of femininization, when not expressed in its *non-dim.*, is not expressed in its *dim.*, because it is heavier [than the *tril.*]; and the fourth letter, according to them, corresponds to the sign of femininization [300], because the *n.* becomes long by means of it, the number of [letters in] عُنَيْقُ [*dim.* of عُنَاقُ] being like the number of [letters in] قُدَيْمَةٌ [above] (IY). In short, when the *tril.*, which is the lightest of the formations, is invaded by the sense of qualification, they venture upon adding the ة, which is affixed to the end of the *eps.* of the *fem.*: but, when they reach the *n.* of four or more letters, then, since the ة, though an entire word [266], is still like a letter of the word that it is attached to, they do not think fit to add a letter to letters already so numerous that, if a *rad.* were added, they would reject it in the *dim.* [274] ; so that they assume the last letter to be like the ة, which is needed, because the *n.* is an *ep.*, saying عُنَيْبُ *dim.* of عُنَابُ an eagle, and عُقَيْرُ, [not عُقَيْرَةٌ] (D),] *dim.* of عُقْرُبُ a scorpion (R), like زَيْنِبُ *dim.* of

زَيْنَبُ (D). If, however, the *fem.* [*n.* (R)] exceeding three letters contains something that necessitates its being reduced to three in forming the *dim.*, the ة must be added [in its *dim.* (R)], as سَمَاءُ *dim.* سُمَيَّةُ [above] (IY, R), *orig.* سُمَيِّ, like عَطَاءُ *dim.* عَطَى [281] (IY): and similarly, in the curtailed *dim.* of [the augmented *tril.*, as عَنَّا *a she-kid*, عَقَابُ (R),] زَيْنَبُ Zainab, [and سَعَادُ Su'ad (IY),] you say [عَنْيَّةُ, عَقِيَّةُ (R),] زَيْنِيَّةُ (IY, R), and سَعِيدَةُ (IY). If the *tril.* is a generic *n. orig. masc.*, but used as an *ep.* of the *fem.*, as امْرَأَةٌ عَدْلٌ or صَوْمٌ or رُضَى [143], you regard the original gender, *vid.* the *masc.*, in the *dim.*; and do not add the ة, as امْرَأَةٌ عَدِيْلٌ and صَوِيْمٌ and رُضَى (R). In the proper name, however, no regard is paid to the gender of what it is transferred from [4]: but you say رُمَيْكَةُ as *dim.* of رُمَحٌ when a proper name of a woman, and عَيْنِيْنٌ as *dim.* of عَيْنٌ when a proper name of a man, contrary to the opinion of I Amb, who regards the original gender, saying رُمِيْحٌ in the first, and عَيْنِيْنَةُ in the second (A). When you use a *tril.* as a name for a female, you add the ة in its *dim.*, when the *tril.* is (1) *masc.*, like حَكْرٌ and زَيْدٌ; (2) a *fem.*, to whose *dim.* the ة is not affixed before the *tril.* becomes a proper name, like حَرْبٌ and دِرْعٌ [below]. The reason

why the original gender is observed in such as *أَمْرَأَةٌ عَدِيلٌ* and *صَوِيمٌ*, but not in the proper name, is that the *ep.* is not totally excluded from its original meaning, since *أَمْرَأَةٌ عَدْلٌ* means that, from abundance of justice, she, as it were, embodies justice [143], and *أَمْرَأَةٌ حَائِضٌ* means *أَنْسَانٌ حَائِضٌ* [268]; so that in both cases you intend the original meaning, which the expression is applied to denote: whereas in the proper name that is not intended, because it is transferred, and is a secondary application different from the primary, the object of the name being to explain the [person or thing] named, not its own original meaning; so that, when you use *حَجَرٌ* *Stone* as a name, it is as though you used *غَطَافَانُ* *Ghatafan* [4] or some other coined [proper name]; and it is seldom that in the proper name the meaning [of the expression that the name is] transferred from is regarded. Similarly, when you use a *fem.* [*tril.*] bare of the ة, like *أُذُنٌ* *an ear* and *عَيْنٌ* *an eye*, as a name for a male, you do not affix the ة to its *dim.*, because this use is, as we mentioned, a new application (R). Y, however, allow this [regard to the original, as he allows regard to the actual, gender (Sn), saying *أُذَيْنَةٌ* and *عَيْنِيَّةٌ* (R)]; and cites in proof of it [the saying of the Arabs *نَوَيْرَةٌ* *Nuwaira* (A),] *أُذَيْنَةٌ* *Udhaina*, and *عَيْنِيَّةٌ* *Uyaina*, names of men: but

that is no proof, because, [according to the GG (R). it may be that (A)] these words were taken as names [for a male (R)] after the formation of the *dim.* (R, A). When you use ^تبِنْتُ and ^تأُخْتُ as names for a female, you elide this ت, [as when they are not used as names at all (Sn)]; and then form the *dim.*, and affix the *ṣ* of feminization, saying ^تبِنَّةٌ and ^تأُخِيَّةٌ [277]. (A): and, when you use them as names for a male, [and form their *dim.* (R),] you [elide the ت; but (R)] do not affix the *ṣ*, [because the *dim.* is then *masc.* (R),] saying [^تبُنًى and (A)] ^تأُخًى (R, A), by restoration of the elided ل [275] (R). The *ṣ* is anomalously omitted, [notwithstanding the absence of ambiguity (IA, Aud),] in [the *dim.* of (IY, R, 'Aud)] certain [*tril.* (R, Aud)] ns., [not to be copied (A), three of which are mentioned by S (IY, R),] vid (1) ^تحَرْبٌ *war* [above] (IY, R, IA, Aud, A), *dim.* ^تحَرْيَبٌ; (2) ^تنَابٌ *an aged she-camel*, [*dim.* ^تنَيْيَبٌ (IY, R)]; (3) ^تفَرَسٌ *a mare*, (IY, R, A), *dim.* ^تفَرَيْسٌ: and three mentioned by Jr, vid. (IY, R) (4) ^تدَرَعٌ *a coat of mail*, [^تدَرَعٌ *a woman's shift* being *masc.* (Sn), *dim.* of the former ^تدَرِيعٌ (Jh, KF)]; (5) ^تعُرْسٌ [or ^تعُرْسٌ (Sn)] *a marriage-feast* (IY, R, Aud, A), which is *fem.* [241], as

إِنَّا وَجَدْنَا عُرْسَ الْكُفَّاتِ * لَنَيْمَةٍ مَذْمُومَةِ الْكُفَّاتِ

نَدَعَى مَعَ النَّسَاجِ وَالْكَفَّاتِ

(R), by a Rajiz (Jh, MAR), *Verily we found the marriage feast of the wheat-seller to be mean, blameworthy in respect of the managers, we being invited to it with the weaver and the tailor* (MAR), or more properly عَرَسَ a man's wife, and a lion's mate (Sn), *dim.* عَرِيس (IY); (6) قَوْسٌ a bow (IY, R, IA, A), *dim.* قَوَيْسٌ (IA): and the rest transmitted by others, *vid.* (R) (7) عَرَبٌ Arabs (IY, R, Aud, A), *dim.* عَرِيبٌ, as says Abu-lHindi [Ghālīb Ibn 'Abd AlKuddūs (KA, FW)]

وَمَكْنُ الصَّبَابِ طَعَامُ الْعَرِيبِ * وَلَا تَشْتَهِيهِ نَفُوسُ الْعَاجِمِ

And the eggs of the lizards called صَبَب are the food of the grand Arabs, while the souls of the foreigners long not for them (IY), using the *dim.* for magnification, as in اَنَا جَذَيْلُهَا الْحَمْدُ [274] (Jh); (8) ذَوْدٌ a few camels (R, IA, A), *dim.* ذَوَيْدٌ (IA); (9) ضُحَى early forenoon [286] (R, A), *dim.* ضُكَّى (KF); (10) نَعْلٌ a sandal (IA, Aud, A), *dim.* نَعَيْدٌ (IA); (11) شَوَّلٌ [quasi-pl. of شَاذِلَةٌ over whom seven months have passed from her conception, or delivery, so that her milk is scanty, said of a she-camel (Sn), *dim.* شَوَيْدٌ]; (12) نَصَفٌ middle-aged, said of a woman (A), *dim.* نَصِيفٌ (Jh, KF); and the like (Aud). But some of the Arabs make حَرْبٌ and دَرَعٌ masc., in which case they are not of this class; while some affix the ة to [the *dim.* of] عَرَسٌ and قَوْسٌ, saying عَرِيسَةٌ and قَوَيْسَةٌ (A): and فَرَسٌ,

being [a *masc. n.* (IY)] applied to the male and female, [like ^{نَسَانُ} and ^{بَشَرٌ} (IY),] forms its *dim.* according to its [original (IY), prevalent (R),] gender (IY, R); whereas, if the female were [specially] meant, only ^{فَرَسَةٌ} would be said (IY). One Grammarian has combined [ten of] these words by his saying

دَوْدٌ وَقَوْسٌ وَحَرْبٌ دِرْعُهَا فَرَسٌ * نَابٌ كَذَا نَصَفَ عُرْسٌ ضُكِّي عَرَبٌ

A few camels, and a bow, and war, its coat of mail, a mare, an aged she-camel, similarly a middle-aged woman, a marriage-feast or a wife, early forenoon, Arabs (MKh).

The affixion of the ة to [the *dim.* of (IY, R, Aud, A)] what exceeds three letters is anomalous (IY, IM, R), as

^{قَدَامٌ} (IY, R, IA, Aud, A), ^{وَرَاءٌ} (IY, R, Aud, A), and ^{أَمَامٌ} (R, Aud, A), *dim.* ^{قَدِيدِيَّةٌ} [264] (IY, IA, A), on the

measure of ^{فُعَيْعِيلَةٌ} (Sn), ^{وَرِيَّةٌ} [264] (IA, A), with [a double ي before (Sn)] the Hamza [below] (A), and

^{أُمِيَّةٌ} (R, A), the last being transmitted by AHm, who says that it is not authentic (R). That [affixion of the ة]

is because, the normal gender of *adv.* being *masc.*, if the sign of feminization were not expressed in the *dim.*

[of ^{قَدَامٌ} and ^{وَرَاءٌ}], there would be no indication that either of them was *fem.* (IY). Sf says that the ة is affixed to

these two, because they are *adv.*, not predicated of, nor qualified, nor qualifying; so that their being *fem.* is not

explained by any of those processes, as you say ^{لَسَعَتِ}

الْعُقْرُبُ *The scorpion stung*, عَقْرُبٌ لَّاسِعَةٌ *a stinging scorpion*,
 and هَذِهِ الْعُقْرُبُ *this scorpion*; and therefore they are
 made *fem.*, in order to explain their gender (R). A's
 language necessarily implies that these three *adv.* are
fem., as though from regard to the جَهَّةُ *direction*: but
 it is transmitted, on the authority of IU, that all the
adv. are *masc.*, except وَرَاءَ and قُدَّامَ; and accordingly the
 affixion of the ة to [the *dim.* of] أَمَامَ is anomalous in two
 respects, its being *masc.*, and its being *quad.* (Sn). As
 for وَرَاءَ, its ل is variously said to be (1) a Hamza [above];
 for some say that رَأَتْ بِكَذَا *I made a feint, or pretence,*
of such a thing is said, whence the tradition إِنَّ النَّبِيَّ
 صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ كَانَ إِذَا أَرَادَ سَفَرًا وَرَاءَ بَعْضِهِ
Verily the Prophet (God bless him, and give him peace!) was wont,
when he intended a journey, to make a feint, or pretence, of
something else; but the Traditionists do not put the sign
 of Hamza, giving the version وَرَى بَعْضِهِ (2) ا, or ي, as
 in كَسَاءَ or رَدَاءَ, from رَوَيْتُ بِكَذَا, which is the best-known
 form; and, according to this, its *dim.* is only وَرِيَّةٌ, by
 elision of the third ي [281], as in سَيَّةٌ *dim.* of سَاءَ
 [above] (R). IAl allows حَبِيرَةٌ as *dim.* of حَبَارَى [265],
 and لَغْيِيرَةٌ as *dim.* of لَغَيْرَى, putting the ة as a compen-
 sation for the [abbreviated (R)] ! [of feminization (R)],

which is elided (R, A), when fifth or upwards, as will be seen below (R); while IM in the Tashil appears to agree with him, saying " the ة is not affixed without anomaly " to [the *dim.* of] any [*fem.*] other than what has been " mentioned, except what the ة of feminization, when " fifth or sixth, is elided from " (A). That, however, is not transmitted by any other Grammarian, except IAmb; and he elides the prolonged also, when fifth and upwards, substituting the ة for it, as for the abbreviated: but no one agrees with him in eliding the prolonged (R); and IM [in the passage just quoted] means the abbreviated, because he afterwards says " but the prolonged " is not elided, so that it should be compensated for, " contrary to the opinion of IAmb, who allows بُيُوقَلَّةٌ and " بُرَيْسَةٌ as *dims.* of بَقْلَاءَ beans and بَرَنَاسَاءَ [273, 400] " (A). The abbreviated ة [of feminization (IY, Aud)], when fourth, [as in حُبْلَى (Aud),] is retained (M, Jrb, Aud) in the *dim.* (IY), because of the lightness of the *n.* (Jrb), as حُبْلَى [274] (M, Jrb). If, however, the ة [fourth] be not for feminization, it is converted into ي, because you pronounce the letter before it with Kasr [in the *dim.*], as you pronounce [the letter after the ي of the *dim.* in] the *quad.* [274], as مَرْمَى a butt [229], *dim* مَرِيْمٌ, and أَرْطَى [248, 272], *dim.* أَرْطَى, the ة in مَرْمَى being the ل of the word, converted from the ي of رَمَيْتُ; and the ة

in *عَلَقَى* being *aug.*, for coordination (IY). As for *عَلَقَى* [248, 272], *ذَفَرَى*, and *تَتَرَى* [689], those who pronounce them with Tanwīn say *عَلِيقِي*, *ذَفِيرَ*, and *تُتِيرَ*; while those who do not pronounce with Tanwīn say *عَلِيقَى*, *ذَفِيرَى*, and *تُتِيرَى* (IY, R). The [abbreviated (M, R, Jrb, IA, Aud, Sn)] | [of feminization (S, IY, R, IA, Aud, A) or of anything else (S, IY)] is [always (IY)] elided [in the *dim.* (IY, IA)] when (1) fifth [274] (S, M, R, Jrb, IA, Aud, A), if not preceded by a letter of prolongation (Aud), as *تَرْتَرَى* [397] (S, M, IA, Aud, A), *dim.* *قُرَيْقِرَ* (S, M, IA, A), and *جَحْجَجَبَى* [272, 397], *dim.* *جَحْجَجِبَ* (M, Jrb), in both of which the | is for feminization (IY), whence *عَرَضَنَى* [272], *dim.* *عَرِضُنَ*, and *عَبْدَنَى* [*pl.* of *عَبْدَ* (Jh, KF, MAR)], *dim.* *عَبِيدَ* (S, R); and as *حَبْرَكَى* [253, 397], *dim.* *حُبِيرَكَ* (S, IY), and *صَلَحْدَى* a strong *he-camel*, *dim.* *صَلِيْحَدَ*, in both of which the | is for coordination (IY): (2) upwards (S, M, R, Jrb, IA, A), [i. e.] sixth or seventh (Aud), as *حَوْلَايَا* [248, 272] (S, M, R, Jrb), *dim.* *حَوِيلَى* (S, IY, R, Jrb), the | of *حَوْلَايَا* being converted into *ي*, because preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr in the *dim.*, and being then incorporated into the *ي* after it, so that *حَوِيلَى* results (IY, Jrb), which is triptote, because *حَوْلَايَا* was diptote only

because of the | of femininization [18], and there is no such | here (Jrb); but, in the MSS of the M (IY), *dim.* حَوِيلَ (M), defective, as though Z elided the | [of femininization] and the letter before it, leaving حَوَا, the | of which was then converted into ي, because preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr [in the *dim.*] (IY); whence لَغَيْرَى [272] (S, R, IA, Aud, A), *dim.* لَغَيْرَى (A), so in A's handwriting, but, in some MSS (Sn), *dim.* لَغَيْرَى [284] (S, R, IA, Sn), which is the regular form (Sn), because you do not elide the ي (S, R) fourth (S) of لَغَيْرَى, since it does not spoil the formation of the *dim.*, but becomes a letter of prolongation before the final, as in عَصِيفِر [283] (R): and بَرْدَرَايَا [272] (S, R, Aud A), *dim.* بَرْدِر (S, R, A), by elision of the | [of femininization (Sn)], and [afterwards (Sn)] of the | and ي (R, Sn), because all would spoil the formation (R). This is the saying of Y and Khl (S). The reason why the | is elided, when fifth or upwards, is that its retention would exclude the formation from the paradigm فَعْيَعِلْ or فَعْيَعِلْ (IA, A); for, though حَبِيلَى is فَعْيَلَى, which is not one of the three formations of the *dim.* [274], still it is like فَعْيَعِلْ in all but the Kasra, which the | prevents (Sn). If, however, the | be fifth, but preceded by an [*aug.* (IA, A)] letter of prolongation, you [may (IA, A)] elide

whichever of the two you please (IA, Aud, A). You say حَبَارَى [248, 272, 283], *dim.* حَبِيرَى, [like حَبِيلَى (R)]; or حَبِير (S, IM, R), like حَبِير [281, 298]: for the two *ts* are equal in spoiling the formation of the *dim.*; and, whichever of them you elide, the formation is attained (R): and [similarly (A)] قَرِيثَى [246, 273], *dim.* قَرِيثَى or قَرِيث (Aud, A). The prolonged *t* of feminization is retained, unrestrictedly, [whether it be in the *tril.* or anything else, because, since it exceeds one letter, it resembles another word (Jrb),] like the second [member] in بَعْلَبْكَ [below] (SH). The two *ts* [263] are not altered from their state, [as it was] before the formation of the *dim.*, because they are equivalent to the *s* [below], as حَمِيرَاءَ [274, 283]. And every *n.* of three letters, that has two *augs.* affixed to it, and is then prolonged [230], triptote, forms its *dim.* like the *dim.* of the prolonged that contains the same number of letters, but whose Hamza is a substitute for a *rad.* ي, because the Hamza of the former is a substitute for a ي corresponding to the *rad.* ي, as عِلْبَاءَ and حَرْبَاءَ [248, 273, 385, 683], *dims.* عُلْبِي [below] and حَرْبِي [278], like سَقَاءَ a water-carrier and مُقِيلِي; and, when the ي, for which this Hamza is a substitute, is displayed, you form the *dim.* of that *n.* like the *dim.* of the *n.* in

which a *rad.* **ي** is displayed, and which contains the same number of letters, as **دُرْحَايَةٌ** *short, fat, and big-bellied* [683], *dim.* **دُرَيْحِيَّةٌ**, like **سَقَايَةٌ**, *dim.* **سَقِيْقِيَّةٌ**: and this is so because its *aug.*, [the **ا** and Hamza,] are not for femininization (S). Those who say **غَوَاغَا** *locusts whose wings are grown* say **غَوَيْغِيٌّ**; while those who make it dip-tote, [like **عَوْرَاءٌ** (S),] say **غَوَيْغَاءٌ**, [like **عَوِيرَاءٌ** (S)]: and those who say **قَوْبَاءٌ** [248, 273, 385] say **قَوَيْبِيٌّ**, [like **عَلَيْبِيٌّ** (S)]; while those who say **قَوْبَاءٌ** say **قَوَيْبَاءٌ** (S, R), like **حَمِيرَاءٌ** [above], because the *dim.* of the *n.* that has the two **ا**s of femininization affixed to it, and is of three letters, whether it contain three consecutive vowels or not, and whether its vowels differ or not, is of the paradigm **فُعَيْلَاءٌ** (S). As for the prolonged **ا**, as in **خُنْفَسَاءٌ** [273, 390] (IY, R), *dim.* **خُنْفِسَاءٌ** [274] (S), the [*aug.* (IY)] **ا** and **ن**, as in **زَعْفَرَانٌ** [253, 399] (IY, R), *dim.* **زُعَيْفِرَانٌ** [274, 283] (IY), and in **ظَرْبَانٌ** [274] (R), the **ي** of relation, as in **سَلْهَبِيٌّ** (IY, R), *dim.* **سُلَيْهَبِيٌّ** (IY), and the **ا** and **ن** of the *du.*, the **و**, and **ن** of the *pl. masc.*, and the **ا** and **ت** of the *pl. fem.*, as in **فَارِبَانٌ**, **فَارِبُونَ**, and **فَارِبَاتٌ** (R), they [all, because consisting of two letters (R)], as likewise the **س** of femininization, [because mobile (R),] become, [with the first (IY) part of the word,] like a *n.* joined on

to a *n.* [266] (IY, R), as in بَعْلَبَكْ [290], the formation of the *dim.* being complete without these additions, and not being spoiled by them [283] (R). But the abbreviated *l* is not like that, because it is a [single, faint (R), permanently (IY)] quiescent, [and consequently (IY)] dead letter (IY, R), not capable of being taken for an independent word, but like one of the *aug.* letters in the formation, such as the letters of prolongation in حِمَارٌ [below], سَعِيدٌ, and عَجُوزٌ (R); so that it is elided [when fifth or upwards], because it does not resemble a *n.* joined on to a *n.*, but is united to what precedes it, and considered as a part thereof, as is proved by its being retained in the broken *pl.*, as حَبَالِي *pl.* حَبَالِي and سَكَرِي *pl.* سَكَرَى [248] (IY). According to this, then, in forming the *dim.* of ظَرِيفَانِ, ظَرِيفُونَ, and ظَرِيفَاتٌ, when generic *ns.*, you say ظَرِيفَانِ, ظَرِيفُونَ, and ظَرِيفَاتٌ with the double ي, by common consent. And similarly, according to Mb, when you make them proper names, because, though these additions, in the state of proper name, do not import any meanings other than those of the word that they are united to, so that they should be reckoned like independent words, but, on the contrary, the letters of prolongation [in them], by reason of the quality of proper name, become like the letters of prolongation in حِمَارٌ [above],

كَرِيمٌ, and عَمُودٌ, still before the state of proper name they were like independent words ; so that the *o. f.* is observed, and not altered. According to S, however, their state, when proper names, is different from their state when generic *ns.*: for, in the state of proper name, they, with respect to their *o. f.*, are like the ة ; but, with respect to the quality of proper name, are like part of the formation of the word : so that he retains these additions in their state, like the second of the two words in بُعَيْكَبَدُ [274, 283, 290], ثُنَيَّا عَشَرَ [290], and ثُنَيَّتَا عَشْرَةَ ; but elides the letters of prolongation before them, such as the ي of ظَرِيفَانِ, ظَرِيفُونَ, and ظَرِيفَاتُ, the ا of جِدَارَانِ [283] and دَجَاجَاتُ, and the و of عَجُورَاتُ, when these *ns.* are proper names, because he treats the additions affixed as like part of the letters of the formation of the word, which is therefore deemed too heavy with them. And for that reason, in the *dim.* of ثَلَاثُونَ *thirty*, [even] when a generic *n.*, Y says ثَلَاثِيُونَ [283], by elision of the ا, because the و and ن are like part of the word, since ثَلَاثُونَ is not *pl.* of ثَلَاثٌ, otherwise the least number that it would be applicable to would be *nine* [234]. And similarly S says on بَرَاكَا [or جَلُولَا (S)], بَرَاكَا, and قَرِيئَا [283] that the و, ا, and ي are elided, because he treats the prolonged ا as like part in one respect, and not like part in another; so that he says بَرِيئَا [or جَلِيلَا (S)] and قَرِيئَا, with

the single **ی** : while Mb doubles [the **ی** in] such [*dims.*] as these, because he does not elide anything. But S says that, if **فَعُولَاءَ**, with Fath of the **و**, occurred in the language, you would not elide its **و** in the *dim.*, as you elide the **و** of **جُلُولَاءَ** [246, 283], because, being then for coordination with [the **م** in] **قَرْمَلَاءَ** *Karmalá*, [a place (Bk, ZJ, MI, KF), *dim.* **قَرْمِلَاءَ** (S),] it would be *quasi-rad.*; whereas, the **و** of **بُرُوكَاءَ** and **جُلُولَاءَ** being weak, its elision in accordance with the rule mentioned is not minded (R). But, in forming the *dim.* of [such as (R)] **مَعْيُورَاءَ** [257, 273] and **مَعْلُوجَاءَ** *asses, barbarians*, you do not elide the **و** (S, R), but say **مُعْيِيلَجَاءَ** and **مُعْيِيرَاءَ** [274] (S), because such a letter of prolongation as this, [being fourth,] possesses a state of permanence not possessed by any other [283], like the **ا** before the **ی** of **حَوْلَايَا** [above]. With the **ة** of femininization, however, there is no dispute that the letter of prolongation third, as in **دَجَاجَةٌ** and **دَجَاجَتَانِ**, is not elided, whether the word be a proper name or not, because the **ة** of femininization is *orig.* separable [266], as **دُجَجِيكَةٌ** and **دُجَجِيكَتَانِ**, by common consent, like **بُعَيْبِكُ** [above]. In forming the *dim.* of such as **حُبْلَوِي** and **مَلْهَوِي** [300], which is like that of **سَلْهَوِي** [above], you pronounce the letter before the **و**, with Kasr, because the letter after the **ی** of the *dim.*

in the *quad.* is always pronounced with Kasr [274]; so that the , being converted into a ی pronounced with Kasr, must be elided, as the ی is elided in قَاصِي and غَارِي [301], elision of the ی of relation not being possible, because it is a sign, and is strengthened by doubling. And the reason why the letter before the , of حَبْرِي is pronounced with Kasr [in the *dim.*], although the , is a substitute for a letter, i. e., the † of feminization, always preceded in the *dim.* by a letter pronounced with Fath, as in حَبِيلِي, is that, the appearance of the † being altered, the original respect for it no longer remains, because the † itself is removed (R).

§. 283. When the *n.* is of five letters, and contains an *aug.* letter of prolongation and softness, which is fourth, that augment is retained in the *dim.*, as in the broken *pl.* [253]; and you elide nothing from the *n.* (IY). Every *aug.* letter of prolongation in the position of the [second] ی of فُعْيَعِيل must be retained, being changed into ی, if it be not a ی, [but a , or an † (IY),] as كُرْدُوسُ *dim.* of كُرْدُوسُ, [which is a troop of horsemen (IY),] and مُصْنَبِيحُ *dim.* of مُصْبَاحُ a lamp, [because it is preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr, and is itself quiescent (IY)]; and [remaining unchanged, if it be a ی (IY),] as قُنْدِيدُ *dim.* of قُنْدِيدُ (M). The reason why the *aug.* letter of prolongation is

retained, when it occurs fourth, is that this is a position where the *ی* is often added as a compensation, as in *سُفِيرِيجٌ* [284]; and, since you add it when it is not found, much more ought it to be retained when you find it (IY). If the letter of prolongation be not preceded by Kasra, because the letter after the *ی* of the *dim.* is not pronounced with Kasr, as in *سُكَيْرَانُ* [274], *حُمَيْرَاءُ*, and *أُجَيَّالٌ*, it remains unchanged (Jrb). There is no necessity for the restriction [of the predicament] to the letter of prolongation: but in the *dim.* every soft letter [253] fourth [in the *non-dim.*] becomes, if it be not already, a quiescent *ی* preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr, except the *ا* of *أَفْعَالٌ* and *فَعْلَانٌ*, the two *ا*s of feminization, and the signs of the *du.* and two *pls.* [282]; so that such as *جَلِيلِيٌّ* and *فُلَيْلِيٌّ*, *dims.* of *جَلَزٌ* a *filbert* and *فُلَيْقٌ* a *peach that separates from its stone* are included in it, although the *ي* and *ی* are not letters of prolongation: and similarly the mobile *ي*, and *ی*, as in *مُسَرَّوٌّ* [253] and *مُشْرِيفٌ* *pruned*, *dims.* *مُسِيرٌ* and *مُشِيرٌ* (R). As for *كَنْهَرٌ* [396], you do not elide its *ي*, because it is fourth in a *n.* whose number [of letters] is five; and it is retained in the broken *pl.* [253] (S). And so you say *تُرَيْقِيَّةٌ* as *dim.* of *تَرْقَةٌ* a *collar-bone* [385, 675]. Every *ی* after the Kasra of the *dim.*, when not a letter of inflection, as in *رَأَيْتُ أَرْطِيًّا* I saw a small *أَرْطَى* [248], must be quies-

cent, except when it is followed by the ة of femininization, as in تَرْبِيَّةٌ [above]; or the prolonged ا , as in سَيِّئَاءٌ *dim.* of سَيِّئَاءٌ *a mark* [389]; or the ا and ن resembling the two ا s of femininization [250], as in عُنَيْفِيَّانٌ *dim.* of عُنْفُوَانٌ *prime or bloom* [389]. When the *tril.* contains one *aug.*, you do not elide it, in the beginning, as in مَقْتَلٌ and أَسَدٌ [372]; or the middle, as in كَوْثَرٌ [373], جَدُولٌ [374], خَاتَمٌ [373], حِمَارٌ [374], عَجُوزٌ , and كَبِيرٌ ; or the end, as in حُبْلَى [375] and زَيْدَلٌ [681]. If, however, it contain two *augs.*, neither of which is the letter of prolongation mentioned, retention of both is not possible, since even the *rad.* letter of the *quin.* is elided [274], and much more therefore the *aug.* But the elision, when unavoidable, is restricted to one of the two, since it is the quantity necessary, the word thereby becoming of the *dim.* formation. Either the two *augs.* are equal, or one of them is superior to the other [253] (R). If a *tril. n.* contains two *augs.*, neither of which is the letter of prolongation mentioned, [which is not elided, then, if one of the two be more inseparable from the *n.*, and more useful (IY),] you retain the more useful, and elide its fellow, as مُنْطَلِقٌ [289], مُضَارِبٌ , مُغْتَلِمٌ [281], مُقَدِّمٌ , مُهَيِّمٌ , and مُحَيَّرٌ , *dims.* مُطِيلِقٌ [below], مُغِيلِمٌ [284], مُضِيرِبٌ , مُقِيدِمٌ , [one of the two د s being elided (IY),] مُهَيِّمٌ [298] (M),

one of the two , s being elided, so that it becomes ^{مُهَيَّرٌ} [279] (IY), and ^{مُكَيَّرٌ} (M), the *aug.* , being elided (IY). The *dim.* of ^{مُخْتَارٌ} is [not ^{مُخَيَّرٌ}, but (D)] ^{مُخَيَّرٌ} or ^{مُخَيَّرٌ} [284] (S, D), because ^{مُخْتَارٌ} is *orig.* ^{مُخَيَّرٌ}, its ت being the ت of ^{مُفْتَعَلٌ}, which the rule of the *dim.* is to elide (D). The *dim.* of ^{مَسَاجِدُ} *Masajid*, when a name of a man, is ^{مُسَيَّجِدٌ} [274, 285], like the *dim.* of ^{مَسْجِدٌ}, because it is a name of a single [object], and the *dim.* of a multitude of mosques is not meant. The *dim.* of ^{عَطَرٌ} *hard, severe* [298] is [formed, according to S, by elision of the first , , because, though both are *aug.*, still the second is superior and stronger, since it is mobile, and the first quiescent ; so that you say (R)] ^{عُطَيِّدٌ} or [with compensation (R)] ^{عُطَيِّدٌ} [284] (S, R), because the broken *pl.* would be ^{عَطَارِدٌ} or ^{عَطَارِيدٌ} (S) : while Mb says that one of the two , s may not be elided, because ^{عَطَرٌ} is like ^{مُسَرَّوْلٌ} [above], and the , , when fourth, whether quiescent or mobile, is not elided ; so that, as there you say ^{مُسَيَّرِيدٌ}, so here you say only ^{عُطَيِّدٌ} with prolongation (R). But, if the two *augs.* be equal [in inseparability and utility (IY)], you are allowed an option, [eliding whichever you please (IY),] as ^{تَلَنَسُّوَةٌ} [253, 254, 390, 399, 675], *dim.* ^{تَلَيِّنَسَّةٌ} [by elision of the

و (IY)] or ^{فُلَيْسِيَّةٌ} [by elision of the ن (IY)]; and ^{حَبْنُطَى} [short (IY) and big-bellied (Jh)], *dim.* ^{حَبْنِطٌ}, [where you elide the ا (IY),] or ^{حَبِيْطٌ} (M), where you elide the ن, and retain the ا, except that you convert the ا into ي, because the ط before it is pronounced with Kasr (IY). And ^{حَبَارَى}, as before described [282], is an instance in which you are allowed an option (R). In [the *dim.* of (S)] ^{ثَمَانِيَّةٌ} *eight*, ^{عَلَانِيَّةٌ} [256], and ^{عَفَارِيَّةٌ} *strong* (S, R), it is better to say ^{ثُمَيْنِيَّةٌ}, ^{عُلَيْنِيَّةٌ}, and ^{عُفَيْرِيَّةٌ} (S): [for] S prefers to elide the ا, because it is weak, while the ي is strong; and because the ي, being in the place of the [final] *rad.* letter in such as ^{مَلَأَكْتُكَ} [253, 265] and ^{عُدَّافِرٌ} [395, 673], is coordinative, contrary to the ا (R). But [he says that (R)] some of the Arabs say ^{ثُمَيْنِيَّةٌ} and ^{عُفَيْرِيَّةٌ} (S, R), by elision of the last [*aug.*], because it is at the end, which is the seat of alteration [306] (R). In [the *dim.* of (S) such as (R)] ^{تَبَاكُلٌ} [661] (S, R) or ^{عَجَّاتُرٌ} [246, 717] (R), when a [proper (R)] name [of a man, you say ^{تَبَيُّكُلٌ}, because (S)] elision of the ا is preferable, according to Khl [and S, on account of its weakness (R)]; while Y [says ^{تَبَيُّكُلٌ}, because he (S)] elides the Hamza (S, R), on account of its nearness to the end. And, according to both opinions, you say ^{مُطَيٌّ} as *dim.* of ^{مُطَايَا} [726]. For Khl elides the ا after the ط, so that it becomes

مَطْيَا ; and, this ي being pronounced with Kasr after the ي of the *dim.*, the ا is converted into ي, on account of the Kasra before it ; so that, three ي s being combined, as in the *dim.* of عَطَا, the last is elided as forgotten [281] : while Y elides the ي, which is a substitute for the Hamza, so that two ا s remain after the ط ; and, the first being then converted into a ي pronounced with Kasr after the ي of the *dim.* [279], as in [the *dim.* of] حَبَار [281], the second also is converted into ي, because of the Kasr before it, so that the third ي is elided [281]. And مَطْيَا [for مَطْيِي] with Hamza is not said, as رَسَائِل is said by Khl in the *dim.* of رَسَائِل, because this Hamza is never retained in the *pl.*, as the Hamza of رَسَائِل is [246, 717] ; but is converted into ي [726]. In the *dim.* of خَطَايَا [661, 726], however, you say خَطْيِي with the Hamza as a final, because, (1) if you elide the ا after the ط according to the opinion of Khl and S, then, (a) according to S, the ي of خَطَايَا returns to its *o. f.* of Hamza, because it was changed into ي [726] on account of its following the ا ; and, this Hamza being presently restored [by the removal of the ا] to its *o. f.* of *aug.* ي, which was after the ط in خَطِيَّة [246, 717], the ا is restored to its *o. f.* of Hamza, because it was converted into ي [661, 726] on account of the combination of two Hamzas, the first of which was pronounced with Kasr :

(b) according to Khl, the [*rad.*] Hamza being transferred to the position of the [*aug.*] *ي* from fear of the combination of two Hamzas [661], it follows that, when the [*aug.*] *ي* is not converted into Hamza, because the *!* of the *pl.* is removed, the Hamza is not transferred to the position of the *ي*, but remains in its own position [at the end of the word]: (2) if you elide the *ي* of *خَطَايَا*, according to the opinion of Y, the [final *!* converted from the *rad.*] Hamza reverts to its *o. f.*, because two Hamzas are no longer combined; so that here also you say *خَطِيٍّ*, like *خَبِيرٍ* (R). If the *aug.* [of the *tril. n.* (IY)] be three, and one of them be superior [to its two fellows, the superior is retained, and (IY)] its two fellows are elided, as *مُقَيَّسٌ* *dim.* *مُقَنَّسٌ* [below] (M), where you elide the *ي* and one of the two *س*s, and retain the *م*, because it indicates the *act. part.* This is the opinion of S; while Mb says *قُعَيْسٌ*, because *مُقَنَّسٌ* is co-ordinated with *مُكْرَنَجِمٌ*, where you say *حُرَيْنَجِمٌ* [below]; but the first opinion is preferable (IY). If one of the *aug.* be the soft letter mentioned, i. e., the fourth, you do not elide it at all, but deal with the two remaining *aug.* as though that soft letter were not there, as *تِبْلَانٌ* [332, 678], *dim.* *تُبْلِيْقٌ*, one of the two *ل*s being elided, though it is a duplicate of the *rad.*, because the *ت* is superior to it by reason of being initial, and of frequently occurring in *inf.*

ns. without reduplication, as in *تَفَاعُلٌ* and *تَفْعِيلٌ* [332, 678]. All the *conj.* Hamzas are elided, whether in the *tril.*, as *اِفْتِقَارٌ* and *اِنْطِلَاقٌ*, *dims.* *فُتَيْقِرٌ* and *نُطِيلِيقٌ*; or the *quad.*, as *اِحْرَنْجَامٌ*, *dim.* *حَرْجِيمٌ* [below]. In the *tril.* containing four *augs.*, inclusive of the letter of prolongation, you say (1) *اِسْتَخْرَاجٌ*, *dim.* *تُخْرِيجٌ* [below], eliding the *س* rather than the *ت*, since the *س* is not used as an *aug.* at the beginning of a word, except when coupled with the *ت*; so that, if we said *سُخْرِيجٌ*, it would be *سُفْعِيلٌ*, for which there is no precedent; whereas *تُفْعِيلٌ* is like *تُجْفِيفٌ* [*dim.* of *تَجَفَّافٌ* a cataphract (S)], the *ت* being used as an *aug.* at the beginning without a *س*: (2) *اِغْدِيدَانٌ*, [332, 391], *اِشْهَبَابٌ*, *dims.* *اِفْعَنْسَاسٌ*, and *اِفْعَنْسَاسٌ*, eliding the Hamza unavoidably, as mentioned; and afterwards the *ي* and *ن* rather than the duplicate of the *rad.* (R). You say *اِعْلَوَاطٌ*, *dim.* *عُكَيْيَطٌ*, [*orig.* *عُكَيْيُوطٌ* (R)], eliding the Hamza, and [one (R), (vid.) the first (S),] (S, R), because it corresponds to the *ي* in *اِغْدِيدَانٌ* and the *ن* in *اِحْرَنْجَامٌ* (S); and *اِفْطِرَابٌ*, *dim.* *فُطِيرِيبٌ*, restoring the *ط* to its *p. f.* the *ت*, because it was made a *ط* only on account of the quiescence of the *ف* [756] (R). As for the *quad.*, every *aug.* is elided from it [in the *dim.* (IY)], as *عَنْكَبُوتٌ* [399],

dim. عُيُكِبُ , and مُقَشَعِرٌ *trembling, shuddering, dim.* قُشِيعِرٌ ; except the letter of prolongation described, [which is not elided (IY),] as اِحْرَنْجَامُ *crowding together, dim.* حَرْبِجِيمُ [below] (M), سِرْدَاخُ [253], *dim.* سُرَيْدِيحُ , جَرْمُوقُ , جُرَيْمِيْقُ , and قُنْدَيْلُ *dim.* قُنَيْدَيْلُ [above], since the *dim.* is not excluded by this *aug.* from the formation فُعَيْلُ (IY). You say, (1) [where there is one *aug.* (R),] مَدْحَرَجُ [سُرَادِقُ (IY),] and جَصَنْفَلُ [395], *dims.* دُحَيْرَجُ , [سُرَيْدِقُ (IY),] and جُحَيْفَلُ ; (2) [where there are two (R),] حَرْبِجِيمُ *dim.* مُحْرَنْجِيمُ [291]; (3) [where there are three (R),] اِحْرَنْجَامُ *dim.* حَرْبِجِيمُ [284] (IY, R). And you say قَمَحْدَوَةٌ [399] and سَلْحَفَاءُ [272], *dims.* مُنْجِنِيْقُ and سُلَيْكِفَةٌ ; and مُنْجِنِيْقُ [676], *dim.* مُجْنِنِيْقُ , [on the ground that the first ن is *aug.* (R),] since you say مُجَانِيْقُ ; and عُنْتَرِيْسُ *strong* [290, 674, 676], *dim.* عُنْتَرِيْسُ , [because Khl asserts that the ن is *aug.* (S),] since [عُنْتَرِيْسُ is from (R)] عَتْرَسَةٌ , [which (R)] means *taking by force* ; and خَنْشَلِيْلُ *swift, stout, strong camel, dim.* خُنَيْشِيْلُ , because one of the two ل s is *aug.* (S, R), that being indicated by the doubling, while the ن is *rad.* (S); and [similarly (S)] مَنْجَنُورُ [398, 675, 676], *dim.* مُنْجِنِيْنُ (S, R), which is فُعَيْلِيْلُ (S), because, one of the

last two ن s being *aug.*, you elide the first, not the second, since, if you elided the second, you would need to elide the , also, and because the *pl.* heard is مُنَاجِينَ (R); and [similarly (R)] طَمَائِنَةً *tranquillity* and تَشَعُّرَةً *a trembling, shuddering* [332], *dims.* طَبِئْتِنَةً and تَشَعُّرَتِنَةً by elision of (S, R) one ن [and,] (S), [vid.] the first (R), because it is *aug.* (S). But As heard عُنَيْكِيَّتْ [674], which is anomalous (R). And [S says that (R)] the *dims.* of أَبْرَهِيمُ and إِسْمَاعِيلُ are بَرَهِيمُ and سَمِيعُ by elision of the Hamza (S, R), which he imagines to be *aug.*, since, the *n.* being foreign, its derivation is not known; and this saying is good (Jh). But Mb refutes him with the argument that the Hamza, being followed by four *rad.*s, as in اِصْطَبِلُ [672], is not *aug.*; and, in that case, these two *ns.* being *quins.*, the last [*rad.*] letter [274] is elided [together with the *aug.* ي], as أُبَيْرِيَّةُ and أُسَيْبِيَّةُ, like شَمِيرِيحُ (R), *dim.* of شَمْرَاخُ or شَمْرُوحُ *a date-stalk* (MAR). Analogy requires what Mb says; but the form heard from the Arabs, as transmitted by AZ and others, is what S says. And S transmits the *curt. dims.* بَرِيَّةُ and سَمِيعُ [274, 291], which show the م to be *aug.* in أَبْرَهِيمُ, and the ل in إِسْمَاعِيلُ; so that the initial Hamza is followed by [only] three *rad.*s, as in أَحْمَرُ [672] (R). As for اِسْتَبْرَقُ *thick silk*

brocade (S, R), its *dim.* is أَبِيرِقُ or أَبِيرِقُ [284] (S) : [for] it also is *orig.* foreign, being اِسْتَبْرَه in Persian; and, when Arabicized, is made to conform to what it is akin to among Arabic formations : while it is not akin to any of the formations of the *n.* ; but is akin to such formations of the *v.* as اِسْتَخْرَج by reason of the combination of the ا , س , and ت at the beginning ; so that we judge the three letters to be *aug.* in conformity with [the corresponding letters in] its counterpart : and, suppression of two of the *aug.* letters being unavoidable, we retain the Hamza, because it is superior, as being initial ; and is not a *conj.* Hamza, as in اِسْتَخْرَاج [above], so that it should be elided ; and therefore we elide the س and ت . And similarly the *augs.* are elided in the *quin.*, together with the 5th *rad.*, as قَرَعَبْلَانَةٌ [236] and قَرَطْبُوسُ [401], *dims.* قُرَيْعَبَةٌ [274] and قُرَيْطُبُ (R). And [in short you] attain the paradigm [فُعَيْعِلُ or فُعَيْعِلُ (IA, Aud)] of the *dim.* [of what exceeds four letters (A)] by the same [elision (IA, Aud, A) of a *rad.* or *aug.* letter (IA)] as [the paradigm فَعَالِلُ or فَعَالِلُ of (IA, Aud)] the ultimate [broken (IA)] *pl.* is attained by [245, 253] (IM), the elider here exercising the same preference, and the same option, as there (A). Thus you say (1) سَفَرَجَلُ *dim.* سَفِيرَجُ (IA, Aud, Sn), as you say سَفَارِجُ [245] (IA) ; and فَرَزْدَقُ, *dim.*

سَبَيْطَرٌ *dim.* سَبْطَرَى [274] (And, A): (2) فَرِيزٌ or فَرِيزٌ; فَدَيْكُسٌ *dim.* فَدَوْكُسٌ; and دَحِيرَجٌ *dim.* دَحِيرَجٌ [above]: (3) قَرِيطِيسٌ [282], عَصِيفِيرٌ *dims.* قِنْدِيلٌ and قِرْطَاسٌ, عَصْفُورٌ [274], and قُنْدِيلٌ [above]; and غَرْنِيقٌ and فَرْدَوْسٌ *dims.* (A): (5) قُبَيْعَتْ *dim.* قَبْعَرَى (4): غَرْبِيقٌ and فَرِيدِيسٌ *dim.* مُسْتَدْعٍ (IA, A), as you say مَدَاعٍ [253] (IA); تَخْيِيرِجٌ *dim.* اسْتِخْرَاجٌ (Aud); مُسْتَخْرِجٌ [above]; and مُطِيلِقٌ *dims.* مُتَعَنِّسٌ and مُنْطَلِقٌ [above] (A): (6) أَلَيْدٌ *dims.* يَكْنَدَدٌ and أَلْنَدَدٌ (A): (7) حَزْيِينٌ *dim.* حَيْرُبُونٌ (Aud, A), and عَيْطُمُوسٌ *dim.* عَلَيْنِدٌ or عَلِيدٌ [284] (A): (8) عَلَنْدَى *dim.* سُرِيدٌ or سُرِينِدٌ (Aud, A); and سَرَنْدَى (IA, Aud, A); as you say عَلَانِدٌ and عَلَادٍ [253] (IA). From that rule are excepted the prolonged *l* of feminization (Aud, A), as قَرْفَصَاءُ [40, 273] (Aud); the *ʃ* of feminization (Aud, A), as حَنْظَلَةٌ [below] (Aud); the *y* of relation (Aud, A), as عَبْقَرَى [below] (Aud); and the *l* and *n* (Aud, A), as زَعْفَرَانٌ (Aud, Sn) and عَبْوَرَانٌ [below] (Sn); when these things occur (Aud) after four [or more (A)] letters (Aud, A), this being the number from which the ultimate *pl.* is formed (Sn). For [all of (Aud)] these are retained in the *dim.* (Aud, A), not being taken into

account, as will be shown (A); whereas in the [broken (Aud)] *pl.* you [elide, and (Aud)] say [حَنَاظِلُ , قَرَانِصُ , عَبَائِرُ (Aud),] زَعَائِرُ [253] (Aud, Sn), and عَبَائِرُ (Sn). The *pre.*, as اَمْرُو الْقَيْسِ [4], forms its broken *pl.*, like its *dim.* [290], without elision [of the *post.*], as اَمَارِي الْقَيْسِ , like اَمِيرِي الْقَيْسِ , because the *pre.* and *post.* are two words, each of which has an inflection peculiar to it (Aud). The following [eight (A)] things are not taken into account in forming the *dim.* (IA, A); but are reckoned separate, i. e., considered as an independent word, the *dim.* being formed from what precedes them, as from what does not end in them (A);— (1) the prolonged ا of femininization (IA, A), as حَمِيرَاءُ *dim.* حَمِيرَاءُ [274, 282] (A): (2) the ة of femininization [274, 277], as حَنْظَلَةٌ [254], *dim.* حَنْيَظَلَةٌ : (3) the [aug. (IA)] ي of relation, as عَبْقَرِيَّ [relating to 'Abkar, which the Arabs assert to be the country of the Jinn, to which they refer every thing wonderful (Sn, MKh) for the beauty of its manufacture, as in the tradition كَانَ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَسْجُدُ عَلَى عَبْقَرِيَّ He was wont (God bless him and give him peace!) to prostrate himself upon an عَبْقَرِيَّ , meaning a carpet dyed and embroidered (MKh)], *dim.* عَبْقَرِيٌّ : (4) the *post.* (IA, A), as عَبْدُ شَمْسٍ [4], *dim.* عَبِيدُ شَمْسٍ [290] (A): (5) the

last member of the [synthetic (A, MKh)] *comp.*, as **بَعْلَبَكْ** *dim.* **بُعَيْلَبَكْ** [274, 282, 290] (IA, A); whereas the *att.* [comp. (MKh)], like **تَابَطْ شَرًّا** [4], does not form a *dim.* (Sn, MKh): (6) the *aug.* **ا** and **ن** after four or more letters (IA, A), as **زَعْفَرَانْ** and **عَبْرُفَرَانْ** [400], *dims.* **زُعَيْفِرَانْ** [274, 282] and **عُبَيْثِرَانْ** [274]; while the **ا** and **ن** after three letters, as **سَكْرَانْ** and **سِرْحَانْ**, have been already mentioned [274] (A): (7) the sign of the *du.*, as **مُسْلِمَانْ** *dim.* **مُسَيْلِمَانْ**: (8) the sign of the sound *pl.*, as **مُسْلِمُونْ** and **مُسَيْلِمَاتْ** [285] (IA, A). According to S, however, the prolonged **ا** is not in every respect like the **ة** of femininization in not being taken into account, because his practice in the case of such as **جُلُولَاءْ** [282], **بِرَاكَاءْ**, and **قَرِيثَاءْ**, whose third is a letter of prolongation, is to elide the **و**, **ا**, and **ى** in the *dim.*, and say **جُلِيلَاءْ**, **بُرَيْكَاءْ**, and **قُرَيْثَاءْ** with the single **ى**, contrary to [such as (Sn)] **فَرَوَّةْ** [246, 265, 269], where he says in the *dim.* **فُرَيْقَةْ** with the double **ى** [279], and does not elide; so that the **ا** is evidently taken into account in this respect, [vid. elision of the **و**, **ا**, and **ى** (Sn),] contrary to the **ة**, [since, if the **ا** were not taken into account, the letter of prolongation before it would not be elided, but would remain, the **ا** and **و** being converted into **ى**, as in the

dim. of جَلُولٌ , بَرَآكُ , and قَرِيثٌ without an *l* of femininization (Sn)]: while the practice of Mb is to retain the , *l* , and *y* , and say جَلِيلَاءُ , بُرَيَّكَاءُ , and قَرِيثَاءُ with incorporation, putting the *l* on an equality with the *ʕ* of femininization. And here IM's putting the prolonged *l* on an equality with the *ʕ* of femininization [in his saying " And the *l* of femininization, where it is prolonged, and its *ʕ* are reckoned separate " (Sn)] necessarily implies agreement with Mb; but elsewhere he pronounces the practice of S to be correct. There is a [similar] dispute about such as ثَلْثُونَ also, whether a proper name or not; and about such as جِدَارَانِ [282], ظَرِيفُونَ , and ظَرِيفَاتٌ , when proper names; vid. those *ns.* which contain the sign of the *du.* or sound *pl.*, and whose third is a letter of prolongation: for the practice of S is to elide, saying ثَلَيْثُونَ [282], جَدَيْرَانِ , ظَرِيفُونَ , and ظَرِيفَاتٌ , because their augment, [vid. the sign of the *du.* or *pl.* (Sn),] does not invade an expression bare [of it, since ثَلْثُونَ was *orig.* formed with the augment, having no *sing.*, and in the rest the augment was found before their employment as proper names (Sn)], so that they are treated like جَلُولَاءُ ; while the practice of Mb is to retain the letter of prolongation in those cases, and incorporate, as he does in the case of جَلُولَاءُ [above]. But IM does not mention this distinction here (A).

§ 284. If part of the *n.* be elided in the *dim.* (IM), a [quiescent (R, Aud)] *ي* in the penultimate, [if the *non-dim.* do not contain an unsound letter in that position (R),] may be put as a compensation (IM, R) for the elided, whether *rad.* or *aug.* (R, A), as [سَفَرَجَلٌ *dim.* (IA, A)] حَبْنِيْطٌ *dim.* حَبْنِيْطٌ [283] (IA, Aud, A), حَبْنِيْطٌ *dim.* حَبْنِيْطٌ [274] (A). Compensation is the transformation of the paradigm فُعَيْعِلٌ into فُعَيْعِلٌ by addition of the *ي*, as مُغَيْلِمٌ for مُغَيْلِمٌ [283], مُقَيِّدِمٌ for مُقَيِّدِمٌ, and عُنَيْكِبٌ for عُنَيْكِبٌ; and similarly the rest (M). Compensation is [said by S to be (R)] the doctrine of Y (S, R) and Khl (S). But from the words "may be" used by IM [and R] it is known not to be necessary (A). Compensation is good because of the debility brought on by the elision; but omission of compensation is allowable, because the elision is for a kind of alleviation, and compensation is detrimental to this object. This is when the paradigm is not فُعَيْعِلٌ (IY). If, however, [after the elision (IY),] the paradigm be itself فُعَيْعِلٌ, there is no [way to (IY)] compensation (M), because compensation would exclude it from the formations of the *dim.*, as عَيْطُمُوسٌ *dim.* عَيْطُمُوسٌ [283], and عَيْسَجُورٌ [398], *dim.* عَيْسَجُورٌ, in both of which the *ي* is elided, and after the elision the *dim.* becomes of the paradigm فُعَيْعِلٌ

(IY). For, if the *non-dim.* contain an unsound letter in the penultimate, as in اِحْرَنْجَام [below], the ى is not supposed to be compensatory, because the place [of the compensatory ى] is pre-occupied by its like (R). IM says in the Tashil " And a quiescent ى in the penultimate, as a compensation for what is elided, may be given to what is not entitled to it otherwise than for compensation," [e. g., because of its presence, or the presence of what it is converted from, in the *non-dim.* (Sn),] meaning thereby to exclude such as لَغَيْرِى *dim.* of (Sn) [253, 272, 282], since its ى is elided, but compensation is not needed, [nay, is impossible (Sn),] because its ى, which was in the *non-dim.*, is retained (A); and such as حَرِيْجِيْم [283], *dim.* of اِحْرَنْجَام [above], since compensation is impossible, because its place is pre-occupied by the ى converted from the ى that was before the م: and A's intention is to restrict the language of IM here by his language in the Tashil (Sn).

§ 285. When an expression imports plurality, then, if *sing.* in form, like the *quasi-pl. n.* and the [collective] generic *n.*, it makes its *dim.* according to its own form, whether a *sing.* of its composition occur, as رَكْبٌ *sing.* رَاكِبٌ [257], *sing.* مُسَايِرٌ, and رَجُلٌ *sing.* رَاكِبٌ, *dims.* رَاكِبٌ [257], *sing.* سَفِيْرٌ, and رَجِيْلٌ; or do not occur, as قَوْمٌ and نَفِيْرٌ [293], *dims.* قَوِيْمٌ and نَفِيْرٌ: and similarly in the generic

n., as ^٥تَمِير [254] and ^٥تَفْيِيح (R). But, if you pluralize ^٥قَوْم and ^٥رَهْط [257], saying ^٥أَقْوَام and ^٥أَرَاهِط [255,256], you say in the *dim.* (1) ^٥أَقْيَام, making the *dim.* of ^٥أَقْوَام according to its form, because it is a formation of paucity [below], and converting the , into ^٥ى [279]: (2) ^٥رَهْطُونَ, restoring ^٥أَرَاهِط to its *sing.*, [because it is a *pl.* of multitude,] and then pluralizing it with the , and ^٥ن [below]; while IS transmits ^٥أَرَهْط, the *dim.* of which is ^٥أَرِهْطُ (IY). And the opinion of Akh that ^٥رَكْب is *pl.* of ^٥رَاكِب, and ^٥سَفَر is *pl.* of ^٥مُسَافِر [257], necessarily involves their restoration to the *sing.* [below], as ^٥رَوَيْكِبُونَ and ^٥مُسَيْفِرُونَ; and so he does. If, however, the expression be *pl.* in form, it is (1) a sound *pl.*, in which case it makes its *dim.* according to its own form, whether it denote the *masc.*, as ^٥ضَارِبُونَ [*dim.*] ^٥ضَوْرِبُونَ; or the *fem.*, as [*dim.*] ^٥ضَارِبَات [*dim.*] ^٥ضَوْرِبَات: (2) a broken *pl.*, denoting (a) paucity, in which case it makes its *dim.* according to its own form [235], as ^٥أَكْلَبُ [*dim.*] ^٥أَكِيلِب, [*dim.*] ^٥أَجِيمَال, [*dim.*] ^٥أَقِفْرَة, and ^٥أَقَيْفِرَة, and [*dim.*] ^٥غَلِيْمَة [below]: (b) multitude, in which case it either is accompanied by a *pl.* of paucity of the same crude-form, like ^٥كِلَاب and ^٥أَكْلَب, and ^٥فُلُوس and ^٥أَفْلُس; or is not, like ^٥دَرَاهِم [245], ^٥دَنَانِير, and ^٥رِجَال [235]. The second [kind, which is not accompanied by a *pl.* of paucity,]

is restored to its *sing.*; and from that *sing.* a *dim.* is formed, which is pluralized (1) with the و and ن, if that *pl.* be rational, (a) *masc.* in form and sense, as رَجَالٌ *dim.* رَجِلُونَ [234], because reason exists in it at first, and qualification supervenes upon formation of the *dim.*; and as حُمُرٌ [249] and عِطَاشٌ [250] in the *masc.*, *dims.* عَطِيشَانُونَ and أَحْبَبُونَ : (b) *fem.* in form, *masc.* in sense, as جَرَحِي and حَمَقِي [259] in the *masc.*, *dims.* جَرِيحُونَ and أَحْبَبُونَ : (2) with the ا and ت, if that *pl.* be (a) rational, (a) *masc.* in form, *fem.* in sense, as حُمُرٌ and عِطَاشٌ [248] in the *fem.*, *dims.* حُمَيْرَاتٌ and عَطِيشِيَّاتٌ : (b) *fem.* in form and sense, as جَرَحِي and حَمَقِي in the *fem.*, *dims.* جَرِيحَاتٌ and حُمَيْقَاتٌ : (b) not rational, whether *masc.*, as كُتُبٌ *dim.* كُتَيْبَاتٌ; or *fem.*, as قُدُورٌ *dim.* قُدَيْرَاتٌ (R). You say شِعْرَاءٌ [247], *dim.* شُرَيْعِرُونَ; and شُسُوعٌ *latchets* [of the sandal, *sing.* شِصْعُ (Jh, KF),] *dim.* شُسَيْعَاتٌ (M). The *dims.* take the sound *pl.*, although that is not allowable in the *non-dims.*; and similarly you say حَوَائِصُ as *dim.* of حَوَائِصُ *pl.* of حَائِصٌ [247], although حَائِصٌ does not take the sound *pl.* [234]. But in the first kind, which is accompanied by a *pl.* of paucity, you have the option of reducing the *pl.* of multitude to the *pl.* of paucity, and forming the *dim.* of the former

like the *dim.* of the latter, as كِلَابٌ and فُلُوسٌ, *dims.* أَكْيَلِبٌ and أَفْيَلِسٌ [below]; or of restoring the *pl.* to the *sing.*, and forming a *dim.* from that *sing.*, and then pluralizing it with the و and ن or with the ا and ت, exactly as in the second kind (R). You say (1) فَتَيَانٌ [243], *dim.* فَتَيَّةٌ [by reducing it to فَتَيَّةٌ (IY)] or فَتَيُونَ [by restoring it to the *sing.* (IY)]; (2) أَذَلَاءٌ, *dim.* أَذِيلَةٌ [by reducing it to أَذِيلَةٌ (IY)] or أَذِيلُونَ [by restoring it to the *sing.* (IY)]; (3) غِلْمَانٌ [246], *dim.* غُلَيْمَةٌ [above] or غُلَيْمُونَ; (4) دُورٌ [256], *dim.* دُورَاتٌ or أَدِيرٌ (M); (5) كِلَابٌ, *dim.* أَكْيَلِبٌ [above] or كَلَيْبَاتٌ; (6) فُلُوسٌ, *dim.* أَفْيَلِسٌ or فُلَيْسَاتٌ (IY). The reason why the *pl.* of multitude does not make its *dim.* according to its own form is that the object of forming the *pl.* into a *dim.* is to denote *diminution of the number*, the sense of عِنْدِي غُلَيْمَةٌ I have a few servants being a small number of them, not diminution of the substances; and the Arabs do not combine *diminution of the number* by formation of a *dim.* with *multiplication of it* by retention of the form of the *pl.* of multitude, because that would be a contradiction. The *quasi-pl. ns.*, however, are common to paucity and multitude; and so are the two sound *pls.* [235]: so that all of them have *dims.* from regard to the paucity, no contradiction being thus entailed (R). But not one of the *pls.* of multitude has a

dim. (R, A), except أَصِلُّ *pl.* of أَصِلُّ [below], by assimilation to عُثْمَانُ [250,274]; so that أَصِلُّ is said; and sometimes the ل is substituted for its ن, as أَصِلُّ [286, 691], which is an anomaly upon an anomaly (R). The KK, however, allow that [*pl.* of multitude] which has a counterpart among the paradigms of the *sing.* to have a *dim.*, as رُغْفَانُ [246], *dim.* رُغْفَانُ, like عُثْمَانُ *dim.* عُثْمَانُ [274]; and hold أَصِلُّ [286] to be an instance of that, asserting that it is *dim.* of أَصِلُّ *pl.* of أَصِلُّ [256]. But what they assert is refuted by two considerations, (1) that أَصِلُّ, having the same meaning as أَصِلُّ, cannot be a *dim.* of a *pl.*, because the *dim.* of the *pl.* is *pl.* in meaning; (2) that, if it were *dim.* of أَصِلُّ, it would be أَصِلُّ, because the broken *pl.* of فَعْلَانُ and فَعْلَانُ, when they have one, is فَعْلَانُ [250], like مَصْرَانُ *pl.* مَصْرَانُ and غَرَبَانُ *pl.* غَرَبَانُ [256], while every thing that makes the broken *pl.* فَعْلَانُ makes the *dim.* فَعْلَانُ [274]: and أَصِلُّ is really a heteromorphous *dim.* [of أَصِلُّ (Sn)], like أَتْسِيَانُ and مُغِيرَانُ [286] (A). And Ks and Fr allow such [*pls.* of multitude] as شَقْرَانُ and سُودَانُ, *pls.* of أَشْقَرُ and أُسْوَدُ [249], to make their *dims.* according to their own forms, as شَقِيرَانُ and سُودَانُ (R). And, if a *pl.* [of multitude (R)] happen to have no *sing.*, [regular

or irregular, of its own form (S),] used [in the language (S)], like عَبَادِيدُ (S, R) or عَبَائِدُ [255,257] (R), its *dim.* is formed according to its assumed regular *sing.*, [and then takes the sound *pl.* (R),] as عُبَيْدُونَ [or عُبَيْدُونَ (R)], because فَعَالِيدُ is *pl.* of فَعُولُ or فَعِيلُ or فَعَلَالُ (S, R); and, whichever the *sing.* of عَبَادِيدُ [or عَبَائِدُ] be, this is its *dim.* (S). And, if some *pl.* occur formed from an obsolete *sing.*, but having an irregular *sing.* used, it is restored in the *dim.* to the [*sing.*] used, not to the obsolete regular [*sing.*], as مَكَاسِنُ and مَشَابِهُ [255, 257], *dims.* حُسَيْنَاتُ and شُبَيْهَاتُ, and in the rational *masc.* حُسَيْنُونَ and شُبَيْهُونَ; though AZ used to restore it to the obsolete regular [*sing.*], as مَكْسِنُونَ and مَشْيِيهُونَ, and مَكْسِنَاتُ and مَشْيِيهَاتُ. Y asserts that some of the Arabs say سُرِّيَّاتُ [or سُرِّيَّاتُ] as *dim.* of سَرَاوِيلُ drawers, trousers [18,274] (S, R), believing it to be *pl.* of سَرَوَالَةٌ, because, this form being peculiar to *pls.*, they make every piece of the سَرَاوِيلُ a سَرَوَالَةٌ, as says the poet

عَلَيْهِ مِنَ الْلُومِ سَرَوَالَةٌ * فَلَيْسَ يَرِقُّ لِمُسْتَعْطِفٍ

[Upon him is a rag of ignobleness, so that he does not soften to a seeker for kindness (MN, AKB)]; while he that makes سَرَاوِيلُ a *sing.*, which is the better opinion, says سُرِّيَّةٌ or سُرِّيَّةٌ [279]. Some *pls.* deviate from analogy [in the formation of their *dims.*], as

قَدْ شَرِبْتُ إِلَّا الدَّهَيْدَ هِينَا * قُلَيْصَاتٍ وَأُبَيْكِرِينَ

[234], by analogy دَهَيْدَاتٌ and أُبَيْكِرَاتٌ (R). When you form the *dim.* of سُنُونٌ [234, 244] (R, A), according to the *dial.* of those who inflect it with the و and the ي (A), and [similarly (A)] of أَرْضُونَ [234], you say سُنَيَاتٌ and أَرْضَاتٌ, because the و and ن in them were a compensation for the [departed (R)] ل [in سَنَوَةٌ (R)], and for the ة [supplied in أَرْضٌ (R)]; and, these two being restored in the *dim.*, their substitutes are not put (R, A), but the *pl.* reverts to the regular form with the ت and ت (R). When, however, you make the ن of سُنُونٌ the seat of inflection, [without using the word as a proper name (R),] you make its *dim.* سُنَيْنٌ (R, A), upon the measure of فُعَيْلٌ (Sn), since it is *quasi-sing.* in form (R): while سُنَيْنٌ [upon the measure of فُعَيْلٌ, by elision of the *aug.* ي between the two ن s (Sn),] is allowable, according to the opinion that سُنَيْنٌ [236] is *orig.* [سَنِوٌ (Sni), the ف of فُعَيْلٌ, which sometimes occurs in the *pl.*, as كَلَيْبٌ, being here pronounced with Kasr on account of the Kasra of what follows it (Jh), then (Sn)] سَنِى with two ي s, the first *aug.*, and the second a substitute for a و, vid. the ل of the word, but afterwards changed into ن; and that, as in forming the *dim.* of سَنِى, the *aug.* ي would be elided,

[because of the succession of three *ی* s (Sn),] and the *ی* in the position of the *ل* would be retained, so in forming the *dim.* of *سَنِينَ*, when the *ن* is believed to be a substitute for the last *ی*, the word is treated as it would be if the *ن* were not substituted (A) for the last *ی* (Sn) : but Zj used to restore it to the *o. f.*, saying *سَنِاتٌ* here also, from regard to the sense, since, notwithstanding that the *ن* is the seat of inflection, the word is *pl.* in sense. But, when *أَرْضُونَ* is not used as a proper name, its *ن* may not be made the seat of inflection, because the *ن* is commonly made so only in the *n.* whose *ل* has departed or in the proper name. And, when you use *أَرْضُونَ* as a name for a man or woman, then, (1) if you make its *ن* the seat of inflection, you form its *dim.* like that of *حَمِصِيصٌ* [274], saying *أَرِضِيْنُ*, triptote in the *masc.*, diptote in the *fem.* : (2) if not, you still do not restore it in the *dim.* to the *sing.*, since it is not a *pl.*, though it be inflected as one, just as, if you form the *dim.* of *مَسَاجِدُ* when a proper name, you say *مَسِيْجِدٌ* [274, 283], and do not restore it to the *sing.* and then pluralize it, saying *مَسِيْجِدَاتٌ*; so that you say *أَرِضُونَ* in the *nom.*, and *أَرِضِيْنَ* in the *acc.* and *gen.* (R). But, if you use *سِنُونَ* as a [proper (A)] name (R, A) for a man or woman, then, (1) if you do not make its *ن* the seat of inflection (R), you restore the

[elided (R)] ج (R, A), because the sign of the *pl.* remains attached to a *bil. n.* [275], and the formation of the *dim.* is not complete, as it is in *أَرْضُونَ*; but you do not elide the و, and ج, because, though *orig.* a compensation for the elided ج [244], still, by reason of the application as a proper name, they become a part of the proper name (R): so that you say *سُنَيْرَ* in the *nom.*, and *سُنَيْرِ* in the *acc.* and *gen.* (R, A); or *سُنَيْهَوْنَ* (A) in the *nom.*, and *سُنَيْهَيْنِ* in the *acc.* and *gen.* (Sn): (2) if you make its ج the seat of inflection, you say *سُنَيْرٌ*, triptote in the *masc.*, diptote in the *fem.*; and Zj does not differ here, as he differs when you make its ج the seat of inflection without using it as a proper name, because, in the state of proper name, when the ج is made the seat of inflection, the word, being *quasi-sing.* in form and sense, cannot be restored to the *sing.* (R).

§ 286. Whatever contravenes the preceding rules is (SH, IM) irregular (IM), anomalous (SH) in form [below] or sense [287] (Jrb), used when heard (A), to be remembered, not copied (IA, A). The *dim.* is sometimes formed from an expression other than its *non-dim.* (S, M, IA) used in the language (S), as (1) *عَشِيَّةٌ* (S, M, SH, IA, Aud, A), *dim.* of *عَشيَّةٌ* evening (S, IY, R, Jrb, IA, A); by rule *عَشيَّةٌ* (Jrb, Sn), *orig.* *عَشِيَّةٌ* (Sn),

the last of the three *ى* s being elided, as in *مَعِيَّةٌ* [281] (R, Jrb); for, *عَشِيَّةٌ* being liable to be mistaken for the *dim.* of *عَشْوَةٌ*, which is the *period from the beginning of night to the end of its [first] quarter*, they change the middle *ى* into *ش*, since the addition of a letter homogeneous with the *ع* is easy to them, as in the *conjug.* of *فَعَلَ* [489] (Jrb); as though it were *dim.* of *عَشَاءٌ* (S, IY, R, Sn): (2) *عُشَيَّانٌ* (S, M, R, Aud, A), *dim.* of *عَشِيٌّ* [293] (S, R), [or] *dim.* of *عِشَاءٌ* *nightfall* (Aud, A); as though it were *dim.* of *عُشَيَّانٌ* (S, IY, R, Sn): (a) another irregular *dim.* of *عَشِيٌّ* is *عُشَيْشِيَّانٌ* (R): (3) *مُغِيرَبَانٌ* (S, M, R, IA, Aud, A), *dim.* of *مَغْرِبٌ* (S, IY, R, IA, Aud, A); as though *dim.* of *مُغِيرَبَانٌ* (S, IY, Sn); by rule *مُغِيرِبٌ* (IY): (a) they pluralize [these *dims.*], saying [*عُشَيْشِيَّاتٌ* (Jh),] *عُشَيَّانَاتٌ* or *عُشَيْشِيَّانَاتٌ*, and *مُغِيرَبَانَاتٌ* as though they named every part of it *an evening* or *a sunset*: (4) *أَصِيلَانٌ* [285], which is anomalous as being a homomorphous *dim.* of the *pl.* of multitude, as though they made every part of it an *أَصِيلٌ* *evening*; and *أَصِيلَالٌ* [691], an anomaly upon an anomaly; by rule *أَصِيلَاتٌ* [285] (R): (a) as for *غُدْوَةٌ* *early morning*, it has a homomorphous *dim.*, as *غُدْيَةٌ* [280]; and so have *سَكْرٌ* and *ضَكْيٌ* [282], as *أَتَانَا* *ضَكِيًّا* *He came to us a very little before day break* and *سَكِيرًا*

very early in the forenoon ; (b) in putting these *ns.* into the *dim.* you do not diminish the *time* ; but you mean to approximate time to time, and to diminish the interval between them ; just as, when you say *فَوْيَقَ دُوَيْنَ ذَاكَ* and *ذَاكَ* [274], you only approximate [292] thing to thing, and diminish the space between them [287] (S) : (5) *أُنْسِيَانُ* [below] (S, M, SH, Aud, A), *dim.* of *إِنْسَانُ* (S, IY, Aud, A) ; by rule [*أُنْسِيَانُ* if its *pl.* *أَنَاسِيْنُ* be regarded, and (Sn)] *أُنْسِيَانُ* [274] (Jrb, Sn) if it be not regarded (Sn) ; a *ي* being [anomalously (R)] added in the *dim.* (IY, R) that was not in the *non-dim.* (IY) ; so that the *dim.* becomes like *عُقَيْرَبَانُ* [274] (R), as though it were *dim.* of *إِنْسِيَانُ* (S, IY, Jrb, Sn), which is unknown (IY) : (a) the KK say that *أُنْسِيَانُ* is *dim.* of *إِنْسَانُ*, because *إِنْسَانُ* is *orig.* *إِنْسِيَانُ* upon the measure of *إِنْعِلَانُ* [390], with Kasr of the Hamza and ع, [the *ي* being elided for lightness, because *إِنْسَانُ* frequently occurs upon their tongues, and being then restored in the *dim.*, because the *dim.* is not frequent (Jh, HH),] while the *dim.* of *إِنْعِلَانُ* is *أُنْعِلَانُ* [274] ; and this is based upon their saying that *إِنْسَانُ* is derived from *نَسِيَانُ* *forgetfulness*, [which they allege to be proved by the saying of Ibn ‘Abbās *إِنْسَانًا سَمِيَ* *He was named إِنْسَانُ only because he*

was commanded, and then forgot (Jh, HH),] its measure being *إِنْعَانُ* : but, according to the BB, *إِنْسَانُ* is from *أَنَسَ* sociability, its measure being *فِعْلَانُ* (Sn) : (6) *رَوَّيَجِلُ* (S, M, R, Aud, A), *dim.* of *رَجُلٌ* a man (S, IY, R, Aud, A) ; as though *dim.* of *رَاجِلٌ* (IY, Sn) i. q. *رَجُلٌ* , though *رَاجِلٌ* does not appear to be used in this sense ; by rule *رُجَيْلٌ* (IY) : (a) *رَجُلٌ* occurs in the sense of *رَاجِلٌ* , as says the poet

أَمَّا أَقَاتِلْ عَنْ دِينِي عَلَى فَرَسِي * أَوْ هَكَذَا رَجُلًا إِلَّا بِأَصْحَابِي
(IY, R) *Shall I not fight for my faith, riding upon my mare, or going on foot like this, except with my comrades, meaning alone, not needing the help of comrades ?* (MAR), i. e., *رَاجِلًا* : so that *رَوَّيَجِلٌ* , being *orig. dim.* of *رَاجِلٌ* , in the sense of which *رَجُلٌ* occurs, is said to be, as it were, *dim.* of *رَجُلٌ* in the sense of *رَاجِلٌ* ; and to be afterwards used as *dim.* of *رَجُلٌ* a man unrestrictedly, whether he be *رَاجِلٌ* going on foot or not (R) : (7-8) *أُصَيْبِيَّةٌ* and *أُغْلِيَّةٌ* [246] (S, M, SH, Aud, A), as *إِرْحَمْ أُصَيْبِيَّتِي أَلْحَ* [237] (IY) ; *dims.* of *غَلِيَّةٌ* and *صَبِيَّةٌ* (S, M, R, Jrb, Aud, A) ; as though *dims.* of *أُغْلِيَّةٌ* and *أُصَيْبِيَّةٌ* (IY, Jrb, Sn) ; by rule *أُغْلِيَّةٌ* and *أُصَيْبِيَّةٌ* (S, R, Jrb), which are used by some of the Arabs (S, R) : (9) *أَبَيْنُونَ* [234], *dim.* of *بَنُونَ* (S, R, Aud, A) ; as though *dim.* of *أَبَنُونَ* (Sn) ; by rule *بَنِيُونَ*

(R): (10) لَيْلِيَّةٌ *dim.* of لَيْلَةٌ (S, R, Aud, A), by addition of a ي, as in أُتَيْسِيَانُ [above]; as though *dim.* of لَيْلَا (R, Sn), as in فِي كُلِّ مَا أَحْمَ [255] (R). These are expressions that deviate from analogy, being in the *dim.* like مَلَامِحُ [an extraordinary, heteromorphous *pl.* of كَمَحَةٌ *a* likeness (Jh)] and مَذَاكِيرُ in the broken *pl.* [255, 257] (IY). If the *non-dim.* of any of these anomalous *dims.* be used as a name, its *dim.* is quite regular, as إِنْسَانُ, لَيْلَةٌ, and رَجُلٌ, when proper names, *dims.* أُتَيْسِيَانُ, لَيْلِيَّةٌ, and رَجِيلٌ, because the proper name is a secondary application (R).

§ 287. What is anomalous in sense [286] is of two kinds. For the *dim.* means that the thing [signified by it] is deemed small: so that its *icl.* anomalousness is because it means either (1) not *being deemed small*, but *nearness*, [274] of one thing to another, as in هُوَ أَصْغَرُ مِنْكَ [below], which imports not that *he is small*, since the expression أَصْغَرُ already indicates *excess in smallness*, but that *the difference between them is small*; or (2) *being deemed small*, not in the case of [the thing signified by] the *dim.*, but of another thing, as in مَا أَحْسَنَ زَيْدًا How handsome little, or young, Zaid is! [288], since the act cannot be described as small, but only the person that the act is attributed to (Jrb). The *dim.* is sometimes employed

to denote that one thing is near to, though not [quite] like, another, as in your saying *هُوَ أَصْغَرُ مِنْكَ* *He is a little smaller than thou* [274], when you mean only to diminish the difference between them (S, M), because, if you said *هُوَ أَصْغَرُ مِنْكَ* *He is smaller than thou*, the difference between them might be little or much ; so that you explain by the *dim.* that it is little, and that one is almost like the other in smallness (IY) : and [similarly (IY)] in [the six relative locations, as (IY)] *هُوَ دُونِ ذَاكَ* and *فَوْقَ هَذَا* [274, 286] (S, M), because *هُوَ فَوْقَ زَيْدٍ* *He is above Zaid* and *دُونَ بَكْرٍ* *below Bakr* might mean *much* or *little* ; whereas *دُونَهُ* or *فَوْقَهُ* [289] must mean *little* : and similarly [in *advs.* of time, as *قُبَيْلَ ذَاكَ*, because], if a man said *آتِيكَ قَبْلَ طُلُوعِ الشَّمْسِ* *I will come to thee before the rising of the sun*, and then came in the night, he would not be breaking his word ; whereas, if he said, *قُبَيْلَ طُلُوعِ الشَّمْسِ* *a little before the rising of the sun*, he would have to come after the rising of the dawn, or at some such time approximate to the rising of the sun (IY). And hence *أَسْيَدُ* *blackish* [279] (S, M) and *أَحْمَرُ* *reddish* (IY), i. e. [*nearly* (S, IY), *not quite* (M),] *black* (S, M) and *red* (IY). As for the saying of the Arabs *هُوَ مِثْلُ هَذَا* *He, or It, is rather like this* and *أَمِثَالُ هَذَا*, they mean to announce that the compared is as contemptible

as what it is compared to (S). What is intended by the *dim.* of *quals.* is mostly not *diminution of the substance of the qualified*, but *diminution of so much of the quality indicated by the qual. expression as exists in the substance of the qualified* [288]: for ضَوِيرٌ [278, 292] means *author of little striking*; while أُحْيِرُ [279], أُصَيِّرُ, and أَصْفَرُ yellowish [274] mean that these colors are not complete in him; and similarly عَظِيمٌ and بَرِيْزٌ a *poor*, or *small*, *draper* and *perfumer* mean that these crafts are not perfect in them; and هُوَ مُثِيلٌ عَمْرٍو *He is a little*, or *rather, like 'Amr* [292] means that the likeness between them is small. According to this, then, هُوَ أَصْفَرُ مِنْكَ means that *his excess in smallness over thee is little*; and similarly أَفْضَلُ مِنْكَ and أَعْلَمُ مِنْكَ a *little*, or *rather, more learned*, and *more excellent, than thou* [274, 281], and the like, because the أَفْعَلُ of superiority is applied to denote [a person or thing] *qualified by an excess over others in the meaning [of the v.] that it is derived from* [351]. Sometimes, however, the *dim.* of the *qual.* does denote *diminution of the substance [of the qualified]*, as in 'Ali's saying يَا عَدُوَّ نَفْسِيَّ *O little enemy of thyself*. As for the *dim.* of the proper name [282], like زَيْدٌ and عَمْرٌو, it denotes *unrestricted diminution*; and so does the *dim.* of the generic substantive [3], like رَجُلٌ and فَرَسٌ:

there being nothing in them to indicate whether the *diminution* refers to *substance* or *quality* or both (R).

§ 288. The general rule is that the *v.* has no *dim.* (Jrb). The reason why analogy forbids the *v.* to have a *dim.* is that the object of the *dim.* is to describe the *n.*, meaning the *thing named*, as small; for, *ns.* being signs for the things named, their expressions are put into the *dim.* form in order that it may be an indication of the smallness of the thing named: whereas *vs.* are not like that, being only enunciations, not signs, like *ns.*; so that the *dim.* form in them has no meaning. And, this being so, the *dim.* of the *v.* of wonder is anomalous [274], irregular (IY). But they allow the *أَفْعَلُ* of wonder [477] to have a *dim.* (ML), as *يَا مَا أُمَيْلِحَ آلَح* [171] (IY, ML), because of its resemblance [360] to the *أَفْعَلُ* of superiority (ML), which has a *dim.*, as *زَيْدٌ أُمَيْلِحُ مِنْ عَمْرٍو* *Zaid is a little prettier than 'Amr* and *أَحْسِنُ مِنْهُ* *a little handsomer than he* [287] (DM). What emboldens them to this is its being divested of the meanings of *accident* and *time* [402], which are among the peculiarities of *vs.*; and its resemblance in sense to the *أَفْعَلُ* of superiority (R). Khl says on *مَا أُمَيْلِحَهُ* *What a pretty darling he, or it, is!* "they mean [to diminish] only that [thing (Jrb)] which you describe as pretty, as though you said *زَيْدٌ مُلَيِّحٌ*

Zaid is a pretty darling" (S, M, Jrb). And I Amb says that this is not said except of the young (ML). But no *v.* or verbal *n.* [292] has a *dim.* except this and similar instances of مَا أَفْعَلَهُ (S). And that [*dim.* (DM)] has not been heard except in the case of [these two expressions (DM)] أَفْعَلَهُ and أَفْعَلَهُ: so Jh [followed by the KF] mentions [in *art.* مَلَح]; but, notwithstanding this, the GG speak of it as regular, [allowing, e. g., مَا أُبْيَطَفَ زَيْدًا (DM)]; though IM does not transmit the doctrine that it is regular from any [Grammarians] but IK, and it is not so (ML). According to the KK, the أَفْعَلَهُ [of wonder (R)] is a *n.*, so that its *dim.* is regular (R, DM); but, according to the BB, it is a *v.* [477]. And, since the أَفْعَلَهُ of wonder, according to the correct opinion, is a *v.*, it is not prevented by its formation as a *dim.* from governing, as ضَوِيرٌ is [292] (R).

§ 289. Some *ns.* occur in the language only as *dims.*, their *non-dim.* being discarded, because, according to the Arabs, they are deemed small (S, M, R), so that their *non-dim.* is superseded by their *dim.* (S, IY), as جُبَيْلٌ (S, M, R), which is a small bird, like the sparrow (IY, R); كُعَيْتٌ [274] (S, M, R), which is [said to be (R)] the nightingale (S, IY, R), but is said [by Mb (R)] to be like the nightingale, but not it (IY, R); and كُمَيْتٌ bay [274] (S, M, R), which is applied to the *masc.* and *fem.*

(IY, R). S says (IY), I asked Khl about كَيْتٌ: and he said "It [is like جَيْلٌ; and (S)] is made a *dim.* because it is between *black* and *red*, and [as it were (IY)] neither *pure black* nor *pure red*; so that it is near to [each of (IY)] them, [and is therefore made a *dim.* in order that it may indicate that sense (IY),] like دُوَيْنَ زَيْدٍ [287]" (S, IY). But they say جِلَانٌ, كَعْتَانٌ, [and كُمْتُ (M, R)], using the [broken (IY, R)] *pl.* of the [assumed (R)] *non-dim.* (S, M, R) expression (IY), as though *pl.* of جَمْلٌ, كَعْتُ, and أَكْمْتُ (M, R) or كَمْتَاءُ [248, 249] (IY, R); whereas, if they meant to pluralize the *dim.*, they would say جَيْلَاتٌ [234, 270] (S), since their custom is to give the *dim.* no *pl.* but the *sound*, because, as is said, the *dim.*, by the addition of a soft letter third, resembles the ultimate [broken] *pl.*, which takes only the *sound pl.*, as صَوَاحِبَاتٌ and صَرَائِرُونَ [256]. But there is nothing to prevent you from saying that, since كَعَيْتٌ and جَيْلٌ are constituted as *dims.* from regard to their being *orig.* deemed small, and are afterwards used without regard to the *dim.* sense in them, because كَعَيْتٌ is like بُلْبُلٌ in sense, and the *dim.* sense is not intended in بُلْبُلٌ, though the *nightingale* itself is small, therefore the *dim.* sense is obliterated from them in usage, and they become like words constituted as *non-dims.*, so that they take the same *pl.* as the *non-dim.* does; and, the *non-dim.* nearest

to this shape being *فَعْلٌ*, like *صُرْدٌ* a certain bird [237] and *نُفَرٌ* young of sparrows, [pl. *نُفَرَانٌ* (Jh, KF),] they take the same pl. as these do: and, according to this, *كِعْتَانٌ* and *جَمَلَانٌ* are pls. of the expressions *كُعَيْتٌ* and *جُمَيْلٌ*, not of their assumed *non-dims.* (R). And *سُكَيْتٌ* is a *curt. dim.* [291] of *سُكَيْتٌ* (S, IY, R), which is the horse that comes in last (S, IY) of the ten reckoned (Jh) in a race (Jh, KF). And the *dim.* of *مُبَيْطِرٌ* [274] and *مُسَيْطِرٌ* an overseer has the same form as the *non-dim.*, because you elide the *ي*, like the *ن* in *مُنْطَلِقٌ* [283], and put the *ي* of the *dim.* into its place (R).

§ 290. Khl asserts that (S) the *dim.* of the [prothetic or (R) synthetic (S, IY, R)] *comp.* is formed [only (S)] from the first member (S, M, R), the second being then put after it (IY), as *أَبِي بَكْرٌ* Little *Abu Bakr* and *أُمِّمَةٌ* Little *Umm 'Amr*, *مُعَيْدِي كَرْبٌ* and *خُبَيْسَةَ عَشَرَ* [below] (R). You say *بُعَيْلَبَكٌ* [274, 282, 283], *حُضَيْرَمَوْتُ* [275] (S, M), and *مُعَيْدِي كَرْبٌ* [274], because the *pre.* and *post.* ns. and the two ns. compounded together are equivalent to one long *n.*, like *عَنْتَرَيْسٌ* [283]; so that, as you say *عُنَيْتَرَيْسٌ*, so you say *حُضَيْرَمَوْتُ* [above] (IY), *مَوْتُ* standing [towards *حَضَرَ* (IY) in *حَضِرَمَوْتُ* (S)] in the same position as *رَيْسٌ* towards [عَنْتَ in] *عَنْتَرَيْسٌ* (S, IY), as being

a supplement to it (IY) : and [similarly you say (IY)] *خَمِيسَةَ عَشَرَ* (S, M), *dim.* of *خَمْسَةَ عَشَرَ* *fifteen*, [whether you mean *number*, or use it as a name (IY)]; and *ثُنَيَّا* [282], *dim.* of *اِثْنَا عَشَرَ*, [and *ثُنَيَّتَا عَشْرَةَ* *dim.* of *اِثْنَتَا عَشْرَةَ* (IY),] because *عَشَرَ* stands [towards *اِثْنَا* (IY) in *اِثْنَا عَشَرَ* (S)] in the same position as the *ن* of [the *du.* in] *اِثْنَانِ* [318] (S, IY). But Fr holds that, when the prothetic *comp.* is a surname, the *dim.* is formed from the *post.*, arguing from such as *أُمُّ جُبَيْنٍ* [and sometimes in poetry *أُمُّ الْجُبَيْنِ* *a beast the size of the palm of the hand* (IY on §. 7)], *أَبُو الْخَصِينِ* [7], and *أَعْلَاقَةُ أُمِّ الْوَلِيدِ آلِ الْحِ* [565] (R).

§ 291. There is a sort of *dim.* named *curt.* (IA, A). This is formed by eliding from the [augmented (Aud) *tril.* or *quad.* (M)] *n.* [all (M, SH)] the *augs.* (M, SH, IA, Aud, A) contained in it (IA), which are retainable (Aud, Sn) in the *uncurt. dim.* (Sn), until the *n.* is reduced to its *rad.* letters (M), and then forming its *dim.* (M, SH, Aud) from its *rads.* (Aud). This *dim.* is named *curt.* because of the elision in it (Jrb). It has two forms, *فُعَيْلٌ* and *فُعَيْعِلٌ*; not *فُعَيْعِيلٌ*, because this contains an augment (Aud). If the *rads.* be three, the *dim.* is upon [the paradigm] *فُعَيْلٌ* (IA, A). You say (1) *حَامِدٌ* *praising*, [*حَمْدَانُ* *Hamdān* (Aud, A), *حَمْدُونُ* *Hamdūn* (Aud), *حَمَادٌ* *great praiser* (A), *مَحْمُودٌ* *praised* (Aud, A), *مَحْمَدٌ*

much praised (Sn), and أَحْمَدُ more praiseworthy (Aud, A),] *dim.* حَمِيدٌ (IA, Aud, A), the ambiguity being disregarded, in reliance upon the [distinctive] circumstances [of the case] (Sn); (2) مُعْطَفٌ a wrapper, *dim.* عَطِيفٌ (IA, A); (3) أَزْهَرُ bright, *dim.* زَهِيرٌ (A). There is no difference between the coordinative augment, as خَفِيدٌ [370, 378], *dim.* خُفِيدٌ, [ضَفْنَدٌ stout, stupid, *dim.* ضَغِيدٌ (A),] and مُقَعَّنَسٌ [253, 283], *dim.* قُعَيْسٌ; and the non-coordinative (IY, A), as حَارِثٌ a husbandman, *dim.* حَرِثٌ, and أَسْوَدٌ black, *dim.* سَوِيدٌ (IY). If the *rad.*s. be four, the *dim.* is upon [the paradigm (IY)] فُعَيْعِلٌ (IY, IA, A). You say (1) قُرْطَاسٌ *dim.* قُرَيْطُسٌ (M, IA, Aud, A), جُمْهُورٌ *dim.* جُمَيْهْرٌ (IY), and عَصْفُورٌ *dim.* عَصِيفٌ (IA, A); (2) مَدْحَرَجٌ *dim.* دُحَيْرَجٌ [283] (IY, R); (3) مُكْرَنْجِمٌ [below], *dim.* حَرِيْجِمٌ [283] (IY). Two matters are necessary, [according to IHsh,] that the *n.* should contain an augment, and that this augment should be retainable in the *uncurt. dim.* (Sn). The *curt. dim.* therefore, is not practicable, [as is distinctly declared in the Aud (Sn),] in such as جَعْفَرٌ and سَفْرَجَلٌ, because they are unaugmented; nor in such as مَتَدَحْرَجٌ and مُكْرَنْجِمٌ [above], because the augment in them is not retainable [in the *uncurt. dim.* (Sn)], on account of its spoiling the measure (Aud, Sn),

so that their *dims.* ^{حَرِيْجٌ} and ^{دَحِيْرٌ} [283] are not named *curt.* (Sn). But, [according to IY and R,] there is no difference in the *quad.* between the *curt.* and *uncurt.* *dims* except that the *ى* of compensation is not inserted, [nor is the *aug.* soft letter fourth in the *non-dim.* retained,] in the *curt. dim.*, as it is in the *uncurt.*, as ^{دَحِيْرٌ} and ^{حَرِيْجٌ} [284], and as ^{جَمِيْهِيْرٌ} [283] (IY). If the *curt. dim.* [be *masc.*, it is bare of the *ة*: but, if it (IA)] be *fem.*, and its *rad.*s. be three, the *ة* [of feminization (IA)] is affixed to it, [because it is a *fem.* ultimately *tril.* (Sn),] as ^{حَبِيْلَةٌ} *dim.* ^{حَبَلَى} (IA, A); ^{سَوِيْدَةٌ} *dim.* ^{سَوْدَاءُ} (IA, A); ^{سَعِيْدَةٌ} [18, 263], *dim.* ^{سَعَادٌ}; and ^{غَلَابٌ} [a proper name (Sn)], *dim.* ^{غَلِيْبَةٌ} [282]. The *curt. dim.* of such *eps.* peculiar to the *fem.* as ^{حَائِضٌ} and ^{طَالِقٌ} [268] is ^{حَيْضٌ} and ^{طَلِيْقٌ}, because they are *orig. eps.* of a *masc.* (A), vid. ^{شَخْصٌ} *person* (Sn). S transmits ^{بَرِيَّةٌ} and ^{سَمِيْعٌ} as [*curt.* (Sn)] *dims.* of ^{أَبْرَهِيْمٌ} and ^{إِسْمَاعِيْلٌ} [274, 283]. But these are anomalous [by common consent of S and Mb, being by rule ^{بَرِيْهَمٌ} according to S, and ^{أَبِيْرَةٌ} according to Mb (Sn)]; and are not to be copied. For, [according to Mb,] they contain an elision of two *rad.*s., since the *م* and *ل* are *rad.* by common consent, and the Hamza according to Mb; [so that, the *non-dim.* being *quin.*, only the 5th *rad.* should be elided from it in the *dim.* (Sn)]: while

according to S, the Hamza is *aug.*; [so that, the *non-dim.* being *quad.*, its *dim.* should be upon the paradigm *فَعْيَعِلٌ*] (A). The *curt. dim.* is anomalous, rare (R). Fr says that it occurs only in the proper name (IY, R), like the curtailed *voc.* [58] (IY), because in the proper name what is retained is an indication of what is rejected, on account of its notoriety (R): and, according to this, the *dims.* of *حَارِثٌ* and *أَسَدٌ*, when proper names, are *حُرَيْثٌ* and *سُرَيْدٌ* when *curt.*, [and *حُوَيْرِثٌ* and *أُسَيْدٌ* when *uncurt.*]; but, before the transfer and use as [proper] names, are only *حُوَيْرِثٌ* and *أُسَيْدٌ* (IY). The BB, however, allow it in what is not a proper name also (R); [for] our school make no distinction between these two (IY); and there is a *prov.* *هَرَفَ حَمَلٌ خَفِيقٌ جَمَلٌ* *A little fool knew his he-camel*, [meaning the (IY)] *dim.* of *أَحْمَقٌ* (IY, R), i. e., *knew so much, though he was a fool* (Md). The *curt. dim.* is not peculiar to proper names, contrary to the opinion of Fr, Th, and, as is said, the KK, as is proved by the sayings of the Arabs *يَنْجَرِي بُلَيْقٌ وَيَذْمُ* *A little piebald runs, and is blamed*, [where, however, *بُلَيْقٌ* (Md),] *dim.* of *أَبْلَقٌ*, [is the name of a horse that used to outstrip, and still be blamed (Md),] and *جَاءَ بِأَمِّ الرُّبَيْقِ عَلَى أُرَيْقٍ* *He brought Calamity upon a little dusky he-camel*, which, says As, the Arabs assert to be the saying of a man who saw a goblin upon

a dusky he-camel, the , of أَوْقُ being converted into Hamza in the *dim.* [683] (A).

§ 292. The following [*ns.* (M)] have no *dim.* :—(1) the *prons.* [160, 274] (S, M, SH), because (a) the *prons.* resemble *ps.* [497] (IY, R) in not standing by themselves, and in needing something else, and *ps.* have no *dim.*; (b) most *prons.* are *unil.* or *bil.*, and [a word of] that [number of letters] has no *dim.*, because it falls short of [the number requisite for the least of] the *dim.* formations [275] (IY); (c) the *prons.* have little plasticity, since they do not qualify, nor are they qualified, as *dems.* are [147] (R) : (2) اَيْنَ and مَتَى [206] (S, M, SH), the *interrog.* and *cond. ns.* having no *dim.* for the same reason as the *prons.* [above], because they resemble the *p.*, and are not plastic in qualifying or being qualified (R) : (3) حَيْثُ [202] (S, M, SH) ; and [similarly, among *advs.* of time (IY),] اِذْ and اِذَا [204, 279] (IY, R), and مُنْذُ [203, 275] (SH) : these four being like the *prons.* in resemblance to the *p.* ; and being less plastic than they, because, in addition to neither qualifying nor being qualified, they mostly keep to one sort of inflection, [the place of the *acc.* as *advs.* of place or time] (R) : (4) مَعَ [115] (S, M, SH), because, [though *infl.*, it is aplastic in inflection, and does not qualify, nor is qualified ; and moreover (R)] it is *bil.* (IY, R), and is believed to be a *p.* by those who make [the ع in] it quiescent, [as] in فَرِيشِي آلِمْ [115]

(IY) : and [similarly (R)] عِنْدَ (S, M, R), because the object of using the *dim.* of the *adv.* is to denote *approximation*, as in نُكَيْتَ and فَوَيْقَ [274, 286, 287], while عِنْدَ denotes *extreme nearness* ; so that, since its form indicates what is indicated by the *dim.* of *adv.*, a *dim.* for it is not needed (IY) ; [and] because, though *infl.*, it is *aplastic* [64] : and similarly لَدُنْ [205], because it is *aplastic* (R) : (5) كَيْفَ [207, 274] (S) : (6) غَيْرٌ [90] (S, M, SH), contrary to مِثْلٌ, which has a *dim.* (IY, R), as هَذَا مِثْلُ هَذَا *This is rather like this* [287] (IY), because, though *difference*, like *similarity*, is susceptible of being *small* or *great*, still غَيْرٌ is deficient in plasticity, since the *art.* is not prefixed to it, nor is it dualized or pluralized, contrary to مِثْلٌ (R) : and [also (R)] سَوَى (S, IY, R) and سِوَا [89], i. q. غَيْرٌ (R), for the same reason (IY) : (7) حَسْبُ (M) [in] حَسْبُكَ [24, 68, 69, 142, 143, 201] (S, SH), because it implies the sense of the *v.* (IY, R, Jrb), since حَسْبُكَ دِرْهَمَانِ *Thy sufficiency is two dirhams* means لِيَكْفِكَ دِرْهَمَانِ *Let two dirhams suffice thee* (IY) ; and similarly what is *syn.* with it, such as كَفَيْكَ and شَرَعَكَ [69, 142, 143] (R) : (8) مَنْ [182, 274, 293] and مَا [180] (S, M, SH) and أَيُّهُمْ [116, 184, 293] (S), because they are i. q. *interrog.* [or *cond.* (IY)] *ps.* (S, IY) ; and [مَنْ and مَا] are *indecl.* and *bil.* (IY) : (a) the conjunct مَنْ

and مَا go farther in resemblance to the *p.* than الَّذِي [293], because they are *bil.*, and do not qualify, as الَّذِي does [147] (R) : (9) أَمْسِ yesterday [206] and غَدٌ to-morrow [153, 231, 275] (S, M) because, being dependent upon the day that you are in, they correspond to the *prons.* in needing the presence of *to-day*, as the *pron.* [of the 3rd pers.] needs an explicit *n.* preceding it [160] (IY) : and [similarly (S, IY)] أَوَّلُ مِنْ أَمْسِ the day before yesterday, [the predicament of which is the same as that of أَمْسِ (IY)]; and الْبَارِحَةُ yesternight (S, M), and the like (S) : (a) the [n. of] time limited on both sides, like شَهْرٌ a month, يَوْمٌ a day, لَيْلَةٌ a night, and سَنَةٌ a year, has a *dim.*, but only from regard to its containing events on account of which the time is deemed to fall short of the [standard] quantity ; while the unlimited, like حِينٌ and زَمَانٌ, and وَقْتُ, has a *dim.*, sometimes for that reason, and sometimes because the *time* itself is diminished : but, as for غَدٌ and أَمْسِ, they have no *dim.*, although they are limited, like يَوْمٌ and لَيْلَةٌ, because their most important object is to denote that one of the two days is *before*, and the other *after*, your [present] day, without any interval ; and, in this respect, they denote what is not susceptible of diminution, contrary to قَبْلٌ and بَعْدٌ [287] ; so that they have no *dim.* from regard to the events contained in them,

though that would be possible, just as they have no *dim.* from regard to the diminution of their *time* itself, since their most important object is to denote what is not susceptible of diminution (R) : (10) the days of the week (S, M, R), according to S, as **السَّبْتُ** *the Sabbath, Saturday*, **الأَحَدُ** *Sunday*, and **الاِثْنَانِ** *Monday* (R), whence **الثَّلَاثَاءُ** [273], **الأَرْبَعَاءُ** [273] (S, IY), and the like (S), to **الْجُمُعَةُ** *Friday*, because, according to him, every [*n.* of] time whose being first, second, third, etc., is regarded, is like **أَمْسٍ** and **غَدٍ** (R) ; and [similarly (IY, R)] the names of the months (S, IY, R) of the year (S), as **الْمَحَرَّمُ** *AlMuharram*, **صَفَرٌ** *Safar* (IY, R) to **ذُو الْحِجَّةِ** *Dhu-l-Hijja* (R) : for these names are applied to the month and [the day of] the week to make known that it is the first [or second] month of the year, and the first or second day of the week ; and that does not vary, so that one should be pronounced smaller than another (IY) : but [the KK and (IY)] Mz and Jr allow them to have a *dim.* (IY, R) : while one grammarian says that, when you say **يَوْمَ الْجُمُعَةِ** *on Friday* or **يَوْمَ السَّبْتِ** *on Saturday*, putting **يَوْمَ** into the *acc.*, then **الْجُمُعَةُ** and **السَّبْتُ** have no *dim.*, since they are *inf. ns. i. q.* **الْإِجْتِمَاعُ** *congregating* and **الرَّاحَةُ** *rest* ; and that even the *n.* put into the *acc.* may not have a *dim.*, because it stands in the place of **وَقَعَ** *occurred* or **يَقَعُ** *occurs or will occur*, and the *v.* has no *dim.* [288] ;

but that, when you put *يَوْمَ* into the *nom.*, then *الْجُمُعَةُ* and *السَّبْتُ*, being i. q. *الْيَوْمِ*, may have a *dim.*: and the converse of this saying is transmitted from another, vid. that *الْجُمُعَةُ* and *السَّبْتُ* may have a *dim.* with *يَوْمَ* put into the *acc.*, but not with *يَوْمَ* put into the *nom.*: (11) the verbal *ns.* [187, 288] (R): (12) the *n.* [governing (SH)] like the *v.* [330] (S, M, SH), when in the act of so governing (Jrb), whether it be an *act. part.*, a *pass. part.*, or an assimilate *ep.* (R); whereas it may have a *dim.* when not so governing (Jrb): and hence *ضَوْبَرِبُ زَيْدًا* is disallowed [288] (S, M, SH); while *ضَوْبَرِبُ زَيْدٍ* the little striker of Zaid is allowed (S, IY, SH), when *ضَارِبُ* striker denotes the past [345] (S, IY), because the sense of the *v.* is then non-existent in it (Jrb): for the *n.*, when in the *dim.*, becomes qualified by smallness [274, 282], the sense of *ضَوْبَرِبُ* [287] being like that of *ضَارِبُ صَغِيرٌ* a little, or small, striker; while the *ns.* governing like the *v.*, when they are qualified, are deposed from government [147], so that you do not say *زَيْدٌ ضَارِبٌ عَظِيمٌ عَمْرًا*, nor *أَضَارِبُ عَظِيمٌ الزَّيْدَانِ*, because they are then far from resembling the *v.*, since it is so constituted as to be attributed, but not attributed to, whereas the qualified has the *ep.* attributed to [the *pron.* relating to] it: (a) as for the *inf. n.*, its being attributed to does not depose it from government, because the verbal sense in it is strong;

and, according to this, you may say *أَعْجَبَنِي ضَرْبُكَ الشَّدِيدُ* *زَيْدًا* Thy hard striking of Zaid pleased me or *ضَرْبُكَ زَيْدًا* Thy little striking of Zaid : (b) it is said that the reason why the *n.* governing like the *v.* has no *dim.* is because resemblance to the *v.* predominates in it then, and therefore, as the *v.* has no *dim.*, so what resembles it has none ; but from this it follows that the *inf. n.* governing like the *v.* may not have a *dim.* (R).

§ 293. The *dim.* formation being one of the variations peculiar to *decl. ns.* [274], the *uninfl. ns.* [ought to (A)] have no *dim.* (IA, A). The *uninfl. ns.* [159], with regard to the *dim.*, are of two kinds, (1) a kind that has a *dim.*, but different from the *dim.* of the *decl.* [below] ; (2) a kind that has no *dim.* [292] (Jrb). Only four of the *indecl.* [formations] have a *dim.*, (1, 2) the *أَفْعَل* of wonder [288] and the synthetic *comp.* [290], the *dim.* of which is like that of the *decl.* [*n.*] ; and (3, 4) the *dem.* and the conjunct *n.* [274] (Aud, A). But Syt adds in the Ham' (5, 6) the [*uninfl.*] *voc.* [48] and *أَوْه* [187], as *أَوْهِيَّة*, like *زَيْدًا* *زَيْدٌ* [188] (Sn). *لَا* [171] and *أَلَذِي* [176] and [some of (Sn)] their *derivs.* have *dims.* (IA, A), anomalously (IA). The *dem.* ought not to have a *dim.*, because resemblance to the *p.* predominates in it, and because its *o. f.*, vid. *لَا*, is *bil.* ; but, since it is plastic, like *decl. ns.*, qualifying and being qualified, and

having a *du.*, *pl.*, and *fem.*, it is treated like them in having a *dim.* [274]. Similarly the conjuncts ought not to have *dims.*, because resemblance to the *p.* predominates in them; but, since some of them are *tril.*, as **الَّذِي** [292] and **الَّتِي**, and are plastic, like *decl. ns.*, qualifying, and having a *fem.*, *du.*, and *pl.*, these and their variations may have *dims.*, contrary to the other conjuncts, like **مَنْ** and **مَا** [274, 292] (R). **أَيُّ** [292] and **مَنْ** have no *dim.*, [even] when i. q. **الَّذِي**, because they are [also i. q.] *interrog. ps.*; whereas **الَّذِي** corresponds to **ذَا**, because it is not [i. q.] an *interrog. p.* (S). But not all the *derivs.* have *dims.* (A). That has been heard in five words of the *dem.*, vid. (1, 2) **ذَا** and **تَا**, (3, 4) **ذَانِ** and **تَانِ**, and (5) [**أُولَا** or **أُولَاءَ**]; and in five words of the conjunct *n.* also, vid. (1, 2) **الَّذِي** and **الَّتِي**, (3, 4) the *du.* of both, and (5) the *pl.* of **الَّذِي** (Aud). The *dim.* of these *ns.* agrees with the *dim.* of the *decl. n.* in the following [three (Aud, Sn)] matters :—(1) a quiescent **ي** is added [third (A), except in the instances mentioned below, where it is second (Sn)]: (2) it is [always (Aud)] preceded by Fatha (Aud, A): (3) such of these *ns.* as are short of three [letters] must be supplemented [275] (Aud); [so that] the *raul.* elided from **الَّذَانِ** [176], **الَّتَانِ**, and **الَّذِينَ**, from **ذَا** and **تَا**, and from **ذَانِ** and **تَانِ** [below], is

restored (Sn). It differs from the *dim.* of the *decl. n.* in the following [three (Aud, Sn)] matters:—(1) the original vowel of the initial is retained : (2) an **ا** [497] is added at the end as a compensation for the *Ḍamm* of the initial (Aud, A) imported for the formation of the *dim.* (Sn) : (a) that compensation is put when the *n.* does not end in a *du.* or *pl.* augment (Aud, Sn); but, when it does, there is no compensation, because the *n.* is long by reason of the augment (Sn) : (3) the **ي** [of the *dim.* (Sn)] sometimes occurs second, vid. in **ذَيَّا** and **تَيَّا**, and **ذَيَّان** and **تَيَّان** [below] (Aud, Sn). You say (1, 2) **ذَيَّا** and **تَيَّا** (M, SH, IA, Aud, A), *dims.* of **ذَا** and **تَا** (M, Jrb, IA, Aud, A) : (a) the **ا** is added at the end, as a substitute for the *Ḍamma*, after completion of the word **ذَا** to three letters by addition of a **ي** at its end, as in **مُنِّي** *dim.* of **مَنْ** [275]; so that it becomes **ذَيَّا** : and then, the **ي** of the *dim.* being inserted third, after the [first] **ا**, as it ought to be, what precedes it must be pronounced with *Fath*; and therefore the [first] **ا** is converted into **ي**, not into **و**, in order that it may differ from the *aug.* **ا**s in the *decl. ns.*, which in such a position are converted into **و**, because they occur after the *Ḍamma* of the *dim.*, as in **ضَوَّيْرَبْ** [278]; so that it becomes **ذَيَّيَّا** : (b) you may say that the *o. f.* of **ذَا** is **ذَيِّي** or **ذَوِّي**, the **ا** having been converted into **ا** [684]; and the **ع** anomalously elided, as in **سَع** [275,

667]: and that the ع being restored in the *dim.*, as is necessary, and the ی of the *dim.* being added after the ع, the ʾ reverts to its *o. f.* of ی, as in [فَتَّى (S),] the *dim.* of فَتَّى [275, 278]; so that it becomes ذَيَّآ or ذَوَّآ, though its ع should rather be *orig.* ا, because the *conjug.* of طَوَّى is more numerous than that of حَى; while the Imala of ذَا [639] is because of the ʾ's being ا ل in ذَوَّى, and the ع's being elided: (c) then they elide the ع anomalously, because, the *dim.* of the vague *ns.* being irregular, as above shown, one anomaly emboldens them to another; so that it becomes ذَيَّآ (R): (d) IM says in the CK that the *o. f.* of ذَيَّآ and ذَيَّآ is ذَيَّآ and ذَيَّآ with three ی's, the first being the ع, and the third the ل, of the word, [upon the ground that ذَا is *tril., orig.* ذَيَّآ (Sn),] and the middle one being the ی of the *dim.*; but that, the succession of three ی's being deemed heavy, alleviation by elision of one is intended; while the ی of the *dim.* may not be elided, because it indicates a meaning; nor may the third, because, the ʾ being necessarily preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath, it follows that, if the third were elided, the ی of the *dim.* which is not vocalized because of its resemblance to the ʾ of the broken *pl.*, would have to be pronounced with Fath; so that the first must be elided, although that entails occurrence of the ی of the *dim.* second, which is pardoned because it helps to carry out

the intention that the *dim.* of what has no declinability should be different from the *dim.* of what is *decl.* (A):

(c) no *fem.* has a *dim.* except تَا and تِي [below] (R): (f) ذِي

has no *dim.*, [by common consent (Aud), the *dim.* of تَا being used instead (Jrb),] to avoid confusion (R, Jrb, Aud, Sn) with [the *dim.* of (Jrb, Sn)] the *masc.* (R, Jrb, Sn) ذَا (Sn); nor has ذِي (R, Jrb), for the same reason

(Jrb), being *orig.* ذِي (R); nor has تِي [above], the *dim.* of تَا being used instead (Aud, Sn), contrary to the opinion of IM [and R] (Aud): (g) the language of IM [and R]

suggests the notion that تِي, like تَا, has a *dim.*; but the GG distinctly declare that no *fem.* expression has a *dim.* except تَا; and this is understood from [IM's words in] the Tashil, where he says "No *indecl.* has a *dim.* except ذَا and الذِي and their *derivs.* mentioned below", and does

not mention any *fem.* expression except تَا (A): (3, 4) ذِيَان and تِيَان (Aud, A), *dims.* of the *du.* (A): (a) in the *du.* they elide the *l* added as a compensation for the Damma, contenting themselves with the *y* of the *dim.*, because the *l* of compensation and the *l* of the *du.* are combined; and, when two quiescents are combined, the rule is to elide the first when a letter of prolongation

[663] (R): (5) أُوْلِيَا or أُوْلِيَاء, *dim.* of أُوْلَا or أُوْلَاء (M, R, Aud, A): (a) the Damma in أُوْلِيَا [and أُوْلِيَاء (Sn)] is

original (IY, R, Sn), not the Damma [imported for the formation (IY)] of the *dim.* (IY, R); and [for this reason (IY, R), as YS says (Sn),] the | is [added as (IY, R)] a compensation for the Damma (IY, R, Sn) of the *dim.* (IY, Sn), which ought to be in them, but is not, the original Damma being retained (Sn): (b) Mb says that the | of compensation is added before the final in ^{أَوَّلِيَّاءُ}, because, if it were added at the end, the *dim.* of ^{أَوَّلِيَّاءُ} would be liable to be confounded with that of ^{أَوَّلِيَّاءُ}: for since you treat ^{أَوَّلِيَّاءُ} like a *decl. n.* [in giving it a *dim.*], you assume its Hamza after the | to be converted from a , or ي , as in ^{كِسَاءُ} and ^{رَدَاءُ} [683]; and therefore, as you say ^{رَدَاءُ} *dim.* ^{رَدِيَّاءُ} by elision of the third ي [281], so you say ^{أَوَّلِيَّاءُ}; and then, the | being added at the end, it becomes ^{أَوَّلِيَّاءُ}, which is liable to be confounded with the *dim.* of the abbreviated: and therefore you add the | of compensation before the Hamza after the |; and then the | of ^{أَوَّلِيَّاءُ} is converted into ي [279], like the | of ^{حِمَارٌ} when you say ^{حِمَارٌ} [281]; but the ي is not pronounced with Kasr, as in ^{حِمَارٌ}, in order that the | of compensation may be preserved; so that it becomes ^{أَوَّلِيَّاءُ}: (c) Zj adds the | of compensation at the end of ^{أَوَّلِيَّاءُ}, but assumes the Hamza of ^{أَوَّلِيَّاءُ} to be *orig.* an |; so that, when the ي of the *dim.* is inserted, three |s, says he, are combined after it, the first being the one after the | of ^{أَوَّلِيَّاءُ}

the second the *o. f.* of the Hamza, according to what he asserts, and the third the *!* of compensation; and then the first is converted into *ى*, as in *حَمِيرٌ*⁸; while the two others remain, the last being made a Hamza, as in *حَمِيرَاءُ* [263, 683], and then pronounced with Kasr, as in the *non-dim.* (R). No other *dem.* have a *dim.* (A). The *ء* of premonition is prefixed [174], and the *ن* of allocution [and the *ل* of distance (Sn)] affixed [172, 173], to the *dim. dems.* (IY, R, A) *ذِيَّ* and *تِيَّ* [and their *du.* and *pl.* (R)], as *هُدَيَّا* (IY, R) and *هَاتِيَّ*, *ذِيَّانَ* and *تِيَّانَ* (IY), and *ذِيَالِدَ*, whence *مِنْ هُوَ لِيَاثُكُنَّ الْح* [171] (R): so says IM in the Tashil (A). And you say (1, 2) *الَّذِيَّ* and *الَّتِيَّ* (M, SH, IA, Aud, A), *dims.* of *الَّذِي* and *الَّتِي* (M, R, Jrb, IA, A), as *بَعْدَ الَّتِيَّ الْح* [177] (IY): (a) the *ى* after the *ى* of the *dim.* is pronounced with Fath in order that the *!* of compensation may be preserved (R): (b) *الَّذِيَّ* and *الَّتِيَّ* with Damm of the initial are transmitted; but Fath is more agreeable with analogy, in order that the substitute and the original may not be combined (IY, R): (3, 4) *الَّذِيَّانِ* and *الَّتِيَّانِ* (IY, SH, Aud, A) in the *nom.* (IY), and *الَّذِيَّيْنِ* and *الَّتِيَّيْنِ* (IY, R) in the *acc.* and *gen.* (IY), *dims.* of the *du.* (IY, R, A), eliding the *!* of compensation before the two signs of the *du.*, because of the combination of two quiescents (R): (5) *الَّذِيَّوْنَ* (M, SH, Aud, A) in the *nom.* (IY, A), and

اللَّذَيْنِ [in the *acc.* and *gen.* (IY, A)], with Damm [or the ي (IY, R) before the و (IY, A)], and Kasr (IY, R, A) before the ي (A). So says S (R, A), who in the *du.* and *pl.* elides the | of compensation as forgotten, like the ي of الَّذِي in the *du.* [176] (R); while Akh, [who does not elide it as forgotten, either in the *du.* or in the *pl.* (R), holding that the letter before the | remains pronounced with Fath, to indicate the elided | (IY),] says [in the *pl.* (R)] اللَّذَيْنِ and اللَّذَيْنِ (IY, R, A) with Fath (IY, A) of the ي (IY, Sn) before the sign of the *pl.* (Sn), as in the abbreviated [234] (A), like الْمُصْطَفُونَ (IY, R, Sn) and الْمُصْطَفَيْنِ: but the pronunciation heard in the whole is Damm or Kasr of the ي, as is the opinion of S (R). The ذ, according to both opinions, is pronounced with Fath (Sn). And the reason why in the *dim.* اللَّذِينَ in the *nom.* and اللَّذَيْنِ in the *acc.* and *gen.* are regular, while in the *non-dim.* الَّذِونَ in the *nom.* is anomalous [176], is only that الَّذِي, since it has a *dim.*, resembles the *decl.*; so that its *pl.* conforms in inflection [of the *dim.*] to the *pl.* of the *decl.* [285] (R): [or] A in what he says, [like the other GG cited above,] conforms to the *dial.* of those who inflect الَّذِينَ with the و in the *nom.*; while, according to the *dial.* of the majority, there is no difference between the *nom.* and the *acc.* and *gen.* (Sn). And [for the *dim.* of the *pl.* of (IY, A) the *fem.* (IY) اَلَّتِي (A)] you say اَتَلَّتِيَّات (M. SH, Aul, A), which

is the [sound (IY, R)] *pl.* of (IY, R, Aud, A) **الَّتِيَّ** (R, Aud, A), the *dim.* of (IY, Aud, A) the *sing.* (IY) **الَّتِي** (Aud, A), the **ا** [of compensation (R)] being elided [from **الَّتِيَّ** (Sn)] because of [the concurrence of (Sn)] the two quiescents (R, Sn), it and the **ا** of the *pl.* (Sn). S says that (IY, R, A), according to the soundest opinion (Aud), they use **الَّتِيَّاتُ** instead of forming a *dim.* from **الَّتِي** (S, IY, R, Aud, A) or **الَّتِيَّ** (R, Aud), which therefore has no *dim.* (S, A); for, since the state of these *ns.* in the *dim.* is not the same as that of non-vague *ns.*, some of them become used instead of others (S), as they use **عَشِيَّانَا** and **عَشِيَّانَا** *He came to us near evening* instead of forming a *dim.* from **قَصْرٌ** i. q. [**مَسَاءٌ** and (IY)] **عَشِيٌّ** [286] (S, IY) in **أَتَانَا قَصْرًا** *He came to us at evening* (S). But Akh forms a homomorphous *dim.* from **الَّتِي** (IY, R) or **الَّتِيَّ**, by analogy, not from hearsay (R), arguing that **الَّتِيَّ** [or **الَّتِي**] is not a homomorphous *pl.* of **الَّتِي**, but only a *quasi-pl. n.* [176], like **نَفَرٌ** and **قَوْمٌ** [285], which is agreeable with analogy (IY); so that he says [**الَّتِيَّاتُ** as *dim.* of **الَّتِي**, by conversion of the **ا** into **و**, as in the *pl.* **الَّتِيَّاتُ**, and elision of the **ي**, and (R)] **الَّتِيَّاتُ** (IY, R) as *dim.* of **الَّتِي** [below] (R). And Akh also allows **الَّتِيَّاتُ** as *dim.* of **الَّتِي** without a Hamza [176] (A). Here the [final (Sn)]

ى of اللَّاتِي [or اللَّاتِي (Sn)] is elided [in the *dim.*] (R, Sn), in order that, by the addition of the ِ of compensation, five letters besides the ى [of the *dim.*] may not be combined (R), because, if the *dim.* were formed from the full complement [of letters], and اللَّوَيْتِيَا [or اللَّوَيْتِيَا] were said, the *dim.* would, by the addition of the ِ at its end, consist of five letters besides the ى of the *dim.*, and that does not happen in the *dim.* [274] (Sn). Mz, however, says that, when elision [of a letter on account of the adventitious ِ (IY)] is unavoidable, then the ِ after the ِ should rather be elided, because it is *aug.* (IY, R), since اللَّاتِي is assumed to be [upon the measure of] فَاعِلٌ [176] (IY); so that the *dim.* of اللَّاتِي is اللَّتِيَا, exactly like the *dim.* of اللَّتِيَا [above]. And some of the BB say اللَّوَيْتِيَا and اللَّوَيْتِيَا without elision of anything. But all of that is fanciful, going beyond what has been heard on the strength of mere analogy, which is not allowable (R). S does not mention any *dim.* conjuncts except اللَّكْدِيَا and اللَّتِيَا and their *du.* and *pl.*: but IM says in the Tashīl “and اللَّتِيَا and اللَّوَيْتِيَا *dims.* of اللَّاتِي [above], اللَّوِيَا *dim.* of اللَّاتِي [above], [by conversion of the ِ into و, and of the Hamza into ى, and elision of the ى (Sn),] and اللَّوِيَرْنَ [in the *nom.*, and اللَّوِيَرْنَ in the *acc.* and *gen.* (Sn),] *dim.* of اللَّاتِيَيْنِ, [the double ى being the ى of the *dim.* incorporated into the ى substituted for the Hamza, and, in a MS of the CK,

اللَّوَيْثُونَ with the Hamza retained after the quiescent ى (Sn)]"; so that he adds the *dims.* of اللَّاتِي , اللَّاتِي , and اللَّاتِيَّاتُ : and his language appears to mean that اللَّاتِيَّاتُ and اللَّوَيْثَا are both *dims.* of اللَّاتِي , which in the case of اللَّوَيْثَا is correct, being mentioned by Akh ; while اللَّاتِيَّاتُ is only the *pl.* of اللَّاتِيَّاتُ , as above shown (A). This is what is said : but I think that, since the *dim.* of the vague *ns.* is irregular, as we have mentioned, a ى is put as a compensation for the Damma, and the ى of the *dim.* is incorporated into it ; so that in the *dim.* of all the vague *ns.* there exists a double ى , the first of which is the ى of the *dim.*, and the second a compensation for the Damma ; and therefore the ى of compensation, being necessarily mobilized [to avoid the concurrence of two quiescents], is pronounced with Fath for the sake of lightness : and then, (1) if the second letter in the *n.* be quiescent, as in ذَا and تَا , and ذَانِ and تَانِ , this double ى is put after the first letter, because, if put after the second, as the ى of the *dim.* ought to be [274], a concurrence of two quiescents would be entailed ; and, according to this, the ا of ذِيَّ and تِيَّ is the one that was in the *non-dim.* : (2) if the second letter of the word be mobile, as in اُولَا and اُولَاءُ , the ى of the *dim.* is put in its [proper] position after the second ; and, according to this, the *dim.*

of اَلَّذِي and اَلَّتِي ought to be اَلَّذَيْنِ and اَلَّتَيْنِ with a quiescent ي at the end after a ي pronounced with Fath, but is lightened by conversion of the third [ي] into ا, from dislike to the combination of ي s (R).

CHAPTER XI.

THE RELATIVE NOUN.

§ 294. The *rel. n.* is the *n.* to whose end a double ي [preceded by Kasra (M)] is affixed as a sign of *relation* to the *n.* (M, SH) bare of the ي (SH), like هَاشِمِيّ^٢ descended from Hāshim, بَصْرِيّ^٢ residing at AlBasra, [and مُنَكَبِيّ^٢ seller of a kind of cloth called مُنَكَم^٢ (IY),] as the ة is affixed as a sign of femininization [263] (M). Relation needs a sign, because it is an adventitious meaning (Jrb). The letter added is the ي, and not any other, because analogy requires it to be one of the letters of prolongation and softness, since they are light, and are frequently added; while the ا is not added, lest the *n.*, becoming abbreviated, be debarred from inflection [16]; and the ي is lighter than the و. The ي of relation is doubled for two reasons, (1) in order that it may not be confounded with the ي of the 1st pers. [161]; (2) because, if it were affixed single, the letter before it being pronounced with Kasr, then the Damma and the Kasra [in the *nom.* and *gen.*], would be heavy upon it, as upon [the ي in] الْقَاضِيّ and الدَّاعِيّ [16], and it would be exposed to elision when the Tanwīn was affixed to it. And the letter before it is pronounced with Kasr for two reasons, (1) because the ي is a quiescent letter of prolongation,

which is doubled only from fear of confusion; and the vowel before a letter of prolongation is always homogeneous with it: (2) because the letter before it, while necessarily mobilized because of the quiescence of the *ی*, is not pronounced with Fath, lest it be confounded with the *du.*; and Kasra is lighter than Damma. This *ی* is a *p.*, like the *š* of feminization, having no position in inflection. The KK hold it to be a *n.* in the position of a *gen.* governed by prefixion of the first *n.* to it; and cite in argument the saying transmitted from the Arabs رَأَيْتُ النَّبِيَّ تَيْمَ عَدِيّ *I saw the descendant of Taim, of the Taim of 'Adi* with the second تَيْم in the *gen.*, holding it to be a substitute for the *ی* in النَّبِيَّ: but what they transmit, if correctly reported, is attributable to suppression of the *pre.*, as though صَاحِبَ تَيْمَ عَدِيّ (*the clansman of the Taim of 'Adi*) were said, like أَكَلَ أَمْرِي الْح [127] (IY). As the *fem.* is divisible into proper and improper [263], so is the *rel. n.*, the proper being what affects the sense, [indicating *relation* to one of the things mentioned, like the ancestor, country, and trade, as هَاشِمِيّ, بَصْرِيّ, and مُلْكَبِيّ (IY)]; and the improper being what depends upon the form alone, [not indicating *relation* to any of the things mentioned, but having the augment of relation at its end (IY),] as كُرْسِيّ [248], بَرْدِيّ [274] (M), قُبْرِيّ,

and بُخْتَنِي [248]. That is corroborated by the fact that كُرْسِي and بَرْدِي are substantives, as you see; whereas, if they were really *rel. ns.*, they would pass into the *cat.* of the *ep.* [below] (IY). And, as the ة is used to distinguish between the genus and its individual [254], so is the ي, as رُومِي a Greek [310] and رُوم Greeks, [زَنْجِي a Negro and زَنْج Negroes (IY),] مَجُوسِي a Magian and مَجُوس Magians (M). F says that الْمَجُوس the Magians and الْيَهُود the Jews are made *det.* [with the *art.*] only on the ground that مَجُوس Magians and يَهُود Jews are [*indet.*, being] *pls.* of مَجُوسِي a Magian and يَهُودِي a Jew, as شَعِير is of شَعِيرَة [254], and are then made *det.* with the *art.*; otherwise prefixion of the *art.* to them would not be allowable, because they would be *det.* [as proper names]: and, says he, being *fem.*, they follow the course of the قَبِيلَة, and are not treated like the حِي in triptote declension [Note on p. 39, l. 11]; and he cites the saying of Imra alKais

أَحَارِ أُرِيكَ بَرْقًا هَبَّ وَهَنَا * كَنَارِ مَجُوسَ تَسْتَعِرُ اسْتِعَارًا

O Hārith, I will show thee lightning that has played at midnight, like the fire of the Magians blazing brightly (Jh). They affix to the end of the *n.* a ي like the ي of relation, (1) to distinguish between the individual and its genus, as زَنْجِي and زَنْج [253, 310] and تُرْكِي and تُرْك [253, 310]

[248], corresponding to تَمَرٌ and تَمَرَةٌ, and نَخْلٌ and نَخْلَةٌ [254]: (2) to denote *intensiveness*, as أَحْمَرُ *red* and أَشْقَرُ *sorrel*, أَحْمَرِيٌّ *very red* and أَشْقَرِيٌّ *bright sorrel*, like رَاوِيَةٌ and نَسَابَةٌ [265]: (3) as a permanent *aug.*, as كُرْسِيٌّ [above], بُرْنِيٌّ *an excellent kind of date*, and بُرْدِيٌّ with Fath [of the ب and quiescence of the , (Sn)]; and this is like the affixion of the ة to the n. in which the *fem.* gender has no meaning, as غُرْفَةٌ and ظُلْمَةٌ [265]: (4) as an accidental *aug.*, as أَطْرَبًا أَلْحَ [581], i. e. دَوَّارٌ (A); but here, says Dm, the ي may denote *corroboration of the intensiveness*, like the ة in عَلَامَةٌ [below] (Sn); and hence [the good ex. of the non-permanent *aug.* is (Sn)] the saying of Aṣṣalatān [Kūtham Ibn Khabiya al'Abdī (AKB)] أَنَا الصَّلَاتَانِي الَّذِي قَدْ عَلِمْتُمْ * إِذَا مَا تَحَكَّمْ فَهُوَ بِالْحَكْمِ صَادِعٌ (A) *I am Aṣṣalatan, whom ye have known. Whenever he assumes the office of judge, he is decisive by the judgment*, the م of تَحَكَّمْ being quiescent for the sake of the metre (Sn). The clause "as a sign of relation to the n. bare of the ي" excludes the n. to whose end a double ي is affixed, denoting *unity*, as in زَوْجِيٌّ and زَيْنَجِيٌّ; or *intensiveness*, as in أَحْمَرِيٌّ and دَوَّارِيٌّ; or having no meaning, as in بُرْدِيٌّ and كُرْسِيٌّ: for these ns. are not said to be *rel. ns.*, nor their ي to be the ي of relation, as تَمَرَةٌ [254], where the ة denotes *unity*, and عَلَامَةٌ [312], where

it denotes *intensiveness*, and غُرْفَةٌ [265], where it has no meaning, are said to be *fem. ns.*, and their *ʔ* to be the *ʔ* of feminization, because they follow the course of the proper *fem.* in some things, like the feminization of their attribute [263], their becoming diptote in such as طَلْحَةٌ [18], and the conversion of their *ʔ* into *ʔ* in pause [646] (R). The object of the *rel. n.* is to pronounce the related to be *one of the race of the ancestor related to*, or [*one*] *of the residents of that city*, or *of the workers at that trade*; and its import is that of the *ep.* (IY, Jrb). The *n.* compounded of the double ع and of the *n.* related to becomes one *n.* [denoting] *related to [what is denoted by] the n. bare of the ع*; and therefore indicates an *unspecified substance qualified by a specified quality*, *vid. relation to [what is denoted by] the n. bare of the ع*: so that it is like the rest of the *eps.*, such as the *act.* and *pass. parts.* and the *assimilate ep.*, each of which is [denotative of] *an unspecified substance qualified by a specified quality*; and therefore it needs something that, by itself or by its belonging, will particularize that substance, as مَرَرْتُ بِرَجُلٍ تَمِيمِي وَبِرَجُلٍ مِصْرِي حِمَارٌ *I passed by a man descended from Tamīm, and by a man whose ass was Egyptian*, where it governs in the *nom.* in the first case the *pron.* of the qualified, and in the second the belonging of the qualified, like the rest of the *eps.* mentioned [145]. But it does not govern the direct *obj.*,

since it is i. q. the *intrans.* مُنْتَسِبٌ or مَنَسُوبٌ [142]. And, from its want of resemblance to the *v.* in form, it governs only the particularizer of that vague substance, whether an explicit *n.*, as in رَجُلٌ مِصْرِيٌّ حِمَارَةٌ; or a *pron.*, as in رَجُلٌ قَبِيلِيٌّ: and nothing else, except the *adv.*, for [governing] which a tinge of the *v.* is sufficient [64, 498], as in أَنَا قُرَشِيٌّ أَبَدًا *I am always related to Qurāish*; or the *d. s.*, which resembles it [75]: ‘Imrān Ibn Ḥiṭṭān says

يَوْمًا يَمَانٍ إِذَا لَقِيتُ ذَا يَمَنٍ * وَإِنْ لَقِيتُ مَعَدِيًّا فَعَدْنَانِي
(R) *One day (I am) an inhabitant of Al Yaman [311] when I meet a man of Yaman; and, if I meet a descendant of Ma'add, I am a descendant of 'Adnān, orig. عَدْنَانِي*
(MAR). The relation produces [three (A)] alterations (M, A) in the [*rel.* (IY)] *n.* (M), (1) in form, vid. [three things (A),] (a) the addition of the double ي [of relation (IY)] at the end of the *rel. n.*; (b) the Kasr of the letter before the ي; (c) the transfer of the inflection to the ي [309] (IY, A): (2) in sense, vid. the *n.*'s becoming denotative of what it did not denote (A), i. e. *the related*; whereas, before that, it denoted *the related to* (Sn): (3) in predicament, vid. the *n.*'s [being treated like the assimilate *ep.* in its invariably (A)] governing in the *nom.* the *pron.* or explicit *n.* [above] (IY, A). And in some *ns.* one or more alterations are added to these (A). The alterations are of two kinds, regular, universal in their

language ; and irregular (M). The alterations entailed by the *ى* of relation on the *n.* related to are (1) common to all *ns.*, vid. Kasr of the letter before the *ى*, for affinity to it : (2) peculiar to some, vid. (a) elision of a letter [below], like the elision of (*α*) the *ة* of femininization and the signs of the *du.* and the two [sound] *pls.* [295] ; (b) the *ى* of *فَعِيلَةٌ* and *فُعَيْلَةٌ* [297], and of *فَعِيلٌ* and *فُعَيْلٌ* when unsound in the *l* [299] : (b) conversion of a letter, as in *عَصْرِيٌّ* and *رَحْوِيٌّ* [300], and in *عَمْرِيٌّ* [301] : (c) restoration of the elided letter, as in *دَمْرِيٌّ* [306] : (d) substitution of one vowel for another, as in *نَمْرِيٌّ* and *شَقْرِيٌّ* [296] : (e) addition of (*α*) a consonant, as in *كَبِيٌّ* [306] and *لَاتِيٌّ* [300, 306] ; (b) a vowel, as in *طَرَوِيٌّ* and *حَيْرِيٌّ* [302] : (f) transfer from one formation to another, as in *مَسْجِدِيٌّ* from *مَسَاجِدُ* [310] : (g) elision of a word, as in *مَرْمِيٌّ* from *أَمْرٌ* *أَلْقَيْسِ* [306, 308, 309] (R). On account of this *ى* six things are elided at the end, (1) the double *ى* occurring after three or more letters, whether both the *ى* s be *aug.*, as in *كُرْسِيٌّ* and *شَانِعِيٌّ*, *rel. ns.* *كُرْسِيٌّ* and *شَانِعِيٌّ* [303] ; or one of them be *aug.*, and the other *rad.*, as in *مَرْمِيٌّ*, *orig.* *مَرْمُورِيٌّ*, *rel. n.* *مَرْمِيٌّ* [303] : (2) the *ة* of femininization, as *مَكَّةُ* *rel. n.* *مَكِّيٌّ* [295] : (3) the *ل*, if it be (*α*) after four or more [letters], which occurs in the case of (*α*) the *ل* of

femininization, as حَبَارَى [300]; (b) the ا of coordination, as حَبْرَكَى [253, 300, 397]; (c) the ا converted from a *rad.*, as مُصْطَفَى [300]: (b) fourth, when the second [letter] of its word is mobile, which occurs only in the case of the ا of femininization, as جَبْرَى [300]: (4) the defective ى after four or more [letters], as مُعْتَدٍ and مُسْتَعِلٍ [301]: (5-6) the sign of the *du.* and the sign of the sound *pl. masc.*, as زَيْدَانِ and زَيْدُونَ, when proper names inflected with consonants, *rel. n.* زَيْدَى [295]. And in the penultimate also six things are elided, vid. (1) the ى pronounced with Kasr, and having another ى incorporated into it, as طَيِّبٌ and هَيِّينٌ, *rel. ns.* طَيِّبَى and هَيِّينَى [298] by elision of the second ى: (2) the ى of فَعِيلَةٌ, as صَحِيفَةٌ and حَنِيفَةٌ [297]: (3) the ى of فَعِيلَةٌ, as جُهَيْنَةٌ and قُرَيْظَةٌ [297]: (4) the و of فَعُولَةٌ, as شَنْوَةٌ [297]: (5) the ى of فَعِيلٌ unsound in the ل, as غَنِىٌّ and عَلِىٌّ [299]: (b) the ى of فَعِيلٌ unsound in the ل, as قَصَى [299] (Aud). These are the regular alterations; and, as for the anomalous, they will be described in their places (R). [Z followed by] IH puts the regular alterations first [295—310]; and, after finishing them, points out the irregular ones [311] (Jrb).

§ 295. You elide (1) the ة of femininization (SH, IM), as مَكَّةُ *Makka*, *rel. n.* مَكَّتَى [294] (IA, A), and فَاطِمَةُ

Faṭīma, *rel. n.* فَاطِمَةُ (A), unrestrictedly (SH), i. e., whether the *n.* containing the *ṣ* be a proper name, like مَكَّة and الْكُوفَةُ *AlKūfa*, or not, like غُرْفَةٌ [238, 263] and صَفْرَةٌ *yellowness*, contrary to the augments of the *du.* and [sound] *pl.*, which are sometimes not elided in the proper name [below]; and whether the *ṣ* be in a proper *fem.*, as in عَزَّة *‘Azza*, or not, as in حَمْرَةٌ *Hamza*; and whether it be after the *ḥ* in the *pl. fem.*, as in مُسْلِمَاتٌ [below], or not (R): (2) the sign (IM), [i. e.,] the augment (SH), of the *du.*, [vid. the *ḥ* and ن, and the *ṣ* and ن (R),] and of the [sound (IM, R, Jrb)] *pl.* (SH, IM) *masc.* [294] or *fem.* (Sn), vid. the و and ن, the *ṣ* and ن, and the *ḥ* and ت (R), as مُسْلِمَانِ, مُسْلِمُونَ, and مُسْلِمَاتٌ [above], *rel. n.* مُسْلِمِي (A), except when [the *du.* or sound *pl. masc.* is] a proper name *infl.* with vowels (SH). The *ṣ* of feminization is elided (1) in order that two *ṣ* s [of feminization (A), one before, and the other after, the *ṣ* (R),] may not be combined in the *fem. rel. n.* [265] (R, A), as مَكْتَبِيَّة (Sn); and then its elision is extended to the *masc. rel. n.*, as جُلُوفِي (R): (2) in order that its retention may not conduce to the occurrence of the *ṣ* of feminization as a medial (Sn): (3) as is said, because the *ṣ* is sometimes like the *ṣ* in importing *unity* and *intensiveness*, and in having no meaning [294]; so that, if the *ṣ* were not elided, two *ṣ* s or two *ṣ* s would, as it

were, be combined ; but, according to this reasoning, ^{كُوفِيَّةٌ} or ^{بَصْرِيَّةٌ} ought not to be said, since this also combines them. The ت in ^{أُخْتُ} and ^{بِنْتُ} [307], though not for femininization [263, 689], as is proved by the triptote declension of ^{أُخْتُ} and ^{بِنْتُ} when used as names, is elided because of the tinge of femininization in it [277] (R). The saying of the theologians ^{ذَاتِي} from ^{ذَات} *essence, substance* and the saying of the vulgar ^{خَلِيفَتِي} from ^{خَلِيفَة} *a successor, Khalīfa* are solecisms, the correct forms being ^{ذَوِّي} [307] and ^{خَلْفِي} [297] (Aud, A). As for the elision of the ن, [the reason for] it is manifest, because the ن indicates the completeness of the word [84], while the ي of relation is like one of its parts. The elision of the ا, و, and ي mentioned is because they are inflections [16], and no inflection is in the middle ; and also because, if they were not elided, two equal signs would be combined in such as ^{مُسْلِمَانِيَانِ} and ^{مُسْلِمُونِيُونِ}, and the signs of the *du.* and *pl.* in such as ^{مُسْلِمُونِيَانِ} and ^{مُسْلِمَانِيُونِ}, so that the word would contain two inflections. The ا and ت in such as ^{مُسْلِمَات} are elided, because, since both together import *femininization*, as they import *pluralization* [234], the retention of both would entail a combination of two ة s in such as ^{عَرَفَاتِيَّة} [from ^{عَرَفَات} below]; while neither of them is retainable or

removable separately from the other, because they are like one sign. You say عَاذْتُ 'Anāz, *rel. n.* عَاذِي; and أَذْرَعْتُ [13, 17], *rel. n.* أَذْرَعِي (R) with Fath of the , [296] (KF, LL). The predicament of such [*du.* and sound *pls.*, *masc.* or *fem.*,] as are used as names, [*infl.* (Sn)] according to the *dial.* of imitation, [i. e., as before their use as names (Sn),] is similar [to that of the *du.* and *pl.*, when not used as names, in elision of the sign and restoration to the *sing.* (Sn)], as نَصِيبُونَ *Naṣībūn*, *rel. n.* نَصِيبِي, and عَرَفَاتُ [13], *rel. n.* عَرَفِي (A). When you make the *du.* and the *pl.* with the , and ن proper names, then, (1) if you retain their inflection as it was, elision is necessary in the *rel. n.*, since the objection remains, for which reason, when you name a man عَشْرُونَ or مُسْلِمُونَ, you may not say عَشْرُونَ and عَشْرُونَ, nor مُسْلِمُونَ and مُسْلِمُونَ: (2) if you inflect them with vowels, making the ن after the | in the *du.*, and after the ي [236] in the *pl.*, the seat of inflection, the | and the ي are not inflectional, nor does the ن import completeness of the word, but the word is like سَكَرَانُ and غَسْلَيْنِ; so that their *rel. ns.* must be formed without elision of anything, as بَكَرَانِي [311] and قَنَسْرِينِي [236] (R). And therefore قَنَسْرِي [from قَنَسْرُونَ (Jrb)] and قَنَسْرِينِي [from قَنَسْرِينَ (Jrb)] occur (SH), قَنَسْرِينَ [with

Fath, and sometimes Kasr, of its second (MI)] being a proper name [of a city one day's journey from Aleppo (MI)], diptote because a *fem.* proper name [exceeding three letters] (Jrb). When the [sound] *pl. masc.* is a name, then those who treat it like هَرُونَ [in inseparability of the , and in diptote declension because of the quality of proper name and quasi-foreignness (Sn)], or like عَرَبُونَ [in inseparability of the , and in triptote declension (Sn)], or make the , and the Fath of the ن inseparable from it [by imitation of its *o. f.* in the *nom.* case (Sn)], say مُسْلِمُونِي from مُسْلِمُونَ when a name (A). F declines حَمْدُونَ as a diptote because of determination and [virtual (Sn)] foreignness, [which is termed quasi-foreignness (Sn),] holding that حَمْدُونَ and similar proper names augmented at their ends by a , and ن following a Damma, but not denoting plurality, are not found in native Arab usage, but in usage really or virtually foreign ; so that they are co-ordinated with what is declined as a diptote because of determination and pure foreignness (A on the diptote). As for such as سِنُونَ and كُرُونَ [234], when not proper names, they must be restored to the *sing.*, when their *rel. ns.* are to be formed, whether the ن be made the seat of inflection or not [310] (R). As for [such as (Aud)] تَمَرَاتٌ, [where the second is mobile, and the 1 fourth (Sn), if it remain a *pl.*, then (Aud)] the *rel. n.*, [being formed from its *sing.* (Aud),] is تَمَرِي with

quiescence [240, 310] (Aud, A) of the م (Sn) : but, if it be a [proper (Aud)] name, then [those who inflect it like its *o. f.*, the *perf. pl. fem.*, elide the | and ت, saying تَمَرِي with quiescence of the م, as is necessarily implied by A's previous saying "The predicament of such as are used as names, etc."; while (Sn)] those who make it diptote [17] treat its ت like the ة of مَكَّة [above], and its | like the | of جَمَرِي [300], eliding both, and saying تَمَرِي with Fath. As for such as ضَخْمَات, [where the second is quiescent, and the | fourth (Sn),] conversion [with or without separation by the |, as ضَخْمَاوِي or ضَخْمَرِي (Sn),] and elision, [as ضَخْمِي,] are allowable in its |, because it is like the | of حَبَلِي [300] (Aud, A); but elision is preferable : and there is no difference between the *ep.*, as ضَخْمَات; and the substantive, as هِنْدَات, *rel. n.* [هِنْدَاوِي or هِنْدَوِي or هِنْدِي (Sn). But in the | of such as مُسَلِمَات and سُرَادِقَات, [where the | is fifth or upwards, whether it be *pl.* of a substantive or of an *ep.* (Sn),] only elision is allowable (Aud, A). And the predicament of what is co-ordinated with the *du.* and sound *pl.* [*masc.* or *fem.*] is the same as theirs, as اِثْنَان [16, 306, 313], *rel. n.* اِثْنَانِي or ثَنَوِي, [by restoration to the assumed *sing.* اِثْنَان, *orig.* ثَنَو, when اِثْنَان is not used as a name, or is used as a name *infl.* according to the *dial.*

of imitation, and اِثْنَانِي when اِثْنَان is used as a name not *infl.* according to the *dial.* of imitation, but treated like اِثْنَانُ or سِرْحَانُ (Sn); and عِشْرُونَ [234], *rel. n.* عِشْرِي [or عِشْرِينِي or عِشْرُونِي (Sn)]; and اُولَات [17], *rel. n.* اُولِي (A).

§ 296. The ع pronounced with Kasr in the [*n.* (IY)] related to must be pronounced with Fath in the *rel. n.*, when the related to is of three letters, [whether the ف be pronounced with Fath, Kasr, or Damm (A),] as نَمِرٌ *leopard, rel. n.* نَمَرِي (IY, R, A), and شَقِرَةٌ *red anemone, rel. n.* شَقَرِي [294] (IY); اِبِلٌ [257], *rel. n.* اِبِلِي; and دُبٌّ *jackal, weasel, rel. n.* دُبُولِي (IY, R, A). They say اَلْحَبِطَاتُ *The Habits*, [who are the Banu-l-Hārith Ibn ‘Amr Ibn Tamīm (Mb),] *rel. n.* حَبِطِي (S, Mb). For, if the ع were not pronounced with Fath, the whole, or most, of the letters of the word formed for lightness, i. e., the unaugmented *tril.*, would become extremely heavy, because of the succession of likes, vid. the Kasras and the ي, since in such as اِبِلِي not a letter, and in such as نَمَرِي and دُبِلِي only the first letter, would be free from Kasra (R). The necessity, however, for Fath is disputed by some, who, as AH transmits, allow the Kasra of the ع to remain: so says Syt in the Ham’ (Sn). Those who pronounce the ف in such as صَعِقٌ [11] with Kasr,

by alliteration to the guttural ع pronounced with Kasr, say in the *rel. n.* صَعَقِي² with Kasr of the ص and Fath of the ع (R). Both صَعَقِي² and صِعَقِي² are good (S). But صِعَقِي² with Kasr of the ص and ع is [said by S to be (R)] anomalous (R, A); and perhaps is so pronounced in order that the cause of the Kasr of the ص, vid. the Kasr of the ع, may remain unaltered (R). It is understood from IM's confining himself to the [unaugmented] *tril.* that the *n.* whose final is preceded by a Kasra is not altered when it exceeds three [letters]. That includes what is of (1) five letters, as جَحْمَرِش² [245, 401]; (2) four mobile letters, as جَنْدَلُ² [302] (A), with Damm or Fath of the ج, *a place in which stones are collected* (Sn); (3) four letters, its second being quiescent, as تَغْلِبُ² [4]. The two first are not altered; but in the third there are two ways, in the better known of which it is not altered, while in the other its ع is pronounced with Fath. And Fath, in addition to Kasr, has been heard in تَغْلِبِي² [below], يَخْصِبِي² [from يَخْصِبُ a clan of Himyar (LL)], and يَثْرِبِي² (A) or أَثْرِبِي² [311] (Jh, KF), from يَثْرِبُ [or أَثْرِبُ (KF), the land of (LL)] AlMadina (Jh, KF, LL); but its regularity is disputed. Mb, IS, Rm, and those who agree with them hold that it is universal, [so that you say مَغْرِبِي² with Fath of the , from مَغْرِبٌ west. (Sn)];

but, according to Khl and S, it is anomalous, confined to hearsay (A). Mb allows Fath, in addition to Kasr, as an universal rule in such as ^٢تَغَلَّبِي [below], ^٢يَتَرَبَّى, and ^٢مَغَرَّبِي, because the second is quiescent, and, the quiescent being like the dead and non-existent [301], the *n.* is co-ordinated with the [unaugmented] *tril.*; but the [correct] opinion is that of Khl, since Fath has not been heard except in ^٢تَغَلَّبِي [above] (R).

§ 297. The *ى* of ^٢فَعِيلَةٌ [294] is elided in the *rel. n.*, as ^٢حَنِيفَةٌ *Hanīfa*, *rel. n.* ^٢حَنِيفِي, and ^٢صَحِيفَةٌ *a writing, book*, *rel. n.* ^٢صَحِيفِي [310] (A). First the *ة* of feminization is elided [295] (Aud, A), because it does not combine with the *ى* of relation (Sn): then the *ى* is elided (Aud, A), to distinguish the *fem.* from the *masc.* [299, 302], as ^٢حَنِيفٌ *orthodox*, *rel. n.* ^٢حَنِيفِي, and ^٢شَرِيفٌ *noble*, *rel. n.* ^٢شَرِيفِي; while they do not adopt the converse method, because, the *ة* of feminization being elided from the *fem.*, the *ى* is elided in succession to it (Sn): and then the Kasra is converted into Fatha [296] (Aud, A), in order that two Kasras and the *ى* of relation may not follow one another (Sn). As for [^٢سَلِيبِي (SH, A),] ^٢عَمِيرِي, and ^٢سَلِيبِي, they are anomalous [311] (SH, Aud, A), serving to direct attention to the obsolete *o. f.* (A); and more anomalous are ^٢عَبْدِي and ^٢جَذْمِي (SH, A) with

Damm [311] (A), because, says IUK, what precedes is a reversion to an obsolete *o. f.*, while there is no reason for the Damm (Sn). S co-ordinates فَعُولٌ [294] with فَعِيلٌ (IY, R, A), eliding the , (IY, R), and pronouncing the ع with Fatḥ (IY), regularly, universally (R), whether فَعُولٌ be sound in the ل, as فَرُوقَةٌ [246, 265, 269], *rel. n.* فَرَقِي [with Fatḥ of the , (Sn)]; or unsound, as عَدُوٌّ [234, 246, 269], *rel. n.* عَدَوِي (A) with Fatḥ of the و (Sn): because he assimilates the , to the ي, on account of their equality in prolongation and in position after the ع (R). The ة of feminization is elided; then the , is elided; and then the Damma is converted into Fatha (Aud). S's argument is [that the same heaviness is found in فَعُولٌ as in فَعِيلٌ; and (IY)] that the Arabs say شَنُوءٌ *Shanū'a*, [a tribe of AlYaman (Kh),] *rel. n.* شَنِي (IY,A). According to Mb, however, شَنِي is anomalous, not to be copied (IY, R, A); and you say فَعُولِي from every other فَعُولٌ, as all say from فَعُول, whether it be sound [in the ل], like سَلُولٌ *Salūl*, or unsound, like عَدُوٌّ, since, by common consent, only سَلُولِي and عَدَوِي are said (A). He distinguishes between the , and ي [and the Damma and Kasra in this *cat.* (R)], saying that, by common consent, the *rel. n.* of عَدِي is عَدَوِي, while the *rel. n.* of عَدُو is عَدَوِي [299]; and the

rel. n. of سَمْرٌ [254] is سَمْرِيٌّ, while the rel. n. of نَمِرٌ is نَمْرِيٌّ [296] (IY, R): so that, since the Damma differs from the Kasra in نَمِرٌ and سَمْرٌ, and the , from the ى in عَدِيٌّ and عَدُوٌّ, the , in فَعُولَةٌ must differ from the ى in فَعِيلَةٌ (IY); for how can فَعُولَةٌ agree with فَعِيلَةٌ, when فَعُولٌ does not agree with فَعِيلٌ, nor فَعُولٌ unsound in the ل with فَعِيلٌ? Thus S assimilates فَعُولَةٌ unrestrictedly, regularly, to فَعِيلَةٌ in two things, elision of the soft letter, and Fath of the ع; while Mb restricts that to شَنُوءَةٌ alone (R). S treats شَنْئِيٌّ as regular, though he heard no other instance, because nothing to the contrary has been transmitted (A). The saying of Mb [here (R)] is sound (IY, R) in respect of analogy; but the saying of S is stronger in respect of hearsay, which is decisive in the field of controversy (IY). The ى of فَعِيلَةٌ [294] is elided in the rel. n., as جُهَيْنَةٌ *Juhaina*, rel. n. جُهْنِيٌّ [281], قُرَيْظَةٌ *Kuraiza*, rel. n. قُرَظِيٌّ, and مُزَيْنَةٌ *Muzaina*, rel. n. مُزْنِيٌّ (A). The ة of feminization is [first (Aud)] elided [295]; and then the ى (Aud, A), for the same reason as the ى of فَعِيلَةٌ [above] (Sn). The saying رُدَيْنِيٌّ is anomalous [311] (Aud, A); and so is خُرَيْنِيٌّ from خُرَيْنَةٌ *Khuzaina*, one of the names of AlBaṣra. The preceding rule that the rel. n. of فَعِيلَةٌ is فَعَلِيٌّ, and of فَعِيلَةٌ is

فُعَلَيْ^٣, has two conditions, absence of reduplication; and soundness of the ع, when the J is sound. And in فَعُولَةٌ also, according to S's opinion, these two conditions are observed. They do not elide the ي of فَعِيلَةٌ unsound in the ع, when sound in the J, as [طَوِيلَةٌ *a tether* and (Sn)] الطَّوِيلَةُ *At Tawila*, a tribe, [so in some of the MSS, though I have not found it in the KF, where الطَّوِيلَةُ is said to be a name for a particular meadow (Sn) in Aṣṣammān (MI, KF),] *rel. n.* طَوِيلِي^٣, because, if they elided the ي, saying طَوَلِي^٣, it would be necessary to convert the و into ا [684]. And فَعِيلَةٌ is co-ordinated in that respect with فَعِيلَةٌ, as نُورِيَّة^٣ [282], *rel. n.* نُورِيَّة^٣, not نُورِي^٣ (A), though the foregoing reason does not apply here, because the unsound letter, when preceded by a letter pronounced with Damm, is not converted into ا [684] (Sn). The proviso that the J should be sound is meant to exclude such as طَوِيَّة^٣ *heart, mind* and حَيِيَّة^٣ [281], *rel. ns.* طَوَرِي^٣ and حَيَرِي^٣ [302] (A), the unsoundness of the ع having no effect when the J is unsound (Sn). And similarly they do not elide the ي, when فَعِيلَةٌ and فَعِيلَةٌ are reduplicated, as جَلِيلَةٌ *a she-camel* and قَلِيلَةٌ *a small jug*, *rel. ns.* جَلِيلِي^٣ and قَلِيلِي^٣, not جَلَلِي^٣ and قَلَلِي^٣, from dislike to [the heaviness in (Sn)]

the combination of two likes (A); while incorporation is impossible, because the measure of the first is ^{فَعْلٌ}, and of the second is ^{فَعْلٌ} [731] (Sn). And ^{فَعُولَةٌ} is like ^{فَعِيلَةٌ} in what is mentioned, as ^{قَوُولَةٌ} *talkative* and ^{صَرُورَةٌ} *celibate, rel. ns.* ^{قَوُولِيٌّ} and ^{صَرُورِيٌّ}, not ^{قَوَلِيٌّ} and ^{صَرَرِيٌّ}, for the reasons mentioned (A), vid. necessity for conversion of the , into | in ^{قَوَلِيٌّ}, and dislike to the combination of two likes in ^{صَرَرِيٌّ} (Sn).

§ 298. When the sound final letter is preceded by a double ^ي pronounced with Kasr, then, whatever be the formation of the *n.*, whether ^{فَعِيلٌ}, like [^{مَيْتٌ} and ^{سَيْدٌ}] [251], or ^{مُفَعِّلٌ}, like ^{مُبَيِّنٌ} [and ^{مُهَيِّمٌ}], or ^{أَفْعِيلٌ}, like ^{أُسَيْدٌ} [279], or ^{فَعِيلٌ}, like ^{حَبِيرٌ} [281, 282], or anything else (R), the second ^ي [pronounced with Kasr (R)] is [necessarily (R)] elided, [when the ^ي of relation is affixed (R),] as ^{سَيْدِيٌّ} and ^{مَيْتِيٌّ}, and as ^{مُهَيِّبِيٌّ} from [^{مُهَيِّمٌ} *act. part. of (R)*] ^{هَيِّمَ} (SH) in ^{هَيِّمَةُ الْكُحْبُ} *Love drove him distracted* (R), from dislike to [the heaviness produced by the combination of] two Kasras and four ^ي s (Jrb). You say ^{أُسَيْدٌ} [above], ^{حَبِيرٌ}, [and ^{لَبِيدٌ} (S), *dims. of* ^{أَسْوَدٌ}], ^{أُسَيْدِيٌّ} (IY), and ^{لَبِيدٌ} *a sack or fodder-bag,* *rel. ns.* ^{أُسَيْدِيٌّ} [below], ^{حَبِيرِيٌّ} (S, M), and ^{لَبِيدِيٌّ} (S); and ^{هَيِّنٌ} [251], *rel. n.* ^{هَيِّنِيٌّ} [294] (IY). One of the two ^ي s of relation

may not be elided, because both together are a sign ; nor may the Kasra of the preceding letter be abandoned, because that letter is invariably pronounced with Kasr ; nor may the quiescent *ي* be elided [below], lest there remain a *ي* pronounced with Kasr, followed by a letter pronounced with Kasr, followed by a double *ي*, for that would be much harder to articulate than the two double *ي* s : so that nothing is left but elision of the *ي* pronounced with Kasr. If the final letter be unsound, as in *أَلْمَحَيِّ* [281], its predicament will be explained [301] (R). And, if the *ي* [before the final letter (R)] be [single, as in *مُغِيلٌ* *suckling during coition or pregnancy*, or double, but (A)] pronounced with Fath (R, A), as in the *pass. parts.* *مُبِينٌ* and *مُهَيِّمٌ* (R), [and] as in *هَبِيصٌ* [384], or be separated from the final letter, as in *مُهَيِّمٌ* *dim. of مَهِيَامٌ very thirsty*, *مُفَعَالٌ* from *هَامٌ thirsted* (A), or of *مُهَيِّمٌ* or *مُهَيِّمٌ* [below] (Sn), it is not elided in the *rel. n.* (R, A) ; but you say *مُغِيلِيٌّ*, [*مُبِينِيٌّ* and *مُهَيِّبِيٌّ* and] *هَبِيصِيٌّ*, and *مُهَيِّبِيٌّ* (A), because there is no heaviness (R, A). But *طَائِيٌّ* is anomalous [311] (IY on § 311, SH), *orig.* *طَائِيٌّ*, the *ي* [pronounced with Kasr (R)] being elided (IY, R), as in *أَسِيدٌ* *rel. n. أَسِيدِيٌّ* [above] (IY), according to rule ; so that it becomes *طَائِيِيٌّ*, like *مَيْتِيٌّ*, with a quiescent *ي* (R) : and the *ي* being then converted into *!* (IY, R), irregularly [684], for the sake

of alleviation, from frequency of usage (R), as in آيَة, which, according to S, is نَعْلَة [723] (IY). Or the anomaly may consist in elision of the quiescent ي [above], the ي that is an ع being then converted into ا, according to rule, because mobile, and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath [684] (R). If, however, مَهْيَم be *dim.* of مَهْرَم, [an *act. part.* (R) from هَرَم *dozed*, then, says Z (IY, R), who is followed by IH (R), only (M, R)] مَهْيَمِي is said, by putting [the ي as a (R)] compensation [284] (M, SH) for the elided , [283], because, if you allowed the *rel. n.* to be formed from that [*dim.*] which does not contain the ي of compensation, but is [مَهْيَم] in the shape of the *act. part.* of هَيْم, then, if you elided nothing from it, the heaviness mentioned would be produced; while, if you elided [the second ي, saying مَهْيَمِي], the *rel. n.* of this *dim.* would be confounded with the *rel. n.* of the *act. part.* of هَيْم [above]; so that you must keep to [the *dim.* مَهْيَم with] the ي of compensation, in order that the two double ي s, being separated by two letters, the quiescent ي [of compensation] and the م, may be farther apart than when separated by one letter, and thus the combination of two double ي s in one word may not be deemed so heavy. And similarly, according to their opinion, ought the *rel. n.* of the *dim.* of مَهْيَم *act. part.* of هَيْم to be formed, i. e. with the ي of compensation. This that we have

mentioned on the *dim.* of ^{مَهْرَمٌ} and ^{مَهْتِمٌ}, vid. that one of the two likes is elided, is the opinion of S on the *dim.* of ^{عَطْرٌ} [283] (R). But, [according to Mb (R),] the *dim.* of ^{مَهْرَمٌ} [or ^{مَهْتِمٌ} (R)] ought to be [only (R)] ^{مَهْتِمٌ} (IY, R), as the *dim.* of ^{عَطْرٌ} is only ^{عَطِيْدٌ} (R), like ^{كَذِيْنٌ} *dim.* of ^{كَذِيْرٌ} *dregs of oil*, because the second و [or ی], being fourth, is not elided [283] (IY); and, according to his opinion, in the *rel. n.* formed from the *dim.* of ^{مَهْرَمٌ} or ^{مَهْتِمٌ}, it is not necessary to put [the ی as] a compensation for the elided, because he elides nothing (R): so that [here also (R)] the *rel. n.* is [only (R)] ^{مَهْتِيْمِيٌّ} (IY, R), like ^{كَذِيْنِيٌّ} (IY); but the ی is not a compensation. And, though the opinion of S, as to the elision of one of the two و s in [the *dim.* of] such as ^{عَطْرٌ}, is what we have mentioned, still he does not say here that the *rel. n.* of the *dim.* is always formed with [the ی of] compensation, as Z mentions: but says that, when you form the *rel. n.* of ^{مَهْتِمٌ}, which contains a quiescent ی after the double ی, you elide nothing from it, because, says he, if we elide the ی that is before the م, there remains ^{مَهْتِمٌ}, in the *rel. n.* of which one of the two ی s must be elided; so that ^{مَهْتِيْمِيٌّ} remains, like ^{حَمِيْرِيٌّ} from ^{حَمِيْرٌ}; and, since the word becomes mutilated by the elision of two ی s from it, they prefer to do that which will not necessitate

an elision of two things, i. e., to retain the *ی* that is a letter of prolongation, in order that by it and the *م* the two double *ی* s may be kept farther apart. And here the opinion of S may be the same as (1) the opinion of Mb, vid. that the *rel. n.* is always [formed] with [a letter of] prolongation, since nothing is elided from the word; and in that case the *ی* in *مُهَيِّبِي* is not for compensation: or (2) his own opinion on *عَطْرَد*, vid. that one of the two likes is elided, with or without compensation; but that, in the *rel. n.* of that [*dim.*] which contains the *ی* of compensation, you elide nothing, from fear of mutilating the word by elision of two *ی* s; while, in the *rel. n.* of that *dim.* which does not contain the *ی* of compensation, you elide the *ی* pronounced with Kasr, saying *مُهَيِّبِي*, as in the *rel. n.* of the *act. part.* of *هَبِمَ*, and in the *rel. n.* of *حَمِيرَ*, since there is no mutilation here, and the ambiguity is not heeded. And the second of the two alternatives is preferable, in order that the doctrine of S here may not be altogether contrary to his doctrine on *عَطْرَد*; but it is contrary to what Z and IH mention (R). The language of IM "And the third of such as," [meaning "And such as the third of" (Sn),] "*طَيِّبٌ* is elided" is unrestricted enough to include (1) such as *غَزِيلٌ* *dim.* of *غَزَالٌ* a gazelle, *rel. n.* *غَزِيلِي*, which is unequivocally included by many, though [A asserts that] S uses only the

non-dim. in his *exs.* : (2) ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} having no wife, or no husband, *rel. n.* ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ}, which is necessarily implied by the unrestrictedness of the language held by S and the GG; but Sf says "You say ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} *rel. n.* ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ}, because, if you elided the mobile ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ}, there would remain nothing to indicate it" (A), so that ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} would be confounded with the *rel. n.* of ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} *inf. n.* of ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} had no wife (Sn).

§. 299. They co-ordinate ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} and ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ}, when unsound in the ل [below], with ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} and ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} [297] (IM) in [the necessity for (IA)] elision of the [*aug.* (Sn)] ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ}, and pronunciation of the ع with Fath, [if it be pronounced with Kasr (A),] as ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} 'Adī and ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} *Kuṣayy, rel. ns.* ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} and ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ}, like ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} *Ghanīya* and (A) ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} *Umayya*, *rel. n.* [^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} and (A)] ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} (IA, A). The first ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} [in ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} and ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ}] is elided; then the Kasra [in ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ}] is converted into Fathā [296]; then the second ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} is converted into و [684]; and then the و is converted into , [300]: so that you say ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} and ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} (Aud). The elision and alteration occur because of the number of ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} s: for, four ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} s being combined in [the *rel. n.* of] ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} [and ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ}], they deem that heavy; and therefore elide one of the ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} ^{أَمِّ} s, and convert the second into و, in order to lighten the expression by variety, because what is deemed heavy, according

to them, is the combination of homogeneous things (IY). The language of IM appears to imply that the co-ordination is necessary ; and that is expressly stated by him in the Kāfiya, and by his son [BD, and by IA] also. But some mention two ways, elision, as exemplified ; and retention, as ^{عَدِيّ} and ^{قَصِيّ} [below] (A). Y asserts that (S) ^{أَمِيّ} [301, 302] is said (S, M, SH) by some of the Arabs (S, M), the first ^ي being retained, because there is little heaviness, on account of the Fatha before it (R) ; contrary to ^{غَنِيّ} (SH), where [IH says that (R)] ^{غَنِيّ} does not occur (R, Jrb), on account of the Kasra (Jrb) ; whereas, according to what Y transmits, ^{غَنِيّ} is sometimes said (R). And [Sf says that (R)] ^{عَدِيّ} [above] is said (S, R) by some (R). But ^{عَدِيّ} is heavier [than ^{أَمِيّ} (R)], on account of the Kasra (S, R, A) of the ^د (A) in it (R). And the language of IM comprises such as ^{كُسِيّ} *dim.* of ^{كَسَاء} *a wrapper* [281], on which there are two opinions, some saying that retention is necessary, [which is the preferable opinion (Sn),] as ^{كُسِيّ} with two double ^ي s, [because, says AH, the ^ي of the *dim.* may not be elided, since it denotes a meaning, which remains ; nor the last ^ي, because that would entail mobilization of the ^ي of the *dim.* (Sn)] : while some allow ^{كُسِيّ} (A), eliding the ^ي of the *dim.*, and converting the second into and then the ^ل into ^و ; but this is weak (Sn). S says.

that some of the Arabs say ^{أَمْوًى} [311] with Fath of the Hamza, as *rel. n.* of ^{أَمِيَّةٌ}, as though, says he, they restored it to its *non-dim.*, from desire of lightness (R); but ^{أَمْوًى} is anomalous (SH), the regular form being with Damm (Jrb). And ^{نَحْرًى} from ^{نَحِيَّةٌ} a greeting [301] is treated like ^{غَنَرًى} (SH), because, though ^{نَحِيَّةٌ} is *orig.* ^{تَفْعِلَةٌ} [338], still, since by incorporation it becomes like ^{فَعِيلَةٌ} in vowels and quiescences, and therefore shares with such as ^{غَنًى} and ^{عَدًى} in the cause for elision of the [first] ^ى in the *rel. n.*, and for conversion of the [second] ^ى into ^و, its first ^ى is elided, and its second converted into ^و, because it shares with them in the cause, though it differs from them in measure, and in the quiescent ^ى's being an ^ع (R). The *rel. ns.* of ^{قِسًى}, [^{ثَدًى} breasts (S), and ^{عَصًى}, when proper names (R),] are ^{قُسًى} (S, R), ^{ثَدًى} (S), and ^{عُصًى}, the ^ف being pronounced with Damm, because it is *orig.* with Damm, and is pronounced with Kasr only for alliteration to the Kasra of the ^ع; so that, when the ^ع is pronounced with Fath in the *rel. n.* [296], the ^ف returns to its *o. f.* (R). If, however, ^{فَعِيلٌ} and ^{فُعِيلٌ} be sound in the ^ل, nothing is elided from them, as ^{عَقِيلٌ}, 'Akil, *rel. n.* ^{عَقِيلًى}, and ^{عُقَيْلٌ}, 'Uḡail, *rel. n.* ^{عُقَيْلًى} (IA, A). This is the opinion of S, and is to be

understood from IM 's saying " when unsound in the ج " [above]. But Mb holds elision to be allowable in the case of both [فَعِيلٌ and نُعَيْلٌ (Sn)], the two ways, according to him, being regular, by analogy to such instances as have been heard, whence ثَقَفِي [311], and سُلَيْمِي [311], قَرَمِي, قُرَشِي, هَذَلِي, فُقَيْمِي, and مُلَحِي; and Sf agrees with Mb, saying that elision in this case is not anomalous, and is very frequent in the *dial.* of AlHijāz. Mb's putting فَعِيلٌ and نُعَيْلٌ on an equality, however, is said not to be good, since elision has been often heard in فَعِيلٌ, but in نُعَيْلٌ only in the case of ثَقِيفٌ [311] (A). The *rel. n* of [فُعُولٌ, as (M, R)] عَدُوٌّ [and حُلُوبٌ (R)], is [فُعُولِي, as (M, R)] عَدُوِّي [297] (M, SH) and حُلُوبِي (R), by common consent (SH), no distinction being made between the unsound and sound in the ج, and the , not being elided from either of them (R).

§ 300. The final of the *n.* is (1) an ا [below]; (2) a , [301, 302, 305]; (3) a ي [301—303, 305]; (4) a Hamza preceded by an ا [304]; (5) a Hamza not so preceded; (6) some other letter. The last two kinds are not altered on account of the ي of relation. We shall now mention the [first] kind, whose final is an ا [above] (R). The [final] ا is [second,] third, fourth, fifth, or sixth (Jrb). If the ا be second, then the word is either curtailed of its ج, like [the *pre. n.* in] فَايِدٌ and مَالٌ [16], when

used as names, and like شَاةٌ [260, 278, 683], while there is no fourth ; or constituted with no ل, like ذَا [171], مَا, and لَا when used as names. If the ل be third, it is either converted from the ل, as in عَصَا and فَتَى [684, 719], which is more frequent ; or *rad.*, as in مَتَى [206] and إِذَا [204]. If it be fourth, it is (1) converted from the ل, as in [, مَرْمَى , مَلْهَى] , أَعْلَى , [, أَحْرَى , أَعْيَا] , and أَعْبَى ; (2) co-ordinative, as in أَرْطَى and ذِفْرَى [248, 272] ; (3) denotative of femininization, as in حَبْلَى , [, دُنْيَا] , and حَتَّى [272, 359] ; (4) *rad.*, as in كَلَّا [598] and حَتَّى [501]. If fifth, it is (1) converted, as in مُصْطَفَى [727] ; (2) co-ordinative, as in حَبْنَطَى [253, 395] ; (3) denotative of femininization, as in حَبَارَى [248, 378]. And, if sixth, it is (1) converted, as in مُسْتَسْقَى ; (2) co-ordinative, as in مُسَلْنَقَى , and in اسْلَنْقَى [482, 483] when a proper name ; (3) denotative of femininization, as in حَوْلَايَا [248, 272] ; (4) only for multiplication of the formation, as in تَبَعْتَرَى [272, 401, 497, 673]. The ل second, (1) when curtailed of the ل, (a) if replaceable by a sound letter before the formation of the *rel. n.*, is converted into that letter in the *rel. n.*, as فَا رَيْدٌ when a proper name, *rel. n.* فَبِي [306], by elision of the *post.* [309], the ل being here converted into م, because you never affix this ل to a *n.* except when the *n.* is capable of standing by itself, and being

infl., without the **ي** [301]; while the *rel. n.* of **فِرْدٍ** [306] and **فِرْدٍ** [301], when proper names, is similar : (b) if not replaceable by a sound letter, has the **ل** restored, as **مَالٍ**, when used as a name, and **شَاءَ**, *rel. ns.* **ذَوْرِيَّ** and **شَاهِيَّ** [306]; while the *rel. n.* of **مَالٍ** [306] and **ذِي مَالٍ** [301], when used as names, is similar : (2) when constituted with no **ل**, has its like added to it [306], because the *n.* that the **ي** of relation is affixed to must, as we said, be capable of being *infl.* without the **ي**; and, when you add an **ل** to it, then, two **ل**'s being combined, the second of them is converted into Hamza [683], as **ذَاتِيَّ**, **مَاتِيَّ**, and **لَاتِيَّ** [294], not into **و**, as in **رَحِيَّ** *rel. n.* **رَحِيَّ** [below], because the occurrence of the Hamza as a final after the **ل** is more frequent than that of the **و**, [306]. Thus **مَاتِيَّ** [306] in the saying **مَا شَيْءُ** the quiddity of the thing is related to the **مَا** used as an *interrog.* about the *essence of the thing* [180]; while he that says **مَاهِيَّ** converts the Hamza into **س**, because they approximate one to the other. And the state of the **و**, and **ي** when second, having no third, is exactly like that of the **ل**, as **لَوِيَّ**, *rel. n.* **لَوِيَّ** [306]; and **فِيَّ** [301], *rel. n.* **فِيَّ** [306], *orig.* **فِيَّ**, but treated like the *rel. n.* of **حِيَّ** [302] (R). The **ل** third is converted into **و**, (IY, R, Jrb), unrestrictedly (R), whether it be [converted (Jrb)] from **ا**, as in

عَصَا *a staff* (IY, Jrb), *rel. n.* عَصْرِي [294], and مَنَا *a certain weight*, *rel. n.* مَنَوِي (IY); or from ا ي , as in رَحَى *a mill or mill-stone* (IY, Jrb), *rel. n.* رَحْرِي [294], and فَتَى *a youth*, *rel. n.* فَتَوِي; [or be *rad.*, as in مَتَى and إِذَا when used as names, *rel. ns.* مَبْتَوِي and إِذَوِي] (IY). They call him that carries the دَوَاة *inkhorn* دَوَاتِي, which is a hideous solecism, and a sheer blunder, [such as does not proceed from many of the vulgar, much less from the distinguished (CD),] the proper way being to say دَوَوِي, because, the ة of feminization being elided [295], the *n.* remains in the form of دَوَا, commensurable with the abbreviated *tril.*; so that, its | being converted into و, as in the abbreviated *tril.*, دَوَوِي is said, like فَتَى *rel. n.* فَتَرِي [above] (D). The | is not elided on account of the two quiescents, as it is in such as الْفَتَى الطَّرِيفُ *the smart youth* [663], because, if it were elided, the preceding letter would retain its Fathā as an indication of the elided |; for, when a letter is elided on account of a cause, not as forgotten, the vowel of the preceding letter remains unaltered, as in قَافِي and عَصَا [719]; so that the *rel. ns.* of عَصَا [306] and فَتَى would be عَصِي and فَتِي with Fath, since, if pronounced with Kasr on account of the ي, they would be mistaken for [the *rel. ns.* of] words whose ل is elided as forgotten, like يَدِي and دَمِي [306]; and

thus the fundamental rule, that the letter before the **ى** of relation should always be literally pronounced with Kasr for affinity to the **ى**, would be infringed. Nor is the **ا** changed into Hamza, because the unsound letters are more akin one to another. Nor is it converted into **ى**, from dislike to the combination of **ى** s [301] (R). There is no difference in this case between the **ا** whose *o. f.* is **ا**, like the **ا** of **قَفَا** derived from **قَفَرْتُ**, and the **ا** whose *o. f.* is **ى**, like the **ا** of **حَمِي** derived from **حَبَيْتُ**, their predicament here being contrary to their predicament in the *du.*, where the **ا** is restored to its *o. f.*, as **قَفَوَانِ** and **حَمِيَانِ** [229]. The difference between the two cases is that, the sign of dualization being single, and the letter before it being always pronounced with Fath, the elements of heaviness are not combined in the *du.* word: whereas, the sign of relation being a double **ى** that stands in the place of two **ى** s, and the letter before it being always pronounced with Kasr, if the **ا** were converted into **ى**, the word would contain such a succession of Kasra and **ى** s that the pronunciation of it would be found too heavy (D). Nor is the **ا** of such as **حَرِي** converted into **ا**, notwithstanding its mobility and its being preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath, because its vowel is accidental [684], since the **ى** of relation is not so completely attached as to be like part of what precedes it (R). The **ا** fourth, (1) if converted or

co-ordinative [or *rad.* (R)], is most [commonly and (R)] commendably converted into , (IY, R), not elided, because it is a *rad.*, or a substitute for a *rad.*, or co-ordinated with a *rad.* (R) : you say ²مَلْهَرِي [306, 307], ²أَرْطَرِي, [and ²حَتَوِي] (IY) ; and we have heard the Arabs say ²أَعْيَرِي from ²أَعْيَا *A'ya*, [²أَنْفَل from ²أَلْعِي *impotence* or ²الْأَعْيَاء *impotence* (ID),] the Banu A'ya being a clan of the Arabs of Jarm ; and you say ²أَحَوِي from ²أَحَوِي [281] (S) : (2) if for femininization, (a) [when the second letter is quiescent (IY),] is most commonly elided (IY, R), as ²حَبْلِي [307] (IY) and ²دُنْيِي (Jh), because, when the very sign [of femininization] has to be removed, it should rather be elided, in order that the pure *aug.* may be distinguished from the *rad.* or *quasi-rad.* : (b) when the second [letter] of the word is mobile, as in ²جَمَرِي [272, 294, 306, 307], must be elided, [as shown below,] because the heaviness is augmented by the vowel. If the second [letter] of the word be quiescent, the | of femininization may be assimilated to the converted, co-ordinative, or *rad.* |, as ²حَبْلَرِي [307] (R) and ²دُنْيَرِي (Jh) ; and to the prolonged | of femininization, another | being added before it, and the | of femininization being converted into , , as ²حَبْلَارِي [307] and ²دُنْيَارِي, like ²صَحْرَارِي [304] (R). But, as for ²جَمَرِي, [²بَشَكِي, and the

like (IY),] you say جَمْرِي (S, IY) and بَشْكِي (IY), not جَمْرِي, nor جَمْرَاي, because it is heavy, on account of the sequence of vowels (S). And, as the | of femininization may be assimilated to the converted, co-ordinative, or *rad.* | in conversion, so the converted, co-ordinative, or *rad.* | may be assimilated to the abbreviated | of femininization in elision, as مَلِي [306], أَرَطِي, and حَتِي; and to the prolonged | of femininization, as مَلْهَارِي, أَرَطَاي [below], and حَتَّارِي (R). [According to Jrb,] the co-ordinative | is in the predicament of the | of femininization (Jrb); and IM's treating the preponderance of conversion as peculiar to the *rad.* [below] gives rise to the notion that the co-ordinative | is like the | of femininization in the preponderance of elision: whereas he distinctly declares in the Kāfiya and its Commentary that conversion in the co-ordinative | fourth is better than elision, as in the *rad.* [below]; but mentions that elision in the co-ordinative | is more suitable than in the *rad.* [below], because the co-ordinative | is similar to the | of حَبْلِي in being *aug.* (A), and elision of the *aug.* is better than elision of the *rad.* (S). By "*rad.*" [above] he means "converted from a *rad.*, or ي", because the | is not *rad.*, when unconverted, except in the *p.*, [like the *p.* مَا (Sn),] or *quasi-p.* (A), like the *n.* مَا [180] (Sn). S mentions only two methods, [conversion and elision,] in the co-ordinative | and the | converted from

a *rad.*: but AZ adds a third in the co-ordinative †, vid. separation by the †, as in حَبْلَوِيّ, and transmits أَرْطَاوِيّ [above]; while Sf allows it in the [† converted from a] *rad.*, as مَرْمَاوِيّ (A). The [abbreviated (A)] † fifth or upwards is elided unrestrictedly (R, A), without dispute, because of the heaviness (R), whether the † be [converted from a] *rad.*, as in مُصْطَفَى [294] and مُسْتَدْعَى [727], *rel. ns.* مُصْطَفَى [below] and مُسْتَدْعَى; or for femininization, as in حَبَارَى and خَلِيطَى [272], *rel. ns.* حَبَارَى and خَلِيطَى; or co-ordinative, as in حَبْرَكَى [294, 397], *rel. n.* حَبْرَكَى; or multiplicative, as in قَبَعَتْرَى [272, 401], *rel. n.* قَبَعَتْرَى (A). The saying of the vulgar مُصْطَفَرَى is a mistake, the correct form being مُصْطَفَى [above] (Jrb). When, however, the † is fifth, converted [from a *rad.* (A)], and preceded by a double letter, [as in مُعَلَّى, the method of S and the majority is elision; and this is the method intelligible from the unrestricted language of the IM; but (A)] Y treats it (R, A) like the fourth (R), as in مِلْهَى (A), allowing conversion (R, A), which is weak (A), and elision (R). His idea is that, the † being fifth only because the † is doubled, and the letter doubled with incorporation being virtually a single letter, the † is, as it were, fourth (A); so that مُعَلَّى, according to him, is like أَعْلَى [above] (R). But [S

objects that (R), if so (S),] he ought to allow [conversion in the † of femininization also, when fifth, as (R) عَيْدَوِيّ from (S)] عَيْدِيّ [288] (S, R), since it is allowable when the † is fourth (R), as [حَبْلَوِيّ is allowable from (S)] حَبْلِيّ (S, R); whereas neither Y nor any other allows this. Y, however, is not liable to that objection, because elision, being the general rule in the † of femininization, when fourth, is necessary in what is like the fourth; whereas in the converted †, when fourth, conversion is the general rule (R). And [S objects also that (R)], if a *fem.* upon the measure of مَعْدٌ [375] (S, R), حَدَبٌ, or the like (R), similarly incorporated (S), be used as a name for a man, it ought to be [declined by Y as a (S)] triptote (S, R), because it is then like قَدَمٌ [below] when used as a name for a *masc.* (R), the incorporated being treated like a single letter (S); whereas no one says that (R). For, when a *fem.* bare of the † is used as a name for a *masc.* (R and A on the diptote), the condition [of diptote declension] prescribed for it is that it should exceed three [letters] (R). If *tril.*, it is triptote unrestrictedly, [i. e., whether its medial be mobile or not, and whether it be foreign or not (Sn),] contrary to the opinion of Fr and Th, who hold that it is diptote, whether its medial be mobile, as in فَحْدٌ; or quiescent, as in حَرْبٌ: and to the opinion of IKh on the mobile

in the medial. But, if it exceed three [letters], literally, as in [عَنَاقُ and سَعَادُ], or constructively, but quasi-literally, [the elision being regular (Sn),] as in جَيْلُ [658] contracted from جَيَّالُ *the she-hyena* by [elision of the Hamza after (Sn)] transfer [of its vowel, such elision being regular (Sn)], it is diptote (A). Neither mobility of the medial nor foreignness avails, because the influence of the original femininization, being weak on account of its sign's being supplied, is removed by the masculinization supervening in the application to the proper name, except when the place of its sign is occupied by a letter, the pre-existing vowel [of the medial] not being a sufficient equivalent; so that مَاءٌ and جُورٌ [18] are like نُوحٌ and لُوطٌ, because, all being proper names of a *masc.*, the ة is not supplied: and therefore قَدَمٌ [above] and جُورٌ are triptote, for want of the additional letter; while عَقْرُبٌ is diptote, because the ب stands in the place of the ة of femininization [282] (R on the diptote).

§ 301. The final ي is (1) second, [the word being] (a) curtailed of the ل, as in زَيْدٌ and ذِي مَالٍ when used as names [300]; (b) constituted with no ل, like فِي [300, 306] and كَيْ [306]; (c) curtailed of its ف, like شَيْءٌ [306]: (2) third, preceded by (a) a mobile, the vowel of which is always Kasra, as in الْعَبْيُ *the blind* and الشَّحْيُ

the sad : (b) a quiescent, (a) a sound letter, as in طَبِي [302], قِيَّةٌ a charm or spell, and فَنِيَّةٌ [243]; (b) an ا, as in رَايَ banners or standards and رَايَةً a banner or standard [302, 305]; (c) a ي incorporated into it, as in طَيَّ and حَيَّ [302]: (3) fourth, preceded by (a) a letter pronounced with Kasr, as in الْقَاضِي the judge and الْغَارِي the raider : (b) a quiescent, (a) an ا, as in سَقَايَةً [266, 302, 305]; (b) a ي incorporated into it, as in عَلَيَّ and قُصَيَّ [299]; (c) something else, as in قَرَأَيَّ [302, 661]: (4) fifth, preceded by (a) a letter pronounced with Kasr, as in الْمُرَامِي the competitor in shooting : (b) a quiescent, (a) an ا, as in دِرْحَايَةً [282, 302, 683] and حَوْلَايَا [272]; (b) a ي incorporated into it, as in كُرْسَيَّ and مَرْمَيَّ [303]; (c) something else, as is اِنْقَضَى [302] upon the measure of اِنْقَضَلَ from قَضَى [382]. The final و is (1) second, [the word being] (a) curtailed of the ل, as in فُرُودٍ and ذُو مَالٍ [300]; (b) constituted with no ل, as in لَوُ [300] and آوُ: (2) third, preceded by (a) a quiescent, as in غَزُو and غَزُوَّة [302], رَشُوَّة, and عَزُوَّة; (b) a letter pronounced with Damm, as in سُرُوَّة upon the paradigm of سَمَرُوَّة [254]: (3) fourth, preceded by (a) a quiescent, as in شَقَاوَةً [266, 302, 305]; (b) a letter pronounced with Damm, as in عَرَقُوَّة [248] and قَرَنُوَّة [385]: (4) fifth, preceded by (a) a quiescent, as in

حَنْطَاوُ short and big-bellied [302] and مَغْرُو [302, 722] ; (b) a letter pronounced with Damm, as in قَلَنْسُوَّة [390, 675 721]. If the letter before the final ي and , were pronounced with Fath, they would be converted into ة [684, 719]; if the letter before the final , were pronounced with Kasr, the , would be converted into ي [685, 724]; and, if the letter before the final ي in the *n.* were pronounced with Damm, the Damm would be converted into Kasra (R). The final ي, then, is single or double [303]; and, if single, is preceded by a mobile or quiescent. The final , also is single or double : but [in the *decl. n.*] the single [not followed by the ة] is always preceded by a quiescent, because, if preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath, it would be converted into ة; while there is no *decl. n.* in the language whose final is a , preceded by a Damma or Kasra [721] (Jrb). Every thing that we have mentioned, or shall mention, as to the predicaments of the ي s and , s in the *cat.* of the *rel. n.*, is as may be mentioned; and those ي s and , s whose predicaments we do not mention are not altered in the *rel. n.* from their state (R). That being so, let us now speak of the single final ي preceded by a mobile. The vowel of that mobile [in the *n.*] is always Kasra, because, if it were Fatha, the ي would be converted into ة, which is not what we are dealing with; while there is no *n.* in the language whose final is a ي

preceded by a Damma (Jrb). The [single (Jrb)] final **ی** preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr is [second,] third, fourth, fifth, or sixth (M, Jrb). [For the predicaments of th **ی** second see §§ 300 and 306.] The [final **ی** (IY, SH)] third [preceded by a Kasra (IY, SH), as in **عَمِ** and **شَجِ** (IY, Jrb),] is converted into **,** (M, SH) in the *rel. n.* (Jrb), from dislike to the [combination of (Jrb)] **ی s** (R, Jrb) together with the vowel of the letter before the first of them (R); and the preceding letter is pronounced with Fath (SH), as **عَمَوِ** [294] and **شَجَوِ** (M, SH), the Kasra being changed into Fatha (IY, R), as in **نَبِرَ** [296] (IY, Jrb), because of the heaviness of the succession of Kasras together with the **ی** of relation (IY). The fourth, (1) [if the second letter of the *n.* be quiescent (R), as in **قَاصِ** (IY, R), **حَانِيَّة** *a wine-shop* (IY), and **يَرْمِي** (IY, R) a man's name (IY),] is (a) elided, as **قَاصِي** [282] (M, SH), **حَانِي** (M), and **يَرْمِي** (IY), from dislike to the combination of the **ی s** and the two Kasras (Jrb), the *o. f.*, being **قَاصِي** and **يَرْمِي** (IY); and this is the better way (M, SH), according to [Khl and (R)] S (IY, R), because the converted or *rad.* **ا**, when fourth, may be elided [300], notwithstanding its lightness; so that the **ی**, being heavy in itself and by reason of the Kasra before it, must be elided when the **ی** of relation is attached to it (R): (b) converted, as **قَاصِرِي** [303] (M, R), **حَانَرِي**

(M), and يَرْمِي (IY, R), such as قَافٍ being treated like عَم (R), according to him that says تَغْلِي (IY, R) and يَثْرِي (IY), like نَمِي, vid. Mb, because the quiescent is like the dead and non-existent [296] (R): (α) the poet [‘Umāra (IY), Al A ‘shà (AAz), Al Farazdaq according to Th, or an Arab of the desert according to others (MN),] says

وَكَيْفَ لَنَا بِالشَّرْبِ إِنْ لَمْ يَكُنْ لَنَا * دِرَاهِمٌ عِنْدَ الْحَانَوِيِّ وَلَا نَقْدُ
(S, M, A) *And how shall we have (the enjoyment of) drinking, if we have not dirhams at the vintner's nor money?* (AAz, MN), in full كَيْفَ التَّمَتُّعِ لَنَا (AAz), i. e. كَيْفَ لَنَا التَّلَذُّدُ بِالشَّرْبِ (MN); but حَانِي is better, as says the poet [‘Alkama Ibn ‘Abada (S)]

كَأْسٌ عَزِيزٌ مِنَ الْأَعْنَابِ عَتَقَهَا * لِبَعْضِ أَرْبَابِهَا حَانِيَةٌ حَوْمُ

A lord's cup of wine made from grapes, that he has laid up till it is old for some of its patrons, heady wine (S, IY): (b) IM appears to say that in such cases conversion is universal: but others mention that the conversion is, according to S, one of the anomalous alterations in the *rel. n.*; and it is said not to have been heard except in this verse (A): (2) if the second be mobile, as in يَتَقِي [when used as a name], contracted from يَتَقِي [759], must be elided (R). And in other cases, [i. e. when fifth or sixth (R, Jrb),] the ي is [always (M)] elided, [without dispute (R),] as مُشْتَرِي (M, SH) and مُسْتَسْقِي (M, R,

Jrb), since the *l*, notwithstanding its lightness, must be elided in this position [300] (R). The *rel. ns.* [in the *cat.* (SH)] of مَكِّي [281], however, [which is *orig.* مَكِّي (Jrb, Sn), *act. part.* of حَيَا *aor.* يُكَيِّ (IY, Jrb, A),] are [upon the model of (SH)] مَكْرِي and مَكِّي, like أَمْرِي and أَمِّي [299] (M, SH, A), because the final *ي* [in مَكِّي, being fifth (R),] is [necessarily (R)] elided, as in مَشْتَرِي [above] (R, Jrb); so that مَكِّي remains, which, being like قَصِي [299], though the *ي* [in the former] differs from the *ي* [in the latter], is treated like قَصِي, as we said of تَحِيَّة [299]. And مَكِّي is not like مَهْيَم, because, the *ي* fifth being necessarily elided, two double *ي* s are combined [in the *rel. n.*], contrary to such as مَهْيَم [298] (R). Jr says that مَكْرِي is better, [because there is no succession of *ي* s (Sn)]; but Mb says that مَكِّي [with the two double *ي* s (R)] is better (R, A), because, says he, I do not heap elision after elision upon one word (Sn). Four *ي* s are [allowed to be (Sn)] combined in مَكِّي, because the first and third are quiescent (A). And the *pass. part.* مَكِّي is like the *act.* in that; for the *l* fifth is elided according to rule [300], and then you do what we have mentioned in the case of the *act. part.* (IY). When the [single final], occurs third or upwards, preceded by a letter pronounced with Damm, as in سَرَّة

and قَرْنَةٌ, then in the *rel. n.* the , must be converted into ى, and the Damma into Kasra; so that the *n.* becomes like عَم and قَاصِي [above]. That is because you elide the ة in the *rel. n.* [295]; and, as we have mentioned [300], the ى of relation is like an independent *n.* [302, 306] in that the *n.* before it ought to be capable of being independent and *infl.* [without it]; so that, on elision of the ة, the , preceded by a letter pronounced with Damm becomes final in the *decl. n.*; and is therefore converted into ى, as in آدِل [243, 685, 721]. Then, in the *tril.*, the *rel. n.* is formed with Fath of the ع [296], and conversion of the ى into , , [as سَرَوِي, like عَمَرِي]: and, when the , is fourth or upwards, as in عَرَقَةٌ and قَمَحْدَوَةٌ [399], you say عَرَقِي and قَمَحْدِي, like قَاصِي and مُشْتَرِي; while, in the fourth, some of the Arabs say عَرَقَوِي with Fath of the ق, like قَاصَوِي; but, in the fifth and upwards, the only method is elision [310], as قَمَحْدِي, like مُشْتَرِي and مُسْتَسْقِي [above] (R).

§ 302. What was mentioned before was the predicament of the final , and ى when preceded by a mobile [301]; and this is their predicament when preceded by a quiescent. The , when preceded by a quiescent, is not altered in the *rel. n.*, by common consent, whether it be third, as غَزَوِي [below], دَرَوِي [from دَو a desert (Jh)], سَارَوِي

from سَاوَة *Sāwa*, [a fine city between ArRayy and Hamadhān (MI),] and قَصِيدَة وَائِيَة *an ode rhyming in ,*; or fourth, as in شَقَاوِي [below]; or fifth, as in حَنْطَاوِي and مَغْزَوِي [301]. For the , when preceded by a quiescent, is not deemed heavy before the ي, because the heaviness is lightened by the difference of the two unsound letters, and by the quiescence of the letter before the first of them; and, since you have recourse to the , notwithstanding its being preceded by a mobile, in such as عَمَرِي, and, according to some, قَاضَوِي [301], much more ought you to leave it unaltered when preceded by a quiescent. According to this, then, there is no discussion about the , preceded by a quiescent, except in such as غَزَوَة [below], where, as will be seen, there is a dispute as to whether its ع should be pronounced with Fath or made quiescent [in the *rel. n.*]; and the discussion is only about the ي preceded by a quiescent. When the ي is third, and the preceding quiescent is a sound letter, then, if the *n.* be bare of the ة, as in طَبِي [below], there is no alteration in it, by common consent, because lightness is produced by the quiescence and soundness of the ع, and because what encourages to alteration is wanting, *vid.* elision of the ة (R). You say غَزَوِي [above] from غَزَو, and طَبِي from طَبِي [above] (S, M), without dispute (IY); and do not alter the , or ي in this *cat.* (S), because it is a quasi-

sound letter [720] (S, IY). But there is a dispute about the *n.* that the *ṣ* is affixed to (M). If the *n.* be conjoined with the *ṣ*, Khl and S form its *rel. n.* without any alteration except elision of the *ṣ* [295], saying *طَبِيّ* [below], *قَنِيّ*, and *زَقِيّ* [in the *cat.* of the *ي*]; and similarly *عُرَوِيّ* [301], *رَشَوِيّ*, and *عُرَوِيّ* in the *cat.* of the *و*; with quiescence of the *ع* in the whole of them, since lightness is produced, and the general rule is absence of alteration (R). Y told us that IAl used to say *طَبِيّ* from *طَبِيَّة*; and [the statement] that the *و*, *s* are not altered is confirmed by their saying *جُرَوِيّ* from *بَنُو جُرَوَة* the *Banū Jirwa*, who are a tribe of the Arabs (S) in Ḥumais Ibn Udd (IHb). Y, however, used to pronounce the [quiescent (IY)] *ع* [in the whole of them (R)], whether in the *cat.* of the *و*, or *ي*, with Fath (IY, R), as *طَبَوِيّ* from *طَبِيَّة* α *doe-gazelle*, *قَنَوِيّ* from *قَنِيَّة* [724], and *عُرَوِيّ* from *عُرَوَة* α *loop* or *handle* (IY); doing so in the *cat.* of the *ي* in order that the word might be lightened by conversion of the *ي* into *و*, [300] and in the *cat.* of the *و*, by assimilation to the *cat.* of the *ي*. That is peculiar to the *tril.*, because the *tril.* is formed for lightness, which is therefore sought as much as possible, so that you say only *إِنْقَضِيّ* from *إِنْقَضِيَّة* [301]: and to the *n.* containing the *ṣ*, because the alteration by elision of the *ṣ* encourages to [further] alteration by pronunciation with Fath; and also because

it is intended to distinguish between the *masc.* and *fem.*, as in *فَعِيلٌ* and *فَعِيلَةٌ* [297]. What induces Y to venture upon this in the *cats.* of the *ى* and *و*, notwithstanding its extreme irregularity, is their saying *قَرَوَى* [below] from *قَرْيَةٌ* *a town*, and *زَنَوَى* and *بَطَوَى* from *بُنُورِيَّة* and *الْبَطِيَّة*, which are *two clans* (R). Zj used to incline to this opinion, arguing that the validity of the alteration is in the *ة* of femininization, [the elision of which encourages to further alteration]. But, as for Y, no argument in favor of that [alteration] has been transmitted from him (IY). Khl used to make excuse for Y in the *cat.* of the *ى*, though not in the *cat.* of the *و*, because in the *cat.* of the *ى* the mobilization of its *ع* converts its *ى* into *و*, [300], so that the *rel. n.* becomes somewhat light; for, though a little heaviness is produced by the vowel, more lightness is produced by it than heaviness: whereas in the *cat.* of the *و*, nothing but heaviness is produced by the mobilization of its *ع*; nor has any instance of it been transmitted by hearsay, as have *قَرَوَى* [above], *زَنَوَى*, and *بَطَوَى* been transmitted. Notwithstanding this [excuse], however, Khl prefers what we first mentioned. But *بَدَوَى* [311], being from *بَدْوٌ* *a desert*, which is bare of the *ة*, is anomalous according to all. Such is the predicament of the *ى* third, when preceded by a sound quiescent. But, if the quiescent be not sound, it is either a *ى* or an *ا*; though it

may be a , that has become **ي**, as in **طَيَّ** [685, 747]. If it be a **ي**, which is necessarily incorporated into the final **ي**, then in the *rel. n.* the incorporation must be dissolved, in order that four **ي**s may not be combined in the formation constructed for lightness; so that the **ع** is mobilized with Fath, which is the lightest of the vowels. Then the **ع**, if it be a , returns to its *o. f.*, as **طَيَّ** *a fold, rel. n.* **طَوْرِيَّ** [294], because the cause of its conversion into **ي**, vid. the combination of the , and **ي**, together with the quiescence of the first, is removed; but, if it be a **ي**, it remains unaltered, as **حَيَّ** *living* [307], *rel. n.* **حَيَّرِيَّ** [294, 306]. In both cases the second **ي** is converted into , because a **ي** preceded by a mobile would be deemed heavy before the **ي** of relation; not into **ل**, because its vowel and the vowel of the letter before it are accidental, since they owe their existence to the **ي** of relation, which is like a separate *n.* [below]. But the **ع** is not converted into **ل**, either because its vowel is accidental [684]: or because the **ع** is not converted when the **ل** is an unsound letter [728], whether the **ل** be converted, as in **هَوَّيَّ** *loved*; or not converted, as in **طَرَّيَّ** *was hungry* [below] (R). I asked Y the *rel. n.* from **حَيَّ** *a serpent*, and he said **حَيَّرِيَّ** [307], from dislike to the combination of **ي**s, the proof of that being the saying of the Arabs **حَيَّرِيَّ** from **حَيَّ** **بُنْ** **بَهْدَلَة**; and, if you form a *rel. n.* from **لَيَّ** [685, 747]

you say ²لَوِيّ (S). Those, however, [says S (R),] who say ²أَمِيّ [299] say ²حَيّ (S, IY, R) and ²طَيّ (IY, R), not minding the heaviness (IY), because the heaviness in them is one (R); and IAl used to say ²حَيّ, and ²لَيّ from ²لَيّ [above] (S). Apparently, however, ²أَمِيّ is better than ²حَيّ, because the *tril.*, being *orig.* formed for lightness, is bound to avoid, more scrupulously than the formations exceeding three letters, what conduces to heaviness, whence their saying ²نَمِيّ with Fath, but not ²جُنْدَلِيّ [296]. If the quiescent be an ا, which is never *aug.*, but is converted from the ع, as in ²آي and ²آيَة, and in ²رَاي and ²رَايَة [301, 305, 723], the method most agreeable with analogy is to leave the ي unaltered, as in ²طَيّ [above]. Those who pronounce [the ع] with Fath there, saying ²طَبَوِيّ from ²طَبِيّة, do not pronounce the ع with Fath here, because this would not be possible for them, except by converting the ا into Hamza, ه, or ي, which would augment the heaviness. Though the ي in ²آي and ²رَاي is not converted into ا, and then into Hamza, as in ²دَاء [683, 721], because the ا before it is not *aug.* [723], still here, in the *rel. n.*, the ي may be converted into Hamza: for, though the ي is not deemed heavy before the advent of the ع of relation, still, when the latter is attached, heaviness is produced; so that the ع is converted into

Hamza, as رَأَيْتُ from رَأَى and رَأَيْتُ [305], by analogy to the rest of the final ى s deemed heavy after the ِ, as in رَدَّاهُ, although there is a difference between the two ِs. And it may also be converted into و, because the final ى third, deemed heavy on account of the ى of relation after it, is converted into و, as in شَجَرَتِي and عَمْرِي [301]. All of this is when the ى preceded by a quiescent is third. If, however, it be fourth, then, (1) if it follow a converted ِ, which is always [converted] from the Hamza, as in قَرَأْتِ softened from قَرَأْتُ [301, 661], because the ع is not converted into ِ when the ِ is an unsound letter, as in طَوْرِي and هَوْرِي [above], the ى is not altered in the *rel. n.*, because, the conversion of the Hamza into ِ being then not necessary, the ِ is virtually Hamza : (2) if the ِ be *aug.*, which it often, prevalently, is, as in سَقَايَةُ [301, 305] and نَقَايَةُ *choice part*, the ى is converted into Hamza in the *rel. n.*, because analogy would require its conversion into ِ, and then into Hamza, if the ِ, which prevents it from being final, were not present [721]; and, since the ِ drops off in the *rel. n.* [295], while the ى of relation is virtually separate [301, 306], the ى becomes quasi-final; and is moreover in need of alleviation, because of its combination with the ى of relation; so that it is converted into ِ, and then into Hamza, as in رَدَّاهُ [above]. It is not converted merely because of its being quasi-final,

as in *رَدَّان* [230] and *سِقَاءٌ* [721], since the *ى* of relation has a sort of attachment; but because of this, and of the heaviness produced by the combination of *ى* s. And hence the *و* of *شَقَاوَةٌ* [266, 301, 305] is not converted in *شَقَاوِي* [above], since there is no heaviness, as there is with the *ى* s. But some convert the *ى* of *سِقَايَةٌ* in the *rel. n.* into *و* [305], because the *ى* deemed heavy before the *ى* of relation is converted into *و*, as in *عَمَرِي* and *شَجَرِي*, when it is not elided, as in *قَامِي* [282, 301]. Similarly in the case of the *ى* fifth, preceded by an *aug.* †, as in *دِرْحَامِي* [301], you may convert the *ى* into Hamza, which is the general rule; or into *و*, as in the fourth. If the quiescent before the *ى* fourth be a *ى*, as in *عَلِي* and *قُصِي*, its predicament has been already explained [299]. And there remains the predicament of the *ى* fifth [or sixth], when the quiescent before it is a *ى* [303] (R).

§ 303. The final double *ى* [301] is after (1) the first letter, as in *طِي* and *حِي* [302]; (2) the second, as in *غَنِي* and *كُرْسِي* [299, 302]; (3) the third, as in *مَرْمِي* and *بَحَايِي* [below]; (4) the fourth, as in *بَحَايِي* [below] (Jrb). That [double *ى*, if fourth] is of two kinds: for (1) the two *ى* s are *aug.*, as in *كُرْسِي* [248, 301], *بَرْدِي* [274, 294], and

²كُونِي [295], in which case both must be elided in the *rel. n.*, whether they denote *relation*, as in ²بَصْرِي [294], *rel. n.* ²بَصْرِي; or *unity*, as in ²رُومِي [254, 294], *rel. n.* ²رُومِي; or *intensiveness*, as in ²أَحْبَرِي [294], *rel. n.* ²أَحْبَرِي; or have no meaning, as in ²كَرْسِي [310], *rel. n.* ²كَرْسِي [294]; from dislike to the combination of two double *س*s: so that the *rel. n.* is uniform [below] with the *n.* related to: (2) the second of them is *rad.*, in which case, (a) if the second [letter] of the word be quiescent, (a) both *س*s may be elided, as ²مَرْمِي *thrown, shot*, *rel. n.* ²مَرْمِي [294]; and similarly ²يَرْمِي upon the measure of ²يَعْضِيدُ *a certain bitter herb* [379] from ²رَمَى, *rel. n.* ²يَرْمِي; the best course here also being to elide both on account of the heaviness: or (b) the first alone may be elided, and the second converted into , , [the first being dropped,] because the *rad.* letter is deemed sufficient, as ²مَرْمِي and ²يَرْمِي; while the letter before the , is pronounced with *Fath*, because two *Kasras* with the combination of three unsound letters would be deemed heavy; so that the *rel. n.* is like ²قَاصِرِي [301], according to Mb (R): but this is a rare *dial.*, the preferable [usage] being opposed to it: AH says in the Ir "but ²مَرْمِي from ²مَرْمِي is anomalous" (A): (b) if the second [letter] of the word be mobile, both *س*s must be elided, notwithstanding the radicalness of the second,

as ^{قَضَى} قَضَوِيَّة upon the measure of ^{حَمِيصَة} [274] from ^{قَضَى} قَضَى, *rel. n.* ^{قَضَوِي} قَضَوِي, not otherwise. This, however, is based on the theory that the first of the repeated [letter] is *aug.*, [and the second *rad.*,] which is the opinion of Khl. The double ^ي ي, if fifth, must be elided, without distinction, whether the second be *rad.*, as in ^{أَحَاجِي} أَحَاجِي *enigmas, riddles* and ^{أَرَادِي} أَرَادِي *female mountain-goats*: or both be *aug.*, as in ^{بَخَاتِي} بَخَاتِي [below], when a man's name, which is diptote because *orig.* an ultimate *pl.*; while its *rel. n.* [below] is triptote, because the ^ي ي of relation is quasi-separate, not reckoned in the formation of the ultimate *pl.* (R). The *n.* related to and the *rel. n.* are literally uniform [above], but constructively different (Aud). The first double ^ي ي is assumed to be elided, and the second to be put into its place, in order that four ^ي ي s may not be combined. And the effect of the assumption appears in such as ^{بَخَاتِي} بَخَاتِي [above], *pl.* of ^{بَخَاتِي} بَخَاتِي [248], when used as a name, from which a *rel. n.* is then formed; for you say ^{هَذَا بَخَاتِي} هَذَا بَخَاتِي *This is a Bakhāti*, triptote, whereas before the formation of the *rel. n.* it was diptote (A). A prescribes the restriction of use as a name, because the broken *pl.*, when not a proper or quasi-proper name, has no homomorphous *rel. n.*; but is restored to its *sing.*, from which the *rel. n.* is then formed [310]. And IHsh in the Aud

imposes the further restriction of its being a name for a *masc.*, in order to exclude the case where it is used as a name for a woman ; for then its preventive of diptote declension is the femininization with the quality of proper name, and is not the form of the ultimate *pl.* (Sn).

§ 304. The final Hamza preceded by the † [300] is either after an *aug.* †, or not (R). The final Hamza after an *aug.* † is of four kinds, (1) a [pure] *rad.*, as in قَرَاءَ *a devotee* and فَايَ, *fair, clean* (IY, R) : (2) a pure *aug.*, which is the Hamza (R) converted from the † (IY) denoting femininization (IY, R), as in حَمْرَاءَ and صَفْرَاءَ [248, 263, 272, 683] (IY) : (3) neither a pure *rad.*, nor a pure *aug.*, which is of two kinds (R), (a) converted from a *rad.* letter, as in كَسَاءَ and دَأَاءَ [683, 723] (IY, R) ; (b) converted from an *aug.* ع (IY) co-ordinated with a *rad.* letter (R), as in عِلْبَاءَ and حَرْبَاءَ [248, 273, 683] (IY, R). The *n.* ending in the Hamza converted from the † of femininization is diptote ; while the *ns.* ending in the other three kinds [of Hamza] are triptote (IY). The predicament of the Hamza of the prolonged in the *rel. n.* is like its predicament in the [regular (A)] *du.* [230] (IA, Aud, A). The Hamza, (1) if *rad.*, is [mostly (SH)] preserved [from conversion (Sn) in the *rel. n.* (R)], as قَرَائِي (SH, IA, Aud, A), because it is strong, by reason of its radicalness (Jrb, Sn) : (2) if [an

aug. (IA) substituted for the | (A)] denoting feminization, is [necessarily (R)] converted into , (SH, IA, Aud, A) in the *rel. n.* (R), as حَمْرَاوِي (SH, IA), whence صَحْرَاوِي (SH, Aud, A) from صَحْرَاء [below] (A), because they intend to make a distinction between the pure *rad.* and the pure *aug.*, and the *aug.* is more meet for alteration; while the , is the letter most akin to the ي, and is what the letter deemed heavy before the ي of relation is most often converted into: (a) sometimes, but so seldom that the proceeding almost amounts to an anomaly, the *rad.* Hamza is assimilated to the Hamza denoting feminization, and is therefore converted into , as قَرَاوِي [306] and ضَاوِي (R): (b) IM's language here and in the CK necessarily implies that the *rad.* Hamza must be preserved; and that is distinctly declared by BD, who says "and, if it be an unconverted *rad.*, it is necessarily preserved": but IM in the Tashil mentions both ways for it, saying that the more approvable one is to sound it true (A): (3) if not so (SH), [i. e.,] if converted from a *rad.*, or [from a letter (Jrb)] co-ordinated with a *rad.* (R, Jrb, IA, Aud, A), is either preserved, [by assimilation to the *rad.* (Jrb),] as كِسَائِي [312] and عَلْبَائِي; or converted [into , (SH, Aud, A), by assimilation to the Hamza denoting feminization (Jrb)], as كِسَاوِي and عَلْبَاوِي (SH, IA, Aud, A): for both kinds are akin to

the pure *rad.*, inasmuch as one of them is converted from, and the other co-ordinated with, a *rad.* letter ; and to the pure *aug.*, inasmuch as the Hamza itself is not the J of the word, as it is in قَرَأَ and قُضِيَ (R) : (a) the better method is (R, A) what has been described [230] (A), preservation of the [Hamza (Sn)] converted (R, Sn) from a *rad.* (Sn), because it closely approximates to the *rad.* (R) ; and conversion of the co-ordinated (Sn). I have restricted "the *du.*" by "regular" [above], in order to exclude the anomalous *du.*, like كَسَايَانِ [230] ; for that is not copied in the *rel. n.*, as IM distinctly declares in the Kāfiya, so that كَسَايِي is not said (A). In every Hamza, then, not denoting feminization two methods are allowable : but conversion is better in the co-ordinated than in the converted, and in the converted than in the *rad.* ; being better than preservation in the co-ordinated, worse in the converted, and anomalous in the *rad.* (R). When the Hamza does not denote feminization, [being the J of the word (Sn),] but the *n.* is *fem.*, as in سَمَاء, [which is always *fem.* (Sn),] and in حَرَآءَ *Hirā* and قُبَاءَ *Kubā*, [which are *fem.* (Sn)] when you mean the بُقْعَةُ *patch of ground*, [in which case they are diptote (Sn),] two methods are allowable, conversion and preservation ; but the latter is more approvable, in order that the *n.* may be distinguished from صَحْرَاءَ [above] : whereas, if you make حَرَآءَ and قُبَاءَ

masc., [from regard to the مَكَان place, in which case they are triptote (Sn),] they are like كِسَاء and دَاء [305] (A); so that preservation and conversion into , are allowable, but preservation is more approvable, as before; and therefore this distinction is meaningless, since there is then no difference between the *fem.* and *masc.* [in the formation of the *rel. n.*] (Sn). As for the Hamza after an *unang.* l, as in مَاء and شَاء, where the l is converted from the , and the Hamza is a substitute for the s [275, 278, 683], it ought not to be altered; so that the *rel. n.* of مَاء is مَائِي without alteration; and by analogy the *rel. n.* of شَاء ought to be similar, since the Hamza in it is a substitute for the s, as in مَاء (R). But the Arabs say [مَائِي and (A)] شَائِي (IY on § 305, R, A), contrary to analogy (R), converting the Hamza into , (A), whence the saying [of the Rājiz (Jh)]

لَا يَنْفَعُ الشَّارِي فِيهَا شَاتَةٌ * وَلَا حِمَارُهُ وَلَا عَلَانَةٌ

In it his sheep profits not the owner of sheep, nor his two nether stones, nor his thin upper stone, whereon curd is put to dry (IY, A). IHsh says that (Sn) the *rel. n.* of مَاء is [like that of كِسَاء; so that you say (Sn)] مَائِي [with the Hamza (BS)] and مَائِي (BS, Sn) with the , , like كِسَائِي and كِسَائِي (BS), because the Hamza is a substitute: and YS says that the only objection to this

is that the original letter is different in the two, being a , in كِسَاء , and a ʾ in مَاء (Sn). If, however, [مَاء or (A)] شَاء be used as a name, the *rel. n.* is (1) [مَائِي or (A)] شَائِي (R, A), which, according to analogy, is more approvable, because the name is a secondary application, [so that the Hamza is, as it were, *rad.*] (R); (2) مَارِي or (A) شَارِي (R, A), which is allowable, as it was before the use as a proper name (R), according to the rule (A) that both methods are allowable in the *n.* whose Hamza is a substitute for a *rad.* [above]. Thus IHsh allows the two methods unrestrictedly : whereas A makes a distinction between what is not used as a name, in which conversion is necessary, in conformity with hearsay ; and what is used as a name, in which both methods are allowable (Sn).

§ 305. The *rel. n.* [in the *cat.* (SH)] of سِقَايَةٌ [and عِظَايَةٌ (M)] is (1) سِقَائِي (M, SH) and عِظَائِي (M), with the Hamza (SH), like كِسَائِي and رِدَائِي ; (2) سِقَاوِي and عِظَاوِي like كِسَاوِي and رِدَاوِي : for, when you form the *rel. n.*, you drop the ة [295], and then convert the J into Hamza ; so that the *rel. n.* is, as it were, formed from سِقَاء and عِظَاء , like كِسَاء and رِدَاء [304] (IY). The *rel. n.* [in the *cat.* (SH)] of شِقَاوَةٌ [and غَبَاوَةٌ (IY)] is شِقَاوِي (M, SH) and غَبَاوِي (IY), with the , (IY, SH)

unaltered (IY). And the *rel. n.* [in the *cat.* (SH)] of [رَايٌ and (SH)] رَايَةٌ is (1) رَايِي (M, SH), with the ي left unaltered, which is the form most agreeable with analogy (IY); (2) رَايِي (M, SH), with the Hamza, by assimilation to كِسَاءٌ and رِدَاءٌ (IY); (3) رَاوِي (M, SH), by conversion of the ي into و, as in كِسَاوِي and رِدَاوِي (IY): and similarly in رَايَةٌ [723], رَايَةٌ a fold, [رَايَةٌ a flat roof (IY),] and the like (M). The *cat.* of سَقَايَةٌ [and شَقَاوَةٌ (R) and the like (IY)] is the *n.* that ends in [the ة of femininization, and whose ة is (IY)] a ي or و, preceded by an *aug.* ا, but not converted [into ا, and then (R)] into Hamza, because [the *n.* is formed *fem.*; so that (IY)] the ي or و, is not final (IY, R), in consequence of the unadventitious ة [266, 721]. The *cat.* of رَايٌ and رَايَةٌ is the *n.* that ends in a ي third, preceded by an *unaug.* ا [723]. And [the formation of the *rel. n.* in] the whole of that has been already explained [301, 302] (R).

§ 306. The second [letter] of the *bil.* having no third is either a sound [275] or an unsound letter (IA) The *bil. n.* is of two kinds, what has *orig.* no third; and what has a third, which is elided. The first kind must be *uninfl.* in original constitution, because the *infl.* is not *orig.* constituted of less than three [letters]. When therefore you [proceed to] form a *rel. n.* from it, you begin by making it a proper name. either for its expression

or for something else, as when you name a person *مَنْ* or *كَمْ* (R). The second letter [of the constitutionally *bil.* (A)], if sound, as in *كَمْ*, may be doubled in the *rel. n.*, as *كَمِي* [294]; or not doubled, as *كَمِي* [below] (IA, A). When the *bil.* word is made a proper name for its expression, [and is intended to be *infl.* (Sn),] you must double its second letter, [as *أَكْتَرْتُ مِنْ أَلْكَمِ وَمِنْ أَلْوَرٍ* *I made much use of كَمْ and of كَو*, in order that the word may be on the smallest measure of *infl. ns.* (Su),] whether the second letter be sound or unsound (R, Sn): and in that case the doubling is necessary in its *rel. n.* (Sn), as *كَمِيَّة* and *لَمِيَّة* [from *كَمْ* and *لَمْ*], with the double م in both; and as *لَوِي* applied to him that often utters the word *كُو* [300]; and *مَائِيَّة* from *مَا* [300], and *لَائِي* from *لَا* [294, 300], because, when you double the *l*, and need to mobilize the second, the best way is to make it a Hamza, as in *صَحْرَاءَ* and *كِسَاءَ* [683]. Similarly you say *لَائِي* from *أَلَات* *Allāt*, [a certain idol, *فَعَلَهُ* from *لَوِي* *went round about* (K, B, on LIII.19, KF'), according to F(KF), because they used to *go round about it*, and be devoted to its worship (K),] the *ت* denoting femininization, since some of the Arabs pause upon it with *z*, saying *أَلَاءَ* [646]; and *كَيَوِي* and *فَيَوِي* from *كَي* [301] and *فَي*, [300, 301], because you make them *كَيِي* and *فَيِي*, and then form their *rel. ns.*

like those of طَيِّ and حَيِّ [302]. That is founded upon the fact that the ي of relation is virtually a separate word [below] (R). When the *bil.* word is made a proper name for something 'else than its expression, [and is intended to be *infl.* (Sn),] you do not double its second letter, when sound (R, Sn), as جَاءَنِى كَمْ *Kam came to me* and رَأَيْتُ مَنْأ *I saw Man*; and in that case there must be no doubling in its *rel. n.* (Sn), as جَاءَنِى كَمِي and مَنِى *A descendant, or partisan, of Kam, and Man, came to me*, with the single م and ن [307] (R), lest alteration in form and sense together should ensue without necessity (Sn): but, when the second is an unsound letter, [as in لَو and فِى, and لَ (Sn),] you double it (R, Sn) before forming the *rel. n.* (R), although alteration in form and sense together ensues, because the addition is compulsory, since the want of it would lead to elision of the unsound letter on account of its concurrence, when quiescent, with the Tanwin; so that the *infl. n.* would remain *unil.*, which is [a formation] rejected in their language. When, however, the *bil.* made a proper name, either for the expression or for something else, is not intended to be *infl.*, there is no addition at all. This is the sum of what is in the R, with some addition; and, when you know that, then the saying of [IA and] A [above] that the second, if a sound letter, may be doubled or not doubled,

appears to require consideration (Sn). If the second [letter] of the [word (Sn) constitutionally (Aud, A, Mkh)] *bil.* [used as a name (Aud)] be a soft letter, you [must (IA)] double it [308] (IM) before forming the *rel. n.* (Aud), whether the *bil.* be a man's name, from which you mean to form a *rel. n.*, or you intend to affirm the relation of a person to its expression because of his making much use of it (MKh), as لَآ, [proper name لَآ (Aud),] *rel. n.* لَآئِي (IM) or لَآوِي (IA, Aud, A), like كِسَائِي or كِسَاوِي [304] (Aud), the Hamza being convertible into , (IA, A), because it is a substitute for a *rad.* (Sn) ; and as لَو [and كَي (Aud, A, Mkh), proper names لَو and كَي (Aud)], *rel. ns.* لَوِي (IA, Aud, A) and كَيَوِي (Aud, A, MKh), like دَوِي and حَيَوِي [302] (Aud). But, says Kh in the Tsr, on the authority of IKhz, those who say "We add a Hamza from the first" say only لَآئِي ; and, according to them, لَآوِي is not allowable, except according to the saying of some قَرَاوِي [304] (Sn). As for the second kind, I mean what has a third, which is elided, that third is restored to it, if you intend to complete it to three [letters], and then to form a *rel. n.* from it, because restoring an original part of the word is better than putting an extraneous letter (R). The elided [letter (IY)] is (1) the ف ; (2) the ع , [which is the rarest (IY)] ; (3) the ج (IY, R, A), which is the most frequent (IY). The

[*infl.* (IY)] *bil.* [*n.* (IY)] is of three kinds, (1) that whose elided [ج (IY)] is restored [in the *rel. n.* (IY)], as أَبْرَى^٢ : (2) that whose elided [ف or ع (IY)] is not restored [in the *rel. n.* (IY)], as عَدَى^٢ and سَهَى^٢, except [in a case of necessity, *vid.* (IY)] when its ج is unsound, as in شَيْءَ^٢ [and دِيَّةَ^٢, *orig.* شَيْءَ^٢ and وَدِيَّةَ^٢ (IY)], where you [restore the elided ف, and (IY)] say وَشَرَى^٢ [and وَدَرَى^٢ (IY)] ; while Akh says وَشَيْئَ^٢ [and وَدِيَّ^٢], according to the *o. f.* (M), like طَبِيئَ^٢ [302] (IY) : (3) that in whose elided [ج (IY)] both matters are permissible, as غَدَى^٢ or غَدَرَى^٢ (M). If the elided be the ف, [which is always the case in the *inf. n.* whose ف is a و, and whose *aor.* is curtailed of the ف, as عَدَا^٢ and مَقَا^٢, and سَعَا^٢ and دَعَا^٢ (R)], then, if the ج be sound, [as in عَدَا^٢ (IA, Aud, A), زَنَا^٢ (Jh), and صَفَا^٢ (IA, A)], the elided is not restored [in the *rel. n.* (R, A)], as عَدَى^٢ (R, IA, Aud, A), زَنَى^٢ (Jh), صَفَى^٢ (IA, A), and سَعَى^٢ (R), not وَعَدَى^٢ (Aud), because the elision is regular, on account of a cause, *vid.* the conformity of the *inf. n.* to the *v.* [482, 699], and the elided is not restored without necessity while the cause of its elision exists ; and also because the ف is not the seat of alteration [below], like the ج, so that one should allow oneself to vary it by restoring the elided without any necessity, such as there is in the *dim.* [275] (R). But, if the *bil.* [whose ف is

wanting (IM)] be [unsound in the ج (R, IA, Aud, A),] like شَيْبَةٌ [and دَيْبَةٌ (A)], the ف must be restored (IM, R) ; and the ع pronounced with Fath (IM), unrestrictedly (A), i. e., whether it be *orig.* quiescent or pronounced with Fath (Sn), as وَشَرِيٌّ (IA, Aud, A) and وَدَرِيٌّ (A) with Kasr of the [first (MKh)] و, [as in the *o. f.* (MKh),] and Fath of the ش [and د] (Sn, MKh), according to [the opinion of (Aud)] S [below] (IA, Aud, A) ; while, according to the opinion of Akh, you say وَشَيْبِيٌّ (Aud, A) and وَدَيْبِيٌّ (A), with Kasr of their first, and quiescence of their second (Sn). For the ي of relation is quasi-separate[above], as repeatedly mentioned [301, 302] ; and is more slightly attached than the ة [of femininization], because you say سَقَايَةٌ with the ي, not otherwise [266, 721], but سَقَاتِيٌّ with the Hamza, according to some [302, 305] : so that, when the ة drops off in شَيْبَةٌ [295], and is succeeded by the ي [of relation], which is more slightly attached than it, the *infl.* word remains of two letters, the second of which is a quasi-final soft letter, since the ي [of relation] is like the non-existent ; whereas in the *infl. n.* the soft letter, when second, may not be final, since it would drop off because of the concurrence of two quiescents, on account of the Tanwīn or something else, so that the *infl. n.* would remain of one letter ; and, that not being allowable, we restore the elided ف, i. e., the , in order that the word may become

a *tril.* ending in a soft letter, like عَصَا [300] and عَم [301]. And, when the ف is restored, the Kasra of the ع is not removed, according to S ; nor is the ع made quiescent, as it *orig.* was ; because the ف , though original, is not taken into account, since its restoration here is because of a necessity, which is accidental in the *rel. n.*, not permanent : so that the Kasra inseparable from the ع on elision of the ف is not elided ; and, the *rel. n.* thus becoming وشِيءٌ , like إِبِلِيٌّ . the ع is pronounced with Fath, as in إِبِلِيٌّ and نَمْرِيٌّ [296] : and therefore the ي is converted into ا [684, 719], and afterwards into و [300] ; or is converted into و from the first, as we mentioned in the case of حَيْرِيٌّ [302]. But Akh restores the ع to its original quiescence, when he restores the ف , as وشِيءٌ , like طَبِييٌّ [302], not deeming the ي s too heavy when the letter before them is quiescent. And Fr puts the ف elided in this *cat.*, whether from the [bil.] sound in the ل , like عَدَّةٌ and رَنَّةٌ , or from the unsound, like شِيَّةٌ , after the ل , in order that it may be in the seat of alteration [below], i. e., the end, and thus be restorable, as عَدَرِيٌّ [below], رَنَوِيٌّ , and شِيَرِيٌّ . He is induced to do this by the circumstance that عَدَرِيٌّ is transmitted from some of the Arabs ; and he forms the others by analogy to it (R). If the elided be the ع (R, Aud, A), which occurs in two *ns.* only, سَعَّةٌ

[260, 667], by common consent, and مَذْ [203], according to some (R), its predicament, which is not mentioned by IM, [because of its extreme rarity in the language of the Arabs, but is analogous to that of the elided ف (Sn),] is that (A) it is not restored (R, Aud, A) in the *rel. n.* (R), when the J is sound, as in سَ [and مَذْ (A)], *orig.* سَتَّ (Aud, A) and مَنَذْ (A), because the ع is not the seat of alteration, like the J, and the *n.* is capable of being *infl.* independently of that elided (R); so that, [when they are used as names (A),] you say سَهِيَّ (Aud, A) and مَذِيَّ (A), not سَتَهِيَّ [and مَنَذِيَّ] (Aud). Thus loosely do many of the GG lay down the rule, which is not so, but is subject to the restriction that the *bil.* should not be [contracted] from the reduplicated, like رُبْ [275,505] contracted by elision of the first ب; for, when used as a name, it forms the *rel. n.* رَبِّيَّ [below], by restoration of the elided [ع (Sn)]: that is unequivocally declared by S, and no dispute about it is known (A). But, when the J is unsound, as in يَرِيَّ [658] (Aud, A) *aor.* of رَايَ (Sn), and أَلْبَرِيَّ (A) *act. part.* of أَرَى, *orig.* يَرَايَ and أَلْبَرَتِيَّ, the vowel of the Hamza being transferred to the ر, and the Hamza, which is the ع, being then elided (Sn), it is [necessarily (Aud)] restored (Aud, A); while as to the Fath or quiescence [of the ف, as in the Tsr and other works, not (Sn)] of the ع, [unless by the ع he means

the , , which be names ع because it is medial (Sn),] there are the two opinions (A) of S and Akh (Sn) : so that, [when يَرَى and أَلْمَرَى are used as names (A),] you say (1) يَرَى (Aud, A) with two Fathas, [and then a Kasra (Aud),] according to the opinion of S, that the vowel [of the ف] is retained after the restoration [of the elided (Sn)], because, يَرَى then becoming يَرَى upon the measure of جَمَرَى [300], the ا must be elided (Aud, Sn) ; and يَرَى (Aud, A) or يَرَايَ , according to the opinion of Akh, like مَلَهَى or مَلَهَى [300] (Aud, Sn) : so in the [Aud and] Tsr (Sn) : (2) أَلْمَرَى , [according to S] ; and أَلْمَرَى (A) or أَلْمَرَايَ , [according to Akh,] because أَلْمَرَى is like أَلْقَاضَى [301] (Sn). If the elided be the ل (IM, R), then, (1) if it be elided on account of the [concurrence of] two quiescents, as in عَصَا [300] and عَمَ [301], it is restored without dispute, because the Tanwīn before the ي of relation is removed : (2) if it be elided as forgotten, not on account of an universal cause (R), then, (a) if the ع be an unsound letter, [not replaceable by a sound letter before the formation of the *rel. n.* (R),] the ل must be restored, [as IM mentions in the Kāfiya and Tashīl, even if it be not restored in the *du.* and sound *pl.* (A),] as شَاة , *rel. n.* شَاهِي [300] (R, Aud, A), or, according to [the principle of (A)] Akh [explained below (A)], شَوَهِي .

(Aud, A), because ^أشَاة is *orig.* ^أشَوْهَة [260] (Aud, Sn) with quiescence of the و (Sn); and as ^أدُو [i. q. ^أصَاحِب (A)], *rel. n.* ^أذَوْرِي [300] (R, Aud, A), by common consent, because its measure, according to Akh, is ^أفَعْل with Fatḥh [Note on p. 854, ll. 4-5] (A): (b) if the ع be [an unsound letter] replaceable by a sound letter, the ج is not restored, as ^أفَوْدٍ, *rel. n.* ^أفَيْي [300] (R): (c) if the ع be a sound letter (R, A), then, [say the GG (R),] (α) if the ج be restored [without the ي of relation (R)] in [any of the following positions (R, A),] the *du.*, or the sound *pl. [masc. or (IM)] fem.*, [or the state of prefixion in the case of the six *ns.* (R),] it must be restored (IM, R) in the *rel. n.* (R, IA, A), because in the *rel. n.* what was not in the *o. f.* is [sometimes] added in the position of the ج, as we said on ^أكَيْيَة and ^ألَايِي [above], and much more than a ج that was in the *o. f.*, and that actually returns into use after elision (R), as ^أأَب, *rel. n.* ^أأَبْرِي (IA, Aud, A), and ^أأَخ, *rel. n.* ^أأَخْرِي (IA, A); and as ^أسَنَة, *rel. n.* ^أسَنْرِي or ^أسَنْهِي [below] (Aud, A), and ^أعَصَة, *rel. n.* ^أعَصْرِي [below] or ^أعَصْهِي, according to the different opinions on the elided [letter] (A): while you say ^أذَات, *rel. n.* ^أذَوْرِي, because of two matters, the unsoundness of the ع, and the restoration of the ج in the *du.* ^أذَوَاتَا [231] (Aud): (b) if the ج be not restored in any of these positions, it may be

restored (IM, R) or omitted [in the *rel. n.* (R, IA, A)], as ²يَدْرِي [below] or ³يَدِي [300] (R, IA, Aud, A) and ²دَمْرِي [below] or ³دَمِي [300] (R, Aud, A, MKh), from ²يَد [719] (IA, Aud, A) and ²دَم (Aud, A, MKh), according to those who say ²يَدَانِ [and ²دَمَانِ (A, MKh)] in the *du.* [231] (IA, A), and ²يَدَوْنَ [in the *pl.*] when ²يَد is a proper name of a [rational] male [234] (IA), no regard being paid to the sayings ²جَرَى الدَّمِيَانِ ²الْح and ²يَدِيَانِ بَيْضَاوَانِ ²الْح [231], because they are anomalous (R); while, according to those who say ²يَدِيَانِ [and ²دَمِيَانِ (A)] restoration is necessary (A, MKh); and as ²جَرِي [below] or ²جَرِي [below] or ²غَدِي [below] or ²غَدِي (R, A), from ²حَر [275] and ²غَد [231, 275] (A); and as ²شَفِي [below] or ²شَفِي [and ²ثُبَرِي] or ²ثُبِي (A), from ²شَفَّة [260] (Aud, A) and ²ثُبَّة [234, 244] (A); and as ²بَنَرِي [667] or ²إِبْنِي [and ²سُبَرِي or ²إِسْبِي (Aud)] from ²إِبْن (IA, Aud) and ²إِسْم [below] (Aud), because they say ²إِبْنَانِ [and ²إِسْمَانِ] in the *du.* (IA). So say Jh and others [on the *rel. n.* of ²شَفَّة]; and the saying of IKh^z that only ²شَفِي has been heard, even if we admit it, does not refute what we have said, because the question relates to analogy, not to hearsay. Those, however, who say that its *l* is a , say ²شَفَرِي when they restore [it]; but the correct form is what we have given

above, as is proved by شَفَاهُ [260] (Aud). Therefore, say the GG, those who say هُنَكَ [16], هَنَانِ [231], and هَنَاتٌ [234] allow هَنَرِي or هَنِي ; but those who say هُنُونَ [16], هَنَوَانِ [231], and هَنَوَاتٌ [234] hold هَنَرِي to be necessary (R). The use of [IM's] mentioning the sound *pl. masc.* is, however, not apparent (A), because what is restored in it is restored in the *du.*; while the converse does not hold good, like the ج of أَبٌ and أَخٌ, which is restored in the *du.* [231], but not in the *pl.* [234], unless one assert that it is restored, and afterwards elided (Sn): and in the Tashil and the CK he confines himself to the *du.* and the *pl.* with the ا and ت (A). But IH says that referring to the *du.* and *pl.* is drawing on ignorance: and, meaning, therefore, to devise a formula without that, he says that, if the ع be a sound letter (R), when the elided is the ج, then, if the *bil.* be *orig.* mobile in the medial, and a *conj.* Hamza be not put as a compensation [for the ج (R)], the elided must be restored, as أَبَرِي and أَخَرِي (SH), lest mutilation ensue in the *rel. n.* through elision of the ج and elision of the vowel of the ع, notwithstanding that the [latter] elision is not at the end, which is the seat of alteration [283]: whereas, if the *bil.* be *orig.* quiescent in the ع, the elided may be restored or omitted, as غَدَرِي or غَدِي,

and حَرَجِي or حَرِي [312], since no mutilation ensues : and similarly, if the [conj.] Hamza be put as a compensation for the ج, one may restore the ج, and elide the Hamza, as بَنَوِي and سَتَهِي [below] ; or confine oneself to the compensation, as اِبْنِي and اِسْتِي [below]. But we say that the device adopted by IH, from fear of making a demand on ignorance, is not behind what the GG say in drawing on it, because many of the *ns.* whose ج is gone are in dispute among the GG, as to whether they be فَعْلٌ or فَعَلٌ, like يَدٌ and دَمٌ [260] ; while the state of most *ns.* on the model of طَبَّةٌ and سَنَّةٌ [234, 244], as to whether they be quiescent in the ع or mobile, is unknown. The ج of some of these *ns.* curtailed of the ج is biform, as in سَنَّةٌ and عَضَّةٌ [234, 244, 260, 275, 277] : Sf says, Those who say سَانَهَتْ say سَنَهِي [above] and سَنِي, because the س does not return in the *pl.*, since سَنَهَاتٌ [234] is not said ; while those who say سَنَوَاتٌ must say سَنَوِي [above] : and similarly those who say عَضِيَّةٌ [275] say عَضِي and عَضِي, since عَضَهَاتٌ does not occur ; while those who say عَضَوَاتٌ say only عَضَوِي [311] (R), with Fath of the ع, irregularly (Jh). S says that (R) the *rel. n.* of فَمٌ [orig. فَوَةٌ (S)] is فَمِي or فَمِي, according to those who say فَمَان [in the *du.* (R)] ; but only فَمِي

according to those who say **فَمَرَّان** as in **هَبَا نَفَثَا الْح** [231] (S, R) : while Mb says that, if you do not say **فَمَرَّان**, you ought to restore it to its *o. f.* [16, 278, 687], and say **فَمَرَّان** (R). The opinion of S [and most GG (A)] is that the ع of the *n.* whose *l* is restored, [whatever class the *n.* be of, unless it be reduplicated (R),] is pronounced with Fatḥ, even if it be *orig.* quiescent, as **يَدَرِي** and **دَمَرِي**, [the elided *ي* being restored, and converted into *ا*, and then into *و*, from dislike to the combination of the Kasra and the *ي* s (Tsr),] and **غَدَرِي** and **حَرَجِي** (R, A), from **دَم** and **يَد** [260], and **غَد** and **حَر** [275] (A), for a reason like what we mentioned for the mobilization of the ع in **شَيْء** [above], because the ع [on elision of the *l*] is inseparable from the inflectional vowel ; so that, when you restore the departed letter, you intend to leave the ع invested with one of these vowels, as a notification of its inseparability from them ; and, Fatḥa being, as is said, the lightest of them, you pronounce the ع with Fatḥ (R). Akh, however, holds that what is *orig.* quiescent should be made quiescent, as **يَدِي** and **دَمِي**, and **غَدِي** and **حَرَجِي**, with quiescence [of their ع s (R)], because it is [a restoration to (R)] the original state (R, A) of the ع in these words (A), as we mentioned in **شَيْء** [above] (R). But the sound opinion is that of S ; and hearsay accords with it ; while some relate of Akh that he

reverted to the opinion of S (A). The Glossators, indeed, following [R and] Dm, object that (Sn), if the *n.* be reduplicated, its ع is not pronounced with Fatḥ, as in (1) the contracted رُبْ [above], where you say رُبِّي [with quiescence of the ع, because of the incorporation (R)], by common consent (R, Sn), for avoidance of the heaviness that would result from dissolution of the incorporation ; and (2) قُرَّة, who are a tribe of 'Abd AlKais, *orig.* قُرَّة, but contracted, where they say قُرِّي with [Damm and (Dh, LL)] double , (R). But their objection falls to the ground, because the contracted رُبْ is curtailed of the ع, as A distinctly states [above] ; so that in the *rel. n.* its ع, is restored, not its ج ; whereas the discussion is about restoration of the ج (Sn). In [the *rel. n.* of (A)] every *tril.*, where the ج is elided, and the *conj.* Hamza [667] is put [at the beginning (R) as a compensation for it (A), the Hamza alternates with the ج, for which it is a quasi-compensation ; so that (R)] you [may (A)] restore the ج, and elide the Hamza, or retain the Hamza, and elide the ج, as بَنِي or ابْنِي [above] ; سَبِي [with Kasr or Damm of the س (R, Sn), and also سَبِي with Fatḥ (R),] or اِسْبِي (R, A) ; and اِسْتِي or سَتَهِي [312] (A). If you named a man اِثْنَان or اِثْنَا عَشَرَ [308], you would say in the *rel. n.* اِثْنِي or ثَنِي [295] (Jh). As for اِمْرُو [16],

its *rel. n.*, [says S (R),] is [only (R)] ²اِمْرَتِي, [like ²اِمْرَعِي, according to analogy (S),] because [it is not a *bil.*, and (S)] the Hamza [here (S)] is not a compensation (S, R) for the J, which is present (R); while ²مَرَّتِي, [says he (R),] from ²اِمْرُو الْقَيْسِ [294, 308, 309] is anomalous (S, R). But, says Sf, this is a form deduced by him from analogy; otherwise the *rel. n.* heard is ³مَرَّتِي [with Fath of the , (Jh)] from ²اِمْرُو, not ²اِمْرَتِي [above]. The , in ²مَرَّتِي *rel. n.* of ²اِمْرُو is pronounced with Fath, because, when you elide the *conj.* Hamza contrary to analogy, the vowel of the , remains in its state of alliteration to the vowel of the [final] Hamza, which is the J [16]; and, Kasr being inseparable from the Hamza on account of the ي of relation [294], the , ¹اِو is pronounced with Kasr, as ²مَرَّتِي, like ²نَبَرِي; and is afterwards pronounced with Fath, as in ²نَبَرِي [296]. But Fr transmits Fath of the , in ²اِمْرُو in every case, and Damm of it in every case. As for ³اِبْنَم [16], the Hamza and the م are compensations for the J; so that, when you restore the J, you elide them (R). I asked Khl the *rel. n.* of ³اِبْنَم: and he said, You may elide the *aug.*, saying ²بَنَوِي, as though it were *rel. n.* of ³اِبْن; or may leave it unaltered, saying ²اِبْنِي, like ²اِبْنِي and ²اِسْتِي (S). But, says S, ²اِبْنِي is a form deduced from analogy by Khl, not spoken by the Arabs (R).

§ 307. The *rel. ns.* of **بِنْتُ** and **أُخْتُ** are disputed. And the predicament of **فُتْنَانِ**, [below], **كَيْت** and **ذَيْت**, and **كِلْتَا**, which correspond to **بِنْتُ** and **أُخْتُ**, is the same as theirs (A). But the dispute as to the *rel. n.* of **فُتْنَانِ** [above] is apparent only before it is used as a name; and similarly afterwards, according to the *dial.* of imitation; whereas, according to the *dial.* that treats it like **حَمْدَانُ** or **سِرْحَانُ**, its *rel. n.* ought by common consent to be **فُتْنَانِي** [295] (Sn). If the **و** be substituted for the **ل** in the *tril.*, which occurs in the few *ns.* enumerated in the chapter on the Diminutive [277], such as **بِنْتُ** and **أُخْتُ** [above], **هَنْت** [below], **فُتْنَانِ**, and **كَيْت** and **ذَيْت**, then (R), according to [Khl and (IA)] S (R, IA, A), the **و** is elided, and the **ل** restored (IY, R, IA, A). That [elision] is because the **و** [263, 689], though a substitute for the **ل**, contains a tinge of feminization, since it is peculiar to the *fem.* in these *ns.*: and the proof that it does not stand in the place of the **ل** in every respect is their eliding it in the *dim.*, as **بْنِيَّة** and **أُخْيَّة** [277]; and similarly in the *pl.* [below], as **بَنَات** [689], **أَخَوَات**, and **هَنَات** [234]. And, when the **و** is elided, the *tril.* reverts to the formation of the *masc.* [below]. For all these *ns.* are *orig. masc.*: but, when the **و** is substituted for the **ل**, they are altered to the formation with Damm of the **ف**

in أُخْتُ, Kasr of it in بِنْتُ and ثِنْتَانِ, and quiescence of the ع in all, as a notification that this femininization is not regular, as it is in ضَارِبٌ and ضَارِبَةٌ [265]; and that the ت does not denote pure femininization, but contains a tinge of it (R). The *o. f.* of بِنْتُ and أُخْتُ is بَنَوَةٌ and أَخَوَةٌ [234, 667, 689]. Then they transfer بَنَوَةٌ and أَخَوَةٌ, the measure of which is فَعْلٌ, to فَعِلٌ and فُعْلٌ, co-ordinating them with the measures of جَذْعٌ and قُفْلٌ by means of the ت substituted for their ل [689]. And the ت in them is not really for femininization, because the letter before it is quiescent. This is the opinion of S, which he unequivocally declares in the chapter on the Diptote (IY). And therefore [he says that بِنْتُ or (IY)] أُخْتُ, when a [proper (R)] name [for a man (IY)], is triptote (IY, R); whereas, if the ت were for femininization, it would be diptote (IY). According to Khl (S, M) and S (M), you say بَنَوِيٌّ from بِنْتُ; [as from ابْنٌ (S, IY, IA, Aud, A), when you restore its elided (Aud)]; and أَخَوِيٌّ from أُخْتُ (S, M, R, IA, Aud, A), as from أَخٌ [306] (R, IA, Aud, A). That is because they say بَنَاتٌ and أَخَوَاتٌ [234] by elision of the ت and restoration [of the *fem.*] to the original formation of the *masc.* (Aud). And [similarly (S), according to S (A),] you say ثَنَوِيٌّ [with Fath of the ت (Sn)] from ثِنْتَانِ; and كَيَرِيٌّ [and (R, A)] ذَيَرِيٌّ from

[^{كَيْتَ} and (R, A)] ^{ذَيْتَ} (S, R, A), because, when you restore the ^ل, the *n.* becomes ^{كَيْة} and ^{ذِيَّة} [227], like ^{حِيَّة}, *rel. n.* ^{حَيَرِي} [302] (R); and ^{كَلَرِي} [below] from ^{كَلَتَا} (S, A): their *rel. ns.* being like those of their *mascs.* (A). A's saying "their *mascs.*" necessarily implies that ^{كَيْتَ} and ^{ذَيْتَ} also have a *masc.* [above]; but perhaps he means their *o. f.* before affixion of the ^ت (Sn). The secret of it is that these formations, being all *fem.*, must be restored to the formation of the *masc.* [above], as the ^ة must be elided in ^{مَكَّة}, and the [^ا and] ^ت in ^{مُسْلِمَات} [295] (Aud). Khl asserts that (S) the *masc.* of (R) ^{بِنْتُ} [or ^{ابْنَةُ} (S)] is *orig.* ^{فَعَلٌ} (S, R), with Fath of the ^ف and ^ع, as is proved by the *perf. pl.* ^{بُنُون} [234], and the broken *pl.* ^{أَبْنَاءَ} [667] (R). Similarly [the *masc.* of] ^{أُخْتُ} is [*orig.*] ^{فَعْلٌ}, as is proved by ^{أَخَوَك} [16], ^{أَخَاكَ}, and ^{أَخِيكَ}; and by the saying of some of the Arabs, as Y asserts, ^{آخَاءَ} [260], this being the *pl.* of ^{فَعْلٌ} [237, 239] (S). Similarly (R) ^{إِثْنَتَانِ} [313, 314, 667], which corresponds to ^{ابْنَةُ}, [because the *sing.* of ^{إِثْنَانِ} and ^{إِثْنَتَانِ}, if they were allowed one, would be ^{إِثْنٌ} and ^{إِثْنَةٌ}, like ^{ابْنٌ} and ^{ابْنَةٌ} (Jh),] is *orig.* ^{فَعْلٌ}, since (S) they say ^{أَثْنَاءَ} as *pl.* of ^{الْإِثْنَانِ} Monday (S, R). And ^{هَنْتٌ} [below] is *orig.* ^{فَعْلٌ}, as is proved by the saying of some of the Arabs ^{هَنْوَنَ} [16]. And not one of

these *ns.* occurs whose ع is not *orig.* mobile, except [كَيْتٌ and] ذَيْتٌ , [each of] which is an *indecl. n.* [227]. And, as for كِلْتَا , the [original] mobility of its ع is proved by كَلَا [below], like اَمْعَا *a gut, sing.* of اَمْعَاء [237] (S). But the restoration of the ل [in the *rel. n.*], which is allowable in اِبْنٌ [and اِثْنَانٍ], is necessary in بِنْتٌ [and ثِنْتَانٍ], as in اُخْتُ (Sn). S says, If it be said that, the ل not being restored in بَنَاتٌ [234], analogy requires that بَنِيٌّ and بَنَوِيٌّ should be allowable in the *rel. n.*, because of the principle, which you have just mastered, that in restoring [the ل] in the *rel. n.*, the *du.* and the *pl.* with the ا and ت are considered [306], the answer is that, although they do not restore the ل in بَنَاتٌ , they do in بَنَوْنٌ [234], and the object is restoration of the ل in some of the word's variations other than the *rel. n.* (R). According to Y, however, [in addition to بَنَوِيٌّ and اَخَوِيٌّ (R),] you [may also (R)] say بِنْتِيٌّ and اُخْتِيٌّ (S, M, R, IA, Aud, A), forming the *rel. n.* of بِنْتٌ and اُخْتُ from their expression (IA, A), and not eliding the ت (A). He argues that the ت is not for feminization [263] (R, Aud), since it is preceded by a sound quiescent, and is not changed into ة in pause [646] (Aud); but that it is a substitute for the ل (R). And that is admitted; but they treat [the ت in] this formation like the ة of feminization, as is proved by [its elision in] the *pl.* [above] (Aud). He ought, therefore,

[as Khl objects (S, R, A),] to say [also (R)] هَنْتِي^٢ and مَنَّتِي^٢ [from هَنْت and مَنَّت (IY, A)]; whereas no one says that (S, IY, R, A); but one says هَنْرِي^٢, and, according to A's declaration that the sound second of the *bil.* may be doubled or not, مَنِّي^٢ or مَنِّي^٢ [306]. The language of A, like that of others, necessarily implies that هَنْت^٢ [above] and مَنَّت are among the *ns.* in which the ل is elided, and the ت put as a compensation for it; and this is obvious in هَنْت^٢, because it, like هَنْ^٢, is *orig.* هَنْو^٢; but, as for مَنَّت, it, being *orig.* مَن [183], is *bil.* by constitution [277] (Sn). Y, however, may draw the distinction that the ت in these two is not inseparable, contrary to the ت in بَنْت and أُخْت^٢, since the ت in هَنْت^٢ is found in continuity exclusively, [being changed into ة in pause (Sn)]; and in مَنَّت is found in pause exclusively (A), being absent in continuity (Sn). And, according to Y, you say ثَنْتِي^٢; and كَنْتِي^٢ and ذَيْتِي^٢; and كَنْتِي^٢ [below], كَنْتَوِي^٢, or كَنْتَاوِي^٢, like the *rel. ns.* of حَبَلِي [300] (A). Z says that (IY), according to both the opinions [of S and Y (IY)], you say كَنْتِي^٢ and كَنْتَوِي^٢ from كَنْتَا (M); but it is not true, because S says كَنْرِي^٢ [above] (IY). Y says nothing about كَنْتَا; nor does he say that its *rel. n.* is formed by retention of the ت, like the *rel. ns.* of بَنْت and أُخْت^٢; nor is his

allowance of retention of the ت in their *rel. ns.* universal, according to him, in the *rel. n.* of every *tril.* for whose ل a ت is substituted, so that we should pronounce that he must say كِلْتَي [above], كِلْتَوِي, and كِلْتَاوِي, like حَبَلِي [300], حَبَلَوِي, and حَبَلَاوِي; and, if that were universal, according to him, he would say هَنْتَي and مَنْتَي, and Khl would not make the objection that he does; and therefore IH's saying that (R), according to Y, the *rel. ns.* of كِلْتَا are كِلْتَي [above], كِلْتَوِي, and كِلْتَاوِي (SH), requires consideration, unless he mean that, if you were to form an assumed *rel. n.* for it by analogy to Y's formation of the *rel. n.* from بِنْت and أُخْت, the three ways would be allowable (R). And Akh adopts a third method with بِنْت and أُخْت and the *ns.* corresponding to them, eliding the ت, [and restoring the elided ل (Sn)]; but maintaining the quiescence of the letter before it, [if the rules do not require this letter to be mobilized, as in the *rel. ns.* of كَيْت and ذَيْت, as explained by A below (Sn),] and the vowel of the letter before the quiescent; as ثَنْوِي, أُخْوِي, بَنْوِي, and كَلْوِي; and, according to his method, the *rel. ns.* of كَيْت and ذَيْت, when the elided [ي (Sn)] is restored, ought by analogy to be like that of حَي [302], as كَيَوِي and ذَيَوِي [above] (A). According to [the apparent opinion of (A)] S (R, A), the ت in كِلْتَا is like the ت of بِنْت and

(IY, A)] أُخْتُ (IY, R, A), since it [is not merely for feminization, but (R)] is a substitute for the J (IY, R), for which reason the letter before it is quiescent (R); while the | is for feminization (IY, A), the *o. f.* being كِلَوِي like ذِكْرِي [272] (IY): and upon this [apparent opinion (Sn)] is founded the preceding statement (A) that S says كِلَوِي [above] (Sn). For that the J is unsound is shown by the *masc.* كَلَا, [*orig.* كَلَو (Jh)], which is فَعَلٌ; and that the J is a , is more likely than that it should be ا ي, because substitution of the ت for the , is much more frequent than its substitution for the ي [689] (IY). And the ت may have the | of feminization put after it, and become intermediate; nor is that [considered] a combination of two signs of feminization; because the ت, as we mentioned, is not for mere feminization, but contains a tinge of it (R). When, therefore, you form the *rel. n.*, you [restore the J, and (R)] reduce the word to the [original (IY)] formation [of the *masc.* (R)], as in أُخْتُ and بِنْتُ; [so that it becomes كِلَوِي with Fath of the ع, the Fath of the ع being obvious in its *masc.* (R);] and then the | of feminization must be elided (IY, R), as in جَمَرِي [300] (R); so that كِلَوِي is said (IY). According to Jr, however, the measure of كِلَوِي is فَعْتَلٌ (IY, R, A), the | being the J of the word, and the ت (R, A) a [co-ordinative (Jh)] *aug.* (A), not

being a substitute for [a *rad.*, vid. (Sn)] the J (R, Sn), nor containing the sense of femininization R); so that he says كِنْتَوِي (IY, R, A), like مِلْهَوِي from مِلْهَي [300] (IY). But this is bad (IY, R, A), because فَعْتَل is [a paradigm (IY)] not found [at all (IY)] in their language (IY, R), since the ت is not used as an *aug.* in the middle [678] (A). كِنْتَا, then, [if used as a name for a man (S, IY),] is diptote, when *det.* and when *indet.* (S, IY, R), according to [the opinion of (IY)] S (IY, R), because its ت is the ت of femininization (S, IY, R), as in حَبَلَي [18, 248, 272] (R), while its ت corresponds to the و in شَرَوِي [272] (S); but is triptote when *indet.*, according to the opinion of Jr (IY). The well-known opinion, however, transmitted from the majority of the BB, and even from S by IH in the CM, is that the ت in كِنْتَا is a substitute for the و, [or ي (Sn)], which is the J of the word, [*orig.* كِنْتَوِي or كِنْتَا (Sn),] the measure of which is فَعَلَي, the و, [or ي] being changed into ت as an intimation of the femininization (A). This is different from the opinion described above as apparently held by S, because the J, according to this, is present, being *orig.* a و, [or ي], which has been changed into ت; but, according to the former, is elided, the ت being a compensation (Sn). And, since this is the opinion of the majority, the *rel. n.* ought to be كِنْتَي [below] (A), like حَبَلَي [300] (Sn).

Sf says that those who hold the ت not to contain the sense of femininization, but to be a [mere] substitute for the و, as [it is for the س] in سِتٌ, orig. سِدْسٌ [689, 758], and [for the و] in تَكَلَّةٌ and تُرَاثٌ [689], say كِنْتِي [above] (R). And, [according to what Sf says (R),] كِنْتَوِي and كِنْتَوِي also are allowable (R, Sn), like حَبَلَوِي and حَبَلَوِي [300] (R). And, according to this saying also, كِنْتَا ought not to be reckoned among the ns. whose ل is elided, because the n. whose ل is changed is not said, in conventional language, to have its ل elided ; otherwise one would be obliged to say that مَاءٌ has its ل elided [683]. The rel. ns. of ابْنَةٌ are بَنَوِي and ابْنِي, like those of ابْنٌ [306], by common consent, since the ة [295] in it is not a substitute, like the ت in بِنْتُ [689] (A).

§ 308. The rel. n. is formed from the first member of the comp. (M, SH, IA, Aud, A) of all [four (Jrb)] kinds (R, Jrb), (1) aprothetic (Jrb), (a) att. (Jrb, IA, Aud, A), an [imitated (IY, R)] prop. (IY, R, A) used as a name (IY, A), like تَابَطَ شَرًّا [4] (M, R, IA, Aud, A) and بَرَقَ نَحْرُهُ *His breast gleamed* (M, Aud, A), a man's name (IY on §. 4) : (b) not a prop. (R), [but] synthetic (IY, Jrb, IA, Aud, A), (α) not implying [the sense of] the p. in the second member [209] (R), like بَعْلَبَكْ (R, IA, Aud, A), whence مَعْدِيكَرْبُ (IY, Aud, Sn) and حَضَرَمَوْتُ (IY,

A) : (b) implying [the sense of] the *p.* (R, Jrb) in the second member (R), a *num.* [210], which is shown by IUK to be a branch of the synthetic (Sn), like ^{خَمْسَةَ}عَشَرَ (M, SH, A), when a [proper (SH)] name [below] (M, SH, Sn), and similarly ^{اِثْنَا}عَشَرَ when a [proper (IY)] name [below] (M); and [not a *num.*], like ^{بَيْتَ}بَيْتَ [211] (R) : (2) prothetic (R, Jrb, IA, Aud), according to a detail peculiar to it [309] (R), like ^{اِمْرُو}اَلْقَيْسِ [4] (IA, Aud). And the second member, [which Khl treats as corresponding to the *ʔ* of femininization (IY)], is elided (IY, Jrb, IA), like the *ʔ* [295] (Jrb). You say (1, a) ^{تَابَطِي} (M, SH, IA, Aud, A) and ^{بَرْقِي} (M, Aud, A) : (1, b, a) ^{بَعْلِي} (SH, IA, Aud, A); ^{مَعْدِي} (M, Aud, Sn) or ^{مَعْدَوِي} (Aud, Sn), because ^{مَعْدِي} is like ^{قَافِ} [301] (Sn); and ^{حَضْرِي} (M, A) : (1, b, b) ^{خَمْسِي} (M, SH, A); and [hence (IY)] ^{اِثْنِي} or ^{ثَنَوِي} [306] (M, R); eliding ^{عَشَرَ} (IY, R), as is the rule (R), like the *ن* in ^{اِثْنَانِ} [295], because they assimilate ^{عَشَرَ} in ^{اِثْنَا}عَشَرَ to the *ن* in ^{اِثْنَانِ}, as they assimilate ^{عَشَرَ} in ^{خَمْسَةَ}عَشَرَ to the *ʔ* of femininization, since ^{عَشَرَ} occupies the place of the *ن* in ^{اِثْنَانِ} and ^{اِثْنَيْنِ} [290, 318], for which reason you do not combine them (IY): (2) ^{اِمْرَتِي} (IA, Aud) with Kasr of the *ر*, (MKh), or ^{مَرَّتِي} (Aud, MKh) with Fath of the *م* and *ر*, [294, 306, 309] (MKh). The reason why one of the two members is elided from all the *comps.*

in the *rel. n.* is dislike to superimposing the letter of relation, with its heaviness [309], on what is already heavy because of the composition. And the reason why the second [309], not the first, is elided is that the heaviness proceeds from it (R). In the synthetic *comp.* this way [of forming the *rel. n.*] is regular, by common consent (A). And [there are four additional ways, for (A)] sometimes the *rel. n.* is formed from (1) the [first or (R)] second member, [whichever you please (R),] as [بَعْلِيَّ or (R)] بَكِّي : this is allowed by Jr (R, A) alone, and [according to A] by no one else (A); but Jh says that the *rel. n.* of رَامَهُرْمُزْ [below] is رَامِيَّ or هُرْمُزِيَّ, allowing an option without anomaly (CD): (2) each of (R) the two members [together, their composition being removed (A)], as [بَعْلِيَّ بَكِّي, by analogy to (A)]

تَزَوَّجْتُهَا رَامِيَّةً هُرْمُزِيَّةً * بِفَضْلِ الَّذِي أَعْطَى الْأَمِيرُ مِنَ الرِّزْقِ
 [below] I wedded her, a native of Rāma Hurmuz, by the aid of the abundance of the maintenance that the Commander gave (R, A) from رَامَهُرْمُزْ [above] (R, Sn), a city in the confines of Khūzistān (Sn): this is allowed by [some, and among them (A)] AHm (D, A); but [according to H] no one agrees with AHm in this; nay, the rest of the GG forbid it, lest two signs of relation be combined in the *rel. n.*; and they account for the verse as anomalous (D): (3) the aggregate of (A) the *comp.*,

[without any elision, when the expression is light (R),] as ^{بَعْلَبَكِي} (R, A): (4) a *n.* upon the measure of ^{فَعْلَل} constructed from the two members of the *comp.*, as ^{حَضْرَمِي} [309]. But these [last] two ways are anomalous, not to be copied (A); while the regularity or anomalousness of the first two is disputed (Sn). No *rel. n.* is formed from [اِثْنَا عَشَرَ and the rest of the *comp. nums.*, such as (IY)] ^{خَمْسَةَ عَشَرَ} when a *num.* (M, SH), because, both members being then intended, if you elided one of them, the sense would be marred (Jrb), since ^{اِثْنِي} or ^{ثَنِي} would be confounded with the *rel. n.* of ^{اِثْنَان} [306] (IY). The reason why the *comp. num.*, when not a proper name [above], may not have a *rel. n.* is that to form the *rel. n.* without elision would conduce to heaviness, as above shown; while neither of the two members of the *comp.* intended to be a *num.* may be elided, since in sense they are coupled together, the sense of ^{خَمْسَةَ عَشَرَ} being ^{خَمْسَةٌ وَعَشْرَةٌ} *five and ten* [210], and neither of two *ns.* coupled together can supply the place of the other (R). But AHm allows the *rel. n.* [of the *comp. num.* not a proper name (R)] to be formed from each of its two members [separately, to avoid confusion (IY)], as [أَحَدِي عَشْرِي], like ^{رَامِيَّة هَرْمَزِيَّة} above; and, in the case of the *fem.* (R), [إِحْدَى عَشْرِي] [with quiescence of the ش of ^{عَشْرَةَ} (R)], said of a cloth [*eleven ells long* (R)], or, according to [the *dial.*

of (R)] those who pronounce the ش of عَشْرَةَ with Kasr, إِحْدَى عَشْرَى [with Fatḥ of the ش (R)], like نَهْرَى [296] (IY, R): and similarly ثَنَى عَشْرَى or اِثْنَى عَشْرَى to the end of the *comps.* (R). In the *prop.* Jr allows the *rel. n.* to be formed from the [first or (R)] second member, as [تَابَطَى or (R)] شَرَى (R, A), and [بَرَفَى or] نَحَرَى (A). And AHm allows it to be formed from the two together, as تَابَطَى شَرَى, as in the synthetic and the *num.*: so in the Ham ' (Sn). And [Jr says that (R)] they sometimes call the old man كُنْتَى (IY, R, A) from كُنْتُ *I was* (IY A), because he [often (Sn)] says "I was (R, Sn) such and such in my youth" (R), whence
فَأَصْبَحْتُ كُنْتِيًّا وَأَصْبَحْتُ عَاجِنًا * وَشَرُّ خَصَالِ الْمَرْءِ كُنْتُ وَعَاجِنُ
Then I became a dotard and decrepit; and the worst of the qualities of the man is being a sayer of "I was" and decrepit (IY, A); for, since the *pron.* of the *ag.* is [amalgamated with, and (IY)] inseparable from the *v.*, the two become like one word (IY, R). But this is anomalous (A). And [S says that (R)] they say كُونِي (S, IY, R, A), which is the regular form (A), eliding the ت of the *ag.* (IY, R), and then forming the *rel. n.* from كُنْ, but (IY) restoring the , (S, IY, Sn), which is the ع of the *v.* (IY), since the cause of its elision, vid. its concurrence when quiescent with the ى made quiescent on account of the attachment of the mobile *nom. pron.*

to it, is removed (Sn), because the ن is now mobilized (S, IY) with Kasr, on account of its combination with the ي of relation (IY); and pronouncing the ن with Damm transferred to it from the و, after transfer of the و, when meant to be attributed to the mobile *nom. pron.*, from فَعَلَ with Fath, the original measure of كَانَ, to فَعَلَ with Damm [403] (Sn). They ought to say كَانِي, because the *prons.* in such, as قُلْتُ and قُلْنَا are attached to قَال, the ا being then elided on account of the two quiescents; but the ف in كُونِي is allowed to retain its original Damma anterior to the formation of the *rel. n.*, as a notification of what the *rel. n.* is formed from (R). And some say كُنْتِنِي, introducing the ن of protection [170], in order to preserve the expression كُنْتُ [with Damm of the ت (R) from the Kasr (IY)], as

وَمَا أَنتَ كُنْتِنِي وَمَا أَنَا عَاجِنُ * وَشَرُّ الرِّجَالِ الْكُنْتِنِيُّ وَعَاجِنُ

And thou art not a dotard, nor am I decrepit; and the worst of men are the dotard and a decrepit (IY, R) cited by Th, who disapproves of كُنْتِنِي, saying that it is a mistake (IY). The predicament of لَوْلا, [إِنَّمَا, (S),] حَيْثُ, [and the like (S, Sn), as لَوْمًا and أَيْنَمَا (Sn), when used as names (A),] is similar (S, A) in the *rel. n.* to that of the *att. comp.* (A): for you form the *rel. n.* from the first member (S); so that you say لَوِي with a single و, and حَيْثِي (A). A's saying "with a single و" is not

inconsistent with IM's saying "Double the second of a *bil.*" [306], because what is meant by the *bil.* there is the constitutionally *bil.*, as A distinctly states; while here the word that the *rel. n.* is formed from is constitutionally *quad.*, but becomes accidentally *bil.* on formation of the *rel. n.* (Sn). The elision in the *rel. n.* is not confined to the last member of the *prop.*, but extends to whatever exceeds the first member; so that, if you used *زَيْدٌ خَرَجَ الْيَوْمَ* *Zaid to-day went out* as a name, you would say *خَرَجِي* (A).

§ 309. When you form the *rel. n.* of a prothetic *comp.* [below], one of the two members must be elided, (1) because of the heaviness [308]: and (2) because, if you retain both, then, (a) if you affix the *ى* of relation to the *post.*, the result is that, (a) if the inflection of the *n.* related to be transferred to the *ى* of relation [294], as in other *rel. ns.*, the *ى* will be impressible by the *ops.* governing the *pre.*, and unimpressible by them because of its affixion to the *post.*, which is permanently governed in the *gen.*; (b) if the inflection be not transferred, the *rel. n.* will be mistaken for a *non-rel. n. pre.* to a *rel. n.*, as *غُلَامٌ بَصْرِيّ* *a man-servant of a Basri*: (b) if you affix the *ى* to the *pre.*, as *عَبْدِي الْقَيْسِ* *the 'Abdi of AlQais*, the *rel. n.* will be imagined to be *pre.* to that *gen.*, whereas your intention is to affirm the relation of something to the *n.* compounded of the *pre.* and *post.* (R). They

mean by the "prothetic comp." here what is a proper name, [i. e., a surname (Sn),] or [a proper name by (Sn)] prevalent [application (Sn)], not such as ^{زَيْدٌ} غُلَامٌ *the man-servant of Zaid* [below], because its aggregate has no single meaning, to which relation could be affirmed; and, though a *rel. n.* can be formed from ^{زَيْدٌ} غُلَامٌ or ^{زَيْدٌ}, that is a *rel. n.* of a single word, not of a prothetic comp.

(A). The reason why the *rel. n.* may be formed either from the *pre.* or from the *post.*, as will be seen, although each of them has *orig.* a meaning, is that the *rel. n.* is not formed from the prothetic comp., except when a proper name, like ^{أَبْنُ الزَّيْدِ} and ^{أَمْرُ الْقَيْسِ}; and the members of a comp. proper name, of whatever composition it be, have no [separate] meaning. Since, then, it is settled that one of the two members must be elided, it is better to elide the second, because of what we mentioned [308]: and also because, if a *rel. n.* were formed from a prothetic comp. before it became a proper name, the *n.* really related to would be the *pre.*, because the *post.* is really like a qualification of the *pre.*, since the sense of ^{زَيْدٌ} غُلَامٌ [above] is ^{زَيْدٌ} غُلَامٌ *a man-servant belonging to Zaid* [111]; so that, when the comp. becomes a proper name, it is better to form its *rel. n.* from the *pre.*, not the *post.* (R). You say ^{عَبْدِي} [below] from ^{عَبْدُ الْقَيْسِ}, and [^{أَمْرِي} or (S, IY, A)] ^{مَرَّتِي} [with Fath of the م and ر (AAz, LL, Sn), as in the

verse below (AAz),] from ^{٤٦٥}أَمْرُو الْقَيْسِ [294, 306, 308] (S, M, R, A), 'Abd alKais [Ibn Afṣā, a great clan (KAb) of Asad (KF) in Rabi'a Ibn Nizār (LL),] and Imra alKais [Ibn Zaid Manāt Ibn Tamīm (IKb), a sub-tribe of Muḍar (Dh),] being two clans (A). Dhu-r-Rumma says

يَعُدُّ النَّاسِبُونَ إِلَى قَتِيمٍ * بُيُوتَ الْمَجْدِ أَرْبَعَةً كِبَارًا
يَعُدُّونَ الرَّبَابَ وَآلَ سَعْدٍ * وَعَمْرًا ثُمَّ حَنْظَلَةَ الْخِيَارَا
وَيَذْهَبُ بَيْنَهُمَا الْمَرْثَى لَغَوًّا * كَمَا أَلْغَيْتَ فِي الدِّيَةِ الْخَوَارَا

(M, A) *The tracers of lineage to Tamīm reckon the houses of glory to be four great ones. They reckon Ar-Ribāb [310], and the line of Sa'd, and 'Amr, then the goodly Hanẓala. And the descendant of Imra alKais goes among them left out of account, as thou leavest the new-born camel out of account in calculating the blood-wit (AAz).*

But, if much anibiguity be produced by forming the *rel. n.* from the *pre.*, which occurs where there is a regular series of names, in all of which the *pre.* is one, but the *post.* is different, as in the surnames [4], like أَبُو زَيْدٍ and أَبُو إِبْنِ , أمُّ الْكَسَنِ and أمُّ زَيْدٍ , and similarly in إِبْنِ , then the *rel. n.* must be formed from the *post.*, as أَبُو بَكْرٍ from بَكْرِيٌّ [4] and زُبَيْرِيٌّ from زُبَيْرٍ , since the heading of surnames by أَبٌ and أُمٌّ is regular, and of proper names by إِبْنِ is quasi-regular; so that, if you said أَبُو [306], أُمِّيٌّ, or إِبْنِيٌّ from the whole,

the ambiguity would be universal. If, however, that [series of names] be not regular, but [only] numerous, like عَبْدُ الدَّارِ, عَبْدُ مَنَايَ, and عَبْدُ الْقَيْسِ, then the rule is to form the *rel. n.* from the *pre.*, because of what we have mentioned, as عَبْدِي [above]; but here also it is sometimes formed from the *post.*, to remove the ambiguity, as [دَارِيَّ and (KAb, LL)] مَنَايَ. This is a statement of S's language, and is the truth (R). But Mb [followed here by Z (IY)] says that, when the *pre.* is made *det.* by the *post.*, then, if the *pos.* be known [by itself (R)], as in ابْنُ الزَّيْبَرِ, [ابْنُ كُرَاعَ (IY), and ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ (R),] the rule is to [elide the first, and (R)] form the *rel. n.* from the second; but, if the *post.* be not known, as in عَبْدُ الْقَيْسِ and اِمْرُو الْقَيْسِ, the rule is to form the *rel. n.* from the first, because اِمْرُو الْقَيْسِ is not a known thing (IY, R), whereby عَبْدُ and اِمْرُو become *det.* But an adversary may disallow this, saying "How do you know that اِمْرُو الْقَيْسِ is not a clan, or a man, or something else, to which اِمْرُو or عَبْدُ was *orig. pre.* for particularization and determination [111], as in the case of عَبْدُ الْمُطَّلِبِ, عَبْدُ شَيْبٍ, عَبْدُ الْعَزْزِيِّ, and عَبْدُ اللَّاتِ?" (R). And [Sf points out that (R)] Mb is refuted by the surnames (IY, R), like اَبُو بَكْرٍ and اَبُو مُسْلِمٍ [above] (IY), where he ought to form the *rel. n.* from the first (R), because مُسْلِمٌ and بَكْرٌ are not [necessarily]

known names, to which the first is *pre.* (IY), since the [young (IY)] boy is sometimes given a surname, [such as أَبُو جَعْفَرٍ or أَبُو مُسْلِمٍ (R),] before he has any child (IY, R) named مُسْلِمٌ or جَعْفَرٌ ; and in such a case the *post.* is not known, since it is a name for a non-existent [person]; but nevertheless the *rel. n.* is formed from it (R). It is therefore plain that the rule is to form the *rel. n.* from the first, and not to deviate to the second except on account of ambiguity (IY). IH, however, answers Sf, on behalf of Mb, saying that the second in such surnames as these is *orig.* intended, because these surnames are prognosticative, as though the boy had already lived until a child so named was born to him; so that the second, though not now intended, nor determinative of the first, was *orig.* intended, because أَبُو زَيْدٍ , e. g., is not *orig.* said except of one that has a child named *Zaid*. But Sf may say that عَبْدُ الْقَيْسِ is not *orig.* said except of a person who is a *slave*, *servant*, or *worshipper* of some being named *Kais*. And therefore IH's saying that, if the second be not *orig.* intended, as in عَبْدُ الْقَيْسِ and أَمْرُو الْقَيْسِ , the *rel. n.* is formed from the first, is refuted by the same objection as Mb's saying (R). Sometimes [a *n.* on the measure of (R) the formation (A)] فَعَلٌ compounded of the *pre.* and *post.*, [by taking the ف and ع from each of them (R),] occurs anomalously (R, A), as matter of hearsay (R), in the

rel. n. of the prothetic *comp.* (A), in the case of عَبْدُ [or its *syn.* تَيْمٌ] *pre.* to another *n.*, as عَبْشِيٌّ from عَبْدُ شَمْسٍ; while, if the ع of the second be unsound, [it is omitted, and] the formation is completed by its ل, as عَبْقَسِيٌّ and عَبْدَرِيٌّ from عَبْدُ الْقَيْسِ and عَبْدُ الدَّارِ [311] (R). And مَرْقَسِيٌّ is formed from the إِمْرُؤُ الْقَيْسِ of Kinda; but the *rel. n.* of every other إِمْرُؤُ الْقَيْسِ among the Arabs is مَرْثِيٌّ [above] (IHb, R). The instances remembered are (1) تَيْمِيٌّ from تَيْمٌ آلَاتٍ; (2) عَبْدَرِيٌّ from عَبْدُ الدَّارِ; (3) مَرْقَسِيٌّ from Imra alKais Ibn Hujr alKindi; (4) عَبْقَسِيٌّ from عَبْدُ الْقَيْسِ [311]; and (5) عَبْشِيٌّ from عَبْدُ شَمْسٍ [311]. They do that only to avoid ambiguity (A). The excuse for this composition, notwithstanding its anomalousness, is that the *rel. n.*, if formed from the *pre.* without the *post.*, is ambiguous; and, if from the *post.*, is formed from what cannot supply the place of the *pre.*, nor have the name of the *pre.* tropically applied to it without restriction, contrary to ابْنُ الزَّيْبَرِ, because the name of one parent is often applied to the children without restriction, as قُرَيْشٌ and خَنْدِفٌ (R), the children of AlYās Ibn Muḍar being called خَنْدِفٌ, because their mother, the wife of AlYās was so called [679] (IKb). And they say تَعَبَّشَمٌ and تَعَبَّقَسٌ (A), meaning *He claimed*

to be descended from 'Abd Shams and 'Abd al-Kais (Sn). But, as for عَبْشَمْسٌ [with quiescence of the ب (IHb, Sn)], son of [Sa'd Ibn (IHb, IKb, ID, T)] Zaid Manāt [Ibn Tamīm (IHb, IKb, ID)], it is *orig.*, as IAl says, عَبُّ شَمْسٍ, i. e. حَبٌّ, meaning *Sunlight*, the ع being substituted for the ح; or, as IAr says, عَبٌّ شَمْسٍ, meaning *Sur-like* (A).

§ 310. The word that indicates plurality, if it be a [collective] generic *n.*, like تَمْرٌ and ضَرْبٌ [254], or a *quasi-pl. n.*, like نَفَرٌ [below], رَهْطٌ, and إِبِلٌ, forms its *rel. n.* from its own expression, as تَمْرِيٌّ and إِبِلِيٌّ [296], whether the *quasi-pl. n.* have an expression of its own crude-form, applicable to its *sing.*, like رَكْبٌ, *sing.* رَاكِبٌ; or have not, like إِبِلٌ [257] (R). You say نَفَرٌ, *rel. n.* نَفَرِيٌّ, and رَهْطٌ, *rel. n.* رَهْطِيٌّ, because, if you said رَجُلِيٌّ [257], you would say وَاحِدِيٌّ as *rel. n.* of جَمْعٌ; whereas this is not said (S). The *pl.* forms its *rel. n.* from (1) its *sing.*, when the *sing.* is (a) regular, as كُتُبٌ [246, 256], *rel. n.* كِتَابِيٌّ (R, A); فَرَائِضُ *ordained portions, or shares, of inheritances*, [*sing.* فَرِيضَةٌ (Sn),] *rel. n.* فَرِيضِيٌّ [below]; and قَلَانِسٌ, [*sing.* قَلَنْسُوَةٌ (Sn),] *rel. n.* قَلَنْسِيٌّ (A), by elision of the و, as the rule is when the *n.* contains a, fourth [301] (Sn):
 " (a) they صُحُفِيٌّ of a learner from صُحُفٌ books [246],

by analogy to ^٢أَنْصَارِي and ^٢أَعْرَابِي [below]: but, according to the BB, the correct [practice] is to throw the formation of the *rel. n.* on the *sing.* ^٢صَحِيفَةً, and say ^٢صَحِيفِي [297], like ^٢فَرَضِي [above] from ^٢فَرَأَضُ, and ^٢مِقْرَاضِي from ^٢مِقْرَاضُ *shears, scissors* (D), *sing.* ^٢مِقْرَاضُ (Jh, KF); while the people's sayings ^٢فَرَأَضِي [below], ^٢كُنْتِي, and ^٢قَلَانِسِي are wrong (A): (b) this, however, requires consideration in reference to the first, because, according to some of the learned, ^٢الْفَرَأَضُ *the science of the distribution of inheritances* belongs to the class of the proper name, like ^٢أَنْبَارُ and ^٢كِلَابُ explained below: nay, Syt says in the Ham' that some allow the *pl.* to form its *rel. n.* from its own expression unrestrictedly, i. e., whether it have a regular *sing.* of its own crude-form or not; and so explain the people's sayings ^٢فَرَأَضِي [above], ^٢كُنْتِي, and ^٢قَلَانِسِي (Sn): (c) IBr says "That the *pl.* does not form a *rel. n.* is the saying of the BB, and is the well-known [doctrine]; but the KK differ from them, allowing the *pl.* to form a *rel. n.* unrestrictedly (CD): (b) a *quasi-pl. n.*, as نِسَاءُ [255], *rel. n.* نِسْرِي, because its *sing.* is نِسْوَةٌ, which is a *quasi-pl. n.* [21, 257]; and similarly أَنْفَارُ *people* and أَنْبَاطُ *Nabathawans*, *rel. ns.* نَفْرِي and نَبْطِي: (2) the *sing.* of its *sing.*, when its *sing.* is a *pl.* that has a *sing.*, as أَكَالِبُ [255], *rel. n.* كَلْبِي (R): (a) the reason

why the *pl.* is restored to the *sing.* in the *rel. n.* is that the *sing.* is [lighter in expression, besides being (AArb)] the original [and most prevalent (R)] form (AArb, R), the *n.* related to being thus made to accord with the most prevalent form ; or, as is said, in order to make known that the *pl.* is not a proper name, since the *pl.* used as a name forms its *rel. n.* from its own expression, as مَدَائِنِي^٢ and كَلَابِي^٢ below (R) : (3) its own expression, when it [resembles a *sing.* in constitution : that includes four kinds, what (A),] (a) has no *sing.*, [regular or irregular, in use (R),] as عَبَادِيدُ [255, 257], *rel. n.* عَبَادِيدِي^٢ (R, A), because the disuse of its *sing.* makes it resemble such as قَرَمٌ^٢ [below] and رَهْطٌ^٢ [above], which have no *sing.* [257] (A) : S says (R), This is stronger than that I should originate something, which the Arabs do not say (S, R), even if it be regular, as عَبْدُودِي^٢ or عَبْدِيدِي^٢ or عَبْدَادِي^٢ (R) : and similarly (a) اَعْرَابٌ^٢ [257] (R, Sn), *rel. n.* اَعْرَابِي^٢, because اَعْرَابٌ^٢ is a *pl.* that has no *sing.* of its own crude-form, عَرَبٌ^٢ not being its *sing.* now, since the اَعْرَابٌ^٢ are the *inhabitants of the desert*, whereas عَرَبٌ^٢ is applied to the *people of the desert and of civilized parts* ; though اَعْرَابٌ^٢ appears to have been *orig. pl.* of عَرَبٌ^٢, and to have afterwards become particular (R) ; while some say that اَعْرَابٌ^٢ is *pl.* of عَرَبٌ^٢ : (b) اَبَابِيلُ^٢ [257] (Sn) : (b) has an

irregular *sing.* (R, A), as مَلَامِحُ, *sing.* لَبَحَةٌ [286]; but this kind is disputed (A): AZ says that it [is like the first kind, and (A)] forms its *rel. n.* from its own expression, as [مَلَامِحِي; and he relates that the Arabs say (A)] مَحَاسِنِي (R, A) from مَحَاسِنُ [255, 257] (A), and مَشَابِهِي and مَذَاكِيرِي (R): but others form its *rel. n.* from its *sing.*, even though it be irregular (R, A), saying لَمَحِي (A), like حُسْنِي, شَبَهِي, and ذَكْرِي (R); and IM follows that opinion in the rest of his books, expressing himself thus in the Tashīl "The *pl.* of the anomalous is like the *pl.* of the regular, not like the *pl.* of the disused *sing.*, contrary to the opinion of AZ"; and here too his language admits of this interpretation (A): (c) is used as a [proper] name (R, A), in which case, (a) if it be a broken *pl.*, you form the *rel. n.* from that expression (R), as اَنْبَارُ, [a man's name (R),] and [similarly (R)] كِلَابُ [and ضَبَابُ (R)], مَدَائِنُ (R, A), the name of a town in Al'Irāk (Sn), and مَعَاوِرُ (A), a sub-tribe of Kaḥṭān (Dh, LL), *rel. n.* اَنْبَارِي [below], كِلَابِي [and ضَبَابِي (R)], مَدَائِنِي [below] (R, A), and مَعَاوِرِي; though sometimes the [broken] *pl.* used as a name is restored to the *sing.*, when there is no fear of ambiguity, as الْفَرَاهِيدُ, the proper name of a sub-tribe of Al'Azd, *rel. n.* فَرَاهِيدِي from its expression, or فَرُهودِي from its *sing.*, because there is no fear of

ambiguity, since we have no clan named ^{أَلْفَرُّهُودُ} (A) :
 (α) so say A and others : but Dm objects that ^{أَلْفَرُّهُودُ} is
 transmitted by more than one Lexicologist as being *the*
lion's cub and *the mountain-kid* [and *the lamb* (Akh)] ;
 while ambiguity results whenever there is a word ^{فَرُّهُودٌ}
 used to denote *another thing*, even if it be not a *clan*,
 since there is nothing to indicate that ^{فَرُّهُودِي} relates to
 the clan, because it may relate to something else, and
 in that case the ambiguity remains : and the author
 of the Tsr also objects that the Ṣaḥāḥ gives ^{أَلْفَرُّهُودُ}
 [called also ^{أَلْفَرَّاهِيدُ} (Mb, ID, Jh), whence Khl (Jh).]
 as a *sept* of Yaḥmad, which is a sub-tribe of AlAzd ;
 so that ambiguity does result (Sn) : (β) you say ^{فَرَّاهِيدِي}
 (Akh, Jh) from *the tribe* (Akh), though Y used to
 say ^{فَرُّهُودِي} (Jh) ; but only ^{فَرُّهُودِي} from *the lambs*
 (Akh) : (b) if it be a sound *pl.*, then, as we have men-
 tioned [295], the ا and ت are elided from the *pl. fem.*, as
^{صَرَبَاتُ} a man's name, *rel. n.* ^{صَرَبِي} with Fath of the ع
 [240], because you do not restore it to its *sing.*, but only
 elide from it the ا and ت, contrary to ^{عَبَلِي} [below],
 which is pronounced with quiescence of the ب, because
 it is the *rel. n.* of the *sing.* : and similarly the و and ن are
 elided from the *pl. masc.*, when a proper name, if the ن
 be not made the seat of inflection ; but the *pl.* is not
 restored to the *sing.*, as ^{أَرْضُونَ} [below], *rel. n.* ^{أَرْضِي} with
 Fath of the و, (R) : (α) the *rel. ns.* of ^{تَمَرَاتُ} [240], ^{أَرْضُونَ}

[234, 255], and سِنُون [234, 236, 244], when these words remain *pls.*, are تَمَرِي [295], اَرْضِي, and سَنِي or سَنِي [306] (A), with quiescence of the ع in the first two, and Fath of the ن in the third, because the formation of the *rel. n.* restores the *pl.* to the *sing.* (Sn); but, when they are proper names, the ع must be pronounced with Fath in the first two, and the ن with Kasr in the third (A): and similarly the *rel. ns.* of سِدْرَات and غُرَفَات [240], when these words remain *pls.*, are سِدْرِي and غُرْفِي with quiescence; but, when they are proper names, are سِدْرِي, like اِبْلِي [296], and غُرْفِي: so in the Ham': (β) this is when you inflect [أَرْضُونَ or] سِنُون as a *pl.* (Sn): whereas, if you make the ن the seat of inflection [236] (R, Sn), as in حِينَ (Sn), nothing is elided from the *n.*, as before stated [295] (R); [but] you form its *rel. n.* from its expression, as سِنِينِي, because, being then *sing.* in form, *pl.* in sense, it becomes like قَوْم [above] (Sn): (d) is so prevalently applied that it is treated as a proper name, like اَلْأَنْصَارُ the *Auxiliaries*, [who were AlAus and Al-Khazraj (ID),] *rel. n.* أَنْصَارِي; and اَلْأَبْنَاءُ the *Sons*, who were certain clans of the Banū Sa'd Ibn Zaid Manāt Ibn Tamīm, *rel. n.* أَبْنَارِي [below] (A). As for اَلرِّبَابُ *ArRibāb* [309], vid. [five clans (R),] Dabba, 'Ukl, Taim, Thaur, and 'Adi, who, forming a confederacy, became.

one power, [and were then called **الرَّبَابُ** *the Partics* (A),] because [the *sing.*, which is (R, Sn)] **رَبَّةٌ**, [like **قُبَّةٌ** *a dome or cupola*, *pl.* **قُبَابٌ** (R),] means *a party* [of men (R)], its *rel. n.* is (1) **رَبِّي** (R, A), (a) because **الرَّبَابُ** is not a name for one [individual] (A), but for a collection of five clans; so that it resembles what does not become a proper name, but remains a *pl.*, and is therefore treated as such (Sn); for, when you form the *rel. n.* of a *pl.*, you restore it to the *sing.*, as **مَسَاجِدُ**, *rel. n.* **مَسْجِدِي** [294], unless you make it a name for [one individual or object, like] a man, in which case you do not restore it to the *sing.*, as **أَنْصَارُ**, *rel. n.* **أَنْصَارِي**, and **كِلَابٌ**, *rel. n.* **كِلَابِي** [above] (Jh): but this is open to the objection that **الرَّبَابُ** is then of the fourth kind, like **الْأَنْصَارُ** and **الْأَبْنَاءُ**; so that they ought to say **رَبَابِي**, like **أَنْصَارِي** and **أَبْنَاوِي** (Sn): (2) **رَبَابِي**, formed from the expression of the *pl.*, like **مَدَائِنِي** [above], because **رَبَابٌ** is literally on the measure of a *sing.*; and because, being prevalently applied to a collection of specified *parties*, out of those to whom it is lexicologically applicable, it becomes like a proper name. And, as for **أَبْنَاوِي** *rel. n.* of **الْأَبْنَاءُ** [above], who are *the Sons of Sa'd Ibn Zaid Manāt*, and **أَنْصَارِي** *rel. n.* of **الْأَنْصَارُ** [above], they are so formed because of the prevalence of application just mentioned,

and because the expression **أَفْعَالٌ** resembles the *sing.* so strongly that S even calls it a *sing.* [146, '256]. One may, however, say that the **ي** in **أَنْصَارِيٌّ** [above], **أَبْنَاوِيٌّ**, and **رِبَابِيٌّ** denotes *unity*, as in **رُومِيٌّ** [294], not *relation*, for which reason it may be affixed to the *pl.*; so that, if you afterwards say, e. g., **ثُرَابٌ أَنْصَارِيٌّ** an *Anṣārī recompile* and **فَتَى أَبْنَاوِيٌّ** or **رِبَابِيٌّ** an *Abnāwī*, or a *Ribābī*, youth, the *rel. n.* is formed from these *sings.* by elision of the **ي** of unity, as the *rel. n.* of **كُرْسِيٌّ** is formed by elision of the **ي** [303], the *rel. n.* being then uniform with the *n.* related to. But an objection may be raised that the **ي** of unity also *orig.* denotes *relation*, because **زَنْجِيٌّ** [253, 294] means *a person related to this collection by being one of them*; so that it is not excluded from the essence of *relation*, although the sense of *unity* supervenes upon it: and, according to this, the excuse for the affixion of the **ي** to these [*pl.*] *ns.* is what was first stated. The *rel. n.* of **أَبْنَاءُ فَارِسَ** the *Sons of the Persians* [or **أَبْنَاءُ الْفُرسِ** (Dh, LL)], who [settled in Al-Yaman out of the force furnished by the Kisrā, which (Dh)] accompanied [Abu Murra (Tr)] Saif Ibn Dhī Yazan [alHimyari (Tr)] to [the kingdom of the Abyssinians in (Dh)] AlYaman, [and then drove out the Abyssinians from AlYaman (Dh),] is (1) **بَنَوِيٌّ** [306],

according to analogy, notwithstanding that they are a particular collection, like the Sons of Sa'd Ibn Zaid Manāt [above] (R): (2) أَبْنَاوِي, whence [the Follower (Nw, TH) Abū 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān (Nw, IHjr, TH)] Tā'ūs (Dh, LL) Ibn Kaisān (LL) alFārīsī (IHjr) alYamanī alḤimyarī (Nw, IHjr, TH), their freedman (Nw, IHjr), or, as is said, alḤamdānī, their freedman (Nw); and [the Follower (Nw, TH) Abū 'Abd Allāh (Nw, IHjr, TH)] Wahb Ibn Munabbih alAbnāwī (Dh) alYamanī (Nw, IHjr, TH) aṣṢan'ānī (TH) adhDhimārī (Nw, TH). The *rel. n.* of الْعَبْلَاتُ the 'Ablas [240], vid. Umayya the younger, 'Abd Umayya, [who died when he was eight years old (IKb),] and Naufal, [three of the (IKb)] sons of 'Abd Shams [Ibn 'Abd Manāf (IKb)], is عَبْلِي with quiescence of the ب [above], because each of them is named عَبْلَةٌ after his mother, [a slave-girl called (Jh, KF)] 'Abla Bint Ubaid, of the Banū Tamīm, and afterwards the *pl.* is formed. The *rel. n.* of الْمَهَالِيَةِ and الْمَسَامِعَةُ [253] is مَهْلَبِي and مَسْعِي, because you restore them to their *sing.*, elide the ي of relation that is in the *sing.*, and then form the *rel. n.* [303]. Or it may be said that every one of them is named مَهْلَبٌ and مَسْعٌ after his ancestor, and then the *pl.* is formed [253], as every one of the 'Ablas is named after his ancestress, and then the *pl.* is formed; so that مَهْلَبِي is the *rel. n.* of the *sing.*, which is مَهْلَبٌ, not مَهْلَبِي [253] (R).

§ 311. Whatever [*rel. n.* (IA, A)] contravenes the preceding [rules (A)] is anomalous (SH, IA, Aud, A), to be remembered, not copied (IA, A). IH here indicates what contains the irregular alterations [294] (Jrb). This irregularity is of several kinds, as deviation from a heavy to a lighter form, distinction between two things denoted by one expression, and assimilation to some thing having the same meaning (IY). Many expressions occur contravening the rules for the formation of the *rel. n.* (R). Some of these [expressions (A)] have been mentioned before (R, Jrb, A) in the course of the chapter (A), like جَدْمِي [297] and قُرَشِي [299]; and we now mention the rest (R). The following are *exs.* of the irregular alterations (S, M, Jrb):—they say (1) بَصْرِي (S, M, R, IA, Aud, A), with Kasr (IY, R, Aud, A) of the ب (IY, R, A), from البَصْرَة *AlBaṣra* (S, IA, A), because البَصْرَة is so named on account of some [*soft* (Bk)] *white stones* called بَصْرَة and بَصْر (IY, R), which are found in AlMirbad, [one of the best known Wards of AlBaṣra (MI),] and of which *gypsum* is made (IY); and, since بَصْرَة, before its use as a proper name, is pronounced with Kasr of the ب when the ʾ is elided, while in the *rel. n.* the ʾ is elided [295], therefore in the *rel. n.* the ب is pronounced with Kasr : or, as is said, the ب is pronounced with Kasr in the *rel. n.* for alliteration to the Kasr of the , (R) : (a) by rule the ب should

be pronounced with Fatḥ (IY, R), which also is allowable (R) : (2) ^{بَدَوِيٌّ} [302] (S, M, R, Jṛb, Aud), from ^{الْبَدْوُ} *the desert*, by rule quiescent in the ع, but pronounced with Fatḥ in order to be like ^{حَضَرِيٌّ}, which is its correlative (R) ; [or] from ^{الْبَادِيَّةُ} *the desert* (S, IY, Jṛb), by elision of the ا (Aud), by rule ^{بَادِيٌّ} or ^{بَادَوِيٌّ}, like the *rel. ns.* of ^{قَاصِيٌّ} and ^{قَاصِيَّةٌ} [301], but made to accord with its *opp.* ^{حَضَرِيٌّ} from ^{الْحَضَرُ} *civilized parts* (IY) : (3) ^{عُلَوِيٌّ} (S, M, R), from ^{الْعَالِيَّةُ} (S, IY, R), certain places in the countries of the Arabs, vid. AlHijāz and the adjoining parts (IY), [or] a place near AlMadīna (R) ; making it accord with the *rel. n.* of its *opp.* ^{السُّفْلُ} [below] (IY), as though it were the *rel. n.* of ^{الْعُلُوُّ}, which is *the high place*, *opp.* of ^{السُّفْلُ} *the low place*, since the Āliya mentioned is a high place ; so that it is used as the *rel. n.* of ^{الْعَالِيَّةُ} by syllepsis, the regular form being ^{عَالِيٌّ} or ^{عَالَوِيٌّ} [301] (R) : (4) ^{دَهْرِيٌّ} (S, M, R, IA, Aud, A), with Damm (R, Aud, A) of the د (R, A), said of a *very old man* (IY, Aud), from ^{دَهْرٌ} *time, an age* (S, IA, A), to distinguish it from ^{دَهْرِيٌّ} (IY, R) with Fatḥ (IY), said of a kind of *infidel* (R), one who asserts the eternity of time, and does not believe in the resurrection (IY) ; and ^{سُهْلِيٌّ} (S, M, R, A), with Damm of the س (R, A) ;

from سَهْلٌ *smooth ground* (S, IY, R, A), *opp.* of حَزَنٌ *rough ground*, to distinguish it from [سَهْلِيٌّ with Fath (IY),] the *rel. n.* of سَهْلٌ *Sahl*, a man's name (IY, R): (5) مَرَوِيٌّ (R, Jrb, IA, Aud, A), from مَرَوٌ *Marv* (R, Jrb, IA, A), by addition of the ز (Aud): (a) this is said of a *man*; but they say مَرَوِيٌّ, according to rule, of a *cloth*, as though they made a distinction between man and other objects (Jrb): (6) رَايِيٌّ from أَلَرِيٌّ *ArRayy* (R, Jrb, A): (7) طَائِيٌّ [298] (S, M), from طِيٌّ (S), and دَاوِيٌّ from دَوٌ [302], converting the ي and و into ا, because they are preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath, although they are quiescent [684] (IY): (8) أَمَوِيٌّ [299] (S, M, Aud, A), heard [by us (S)] from some of the Arabs (S, IY), with Fath (IY, Aud, A) of the Hamza, from أَمِيَّةٌ *Umayya* (IY, A), as though they restored it to the *non-dim.*, because أَمِيَّةٌ is *dim.* of أَمَةٌ *a handmaid*, *orig.* أَمَوَةٌ, the ل being elided for lightness; and أَمَوِيٌّ also, which is the regular form (IY): (9) طَهَوِيٌّ, [with quiescence of the ه (R),] from طَهِيَّةٌ (S, R), a sub-tribe of Tamīm (LL); and طَهَوِيٌّ with Fath of the ط, and quiescence of the ه, which is more anomalous (R); and طَهَوِيٌّ, according to rule (S, R), like [قُرَيْشِيٌّ in] بَكْلٌ قُرَيْشِيٌّ أَلْح [below] (S): (10) ثَقَفِيٌّ [299] (S, M, R), from ثَقِيفٌ (S, IY, MAR),

the father of a clan of Hawāzin (IY, MAR), which is anomalous, according to S, by rule ^٣تَقْفِي; but is the *dial.* of some of the Arabs in Tihāma and its vicinity, among whom [such a formation as] that is so frequent as to be almost regular (IY): (11) ^٣خَرْفِي (M, R), from ^٣خَرِيف autumn (R), said of a young animal when brought forth in the time of autumn (IY), like ^٣تَقْفِي (IY, R) from ^٣تَقِيف [299] (R); and ^٣خَرْفِي [with quiescence of the , (IY)], which is more frequent in their language than ^٣خَرِيفِي (S, IY) and ^٣خَرْفِي, though ^٣خَرِيفِي is the regular form (IY): (a) those who say ^٣خَرْفِي [either (S)] form it from [the *inf. n.* (IY)] ^٣خَرَف (S, IY), from ^٣خَرَفْتُ الرُّطَبَ meaning *I gathered the fresh ripe dates in this time* (IY); or form ^٣خَرِيف upon the measure ^٣فَعْل (S): (b) similarly [^٣خَرْفِي is said of] every thing relating to autumn, as ^٣مَطَرٌ خَرْفِي autumnal rain and ^٣فَاكِهَةٌ خَرْفِيَّةٌ autumn fruit (IY): (12) ^٣هُذَلِي [299] (S, M, R) and ^٣قُرْشِي (M, R), from ^٣هُذِلَ (S, IY, R) and ^٣قُرِشَ, by rule, according to S, ^٣هُذَلِي (IY), whence

هُذَلِيَّةٌ تَدْعُو إِذَا هِيَ فَاخَرَتْ * أَبَا هُذَلِيٍّ مِنْ غَطَارَةِ نَجْدٍ
(M) *A Hudhaili maid that calls, when she boasts, upon a Hudhaili sire come of valiant chiefs, the ج of نَجْدٍ pl. of نَجِيد being made quiescent by poetic license (AAz), and قُرْشِي, whence*

بِكُلِّ قُرَيْشِي عَلَيْهِ مَهَابَةٌ * سَرِيعٌ إِلَى دَاْعَى الْاَنْدَى وَالْتَكْرَمِ

With every *Kuraishī*, on whom is dignity, swift to satisfy the claim of liberality and generosity [above] (IY): and ^{فَقِيْمٌ} and ^{مُلْحِيٌّ} [299] from the [clan (IY)] ^{فَقِيْمٌ} of [the Banū Mālik Ibn (IKb)] Kināna, [who were the post-poners of the months (IY) in the time of heathenism (KF),] and the ^{مُلْحِيٌّ} of Khuzā'a (S, M, R), because the rel. n. of Fūkaim Ibn Jarīr Ibn Dārim among [the Banū (IY)] Tamīm is ^{فَقِيْمِيٌّ}, [according to rule (R),] and of Mulaiḥ Ibn [AlHaun or (ID)] AlHūn [Ibn Khuzaima (R), among AlHaun Ibn Khuzaima (IHb),] is ^{مُلْحِيٌّ} (IY, R), according to rule, and similarly of Mulaiḥ Ibn 'Amr Ibn Rabī'a in AsSakūn, and the intention is to distinguish them all: (a) Sf says "This cat., according to me, by reason of its frequency, is quasi-regular; and that is among the Arabs in Tihāma and its vicinity exclusively, because they say ^{قُرَشِيٌّ} and ^{هُذَلِيٌّ} and ^{فَقِيْمِيٌّ} and ^{مُلْحِيٌّ}" (R): and [similarly (R)] they say ^{سَلِيْمِيٌّ} [299] and ^{خَثِيْمِيٌّ} from ^{سَلِيْمٌ} and ^{خَثِيْمٌ} (IY, R), and ^{قَرْمِيٌّ} [299] and ^{حَرْثِيٌّ} from ^{قَرْمٌ} and ^{حَرْثٌ}, who are of Hudhail; and all of these are neighbours in Tihāma and its vicinity (R): (13) ^{سَلِيْمِيٌّ} [297] and ^{عَمِيْرِيٌّ} from the ^{سَلِيْمِيَّةُ} of AlAzd and the ^{عَمِيْرَةُ} of Kalb, and ^{سَلِيْقِيٌّ} from ^{سَلِيْقَةٌ} nature (M, R), said of a man who speaks [grammatically (IY)]

by nature (IY, R), without being taught (MN), and recites the Kur'ān in the same way, without following the Readers in the readings transmitted by them, as

وَلَسْتُ بِنَحْوِي يَلُوكُ لِسَانُهُ * وَلَكِنْ سَلِيْقِي أَقُولُ فَأَعْرَبُ

[And I am not a grammarian, who mumbles his tongue; but a natural speaker—I speak, and speak grammatically

(MN)]: (a) this means that, if there be among the

Arabs a سَلِيْمَةٌ in any tribe other than AlAzd, and an

عَمِيْرَةٌ in any tribe other than Kalb, or, if a person, tribe,

or anything else be now named سَلِيْمَةٌ or عَمِيْرَةٌ, you say

سَلِيْقِي and عَمْرِي, according to rule, what is anomalous

being the rel. n. of سَلِيْمَةٌ a clan of AlAzd, and عَمِيْرَةٌ a

clan of Kalb, as though they intended to distinguish be-

tween these two clans and the سَلِيْمَةٌ and عَمِيْرَةٌ of other

folk (R): (14) خُرَيْبِي from خُرَيْبَةٌ Khuzaiiba (M, R), a

clan (IY, R), by rule خُرَيْبِي (IY), the intention being to

make a distinction, as we mentioned, since a place named

خُرَيْبَةٌ also occurs (R); and [similarly (R)] رِمَاحٌ رُدَيْنِيَّةٌ

Rudainī spears [297], from رُدَيْنَةٌ Rudaina, wife of Sam-

har (IY, R), or AsSamharī (Jh), in relation to whom

spears are called (R), because both of them used to

straighten spears [in Khaṭṭ Hajar (Jh)]: (a) this ano-

maly is contrary to هُدَلِي and ثَقَفِي, because there the ي

is elided, when the indication requires its retention;

while here the *ى* is retained, when the indication requires its elision : and the reason is that each of them is made to accord with the other by assimilation (IY) : (15) زَبَانِيَّ (S, M, R), a clan of Bāhila, by rule زَبَنِيَّ (IY, R), like حَنْفِيَّ [297] (R) : (a) this ! admits of two explanations, either that, since the rule is to elide the *ى* together with the *ة* of femininization, they imagine it to have dropped off, and pronounce the *ب* with Fath, and then convert the *ى* into *ا* because of the Fathā before it, as in طَائِيَّ [above]; or that they implete the Fathā of the *ب*, so that an *ا* is produced after it, as in بَيْنَا [497], whence بَيْنَا نَحْنُ نَرْقُبُهُ الْح [204], and in آمِينَ [187] (IY) : (16) عَبِيدِيَّ [with Damm of the ع (S)], from عَبِيدَةُ, [a tribe of 'Adī (S, IY, R),] and, [we have been told by a trustworthy person (S, R), says S (R),] جُدْمِيَّ [with Damm of the ج (S, R)], from جَذِيمَةُ (S, M, R) of 'Abd AlKais; by rule, according to me, عَبْدِيَّ and جُدْمِيَّ with Fath of the ع and ج, like حَنْفِيَّ [297]; but pronounced with Damm, as though they sought (IY) to distinguish between those two clans and other persons named عَبِيدَةُ and جَذِيمَةُ (IY, R) : (a) those who say عَبْدِيَّ and جُدْمِيَّ with Damm, as though formed from *dims.*, are few, the pronunciation often met with being Fath (IY) : (17) حَبْصِيَّ

(S, IY, R), with Fath of the م (IY, R), said of camels when they eat حَبْصٌ *salt plants*; but حَبْصِيَّةٌ is better (S, IY) and more regular, and is more frequent in their language (S): (a) Mb says that حَبْصٌ and حَبْصٌ are said; and, [if what he says be true, then (IY), according to this (R),] حَبْصِيَّةٌ is (IY, R) regular (IY), not anomalous (R): (18) طَلَاحِيَّةٌ, [with Damm of the ط (R),] said of camels browsing on the طَلَحٌ [254] (S, R); and formed on the measure فَعَالِي, because this is an intensive formation in the *rel. n.*, like أَنَانِي, as explained below: and طَلَاحِيَّةٌ, with Kasr of the ط, from the *pl.* [254], like عِضَاهِي from عِضَاهُ *pl. of عِضَةٌ a great thorn-tree* (R): (a) some say that عِضَاهِي is from عِضَاهَةٌ [i. q. عِضَةٌ (R)], the *n. un.* of عِضَاهُ, like قَتَادَةٌ *a tragacanth tree* and قَتَادٌ *tragacanth trees* (S, R); but عِضَاهَةٌ is seldom used (R): (b) those who hold the *pl.* of عِضَةٌ to be عِضْرَاتٌ, and the departed letter to be و, say عِضْرِي [306]; but those who hold عِضَاهُ to be like مِيَاهُ, and the *n. un.* to be عِضَاهَةٌ, say عِضَاهِي: (19) قَفِي from قَفَا [300] (S): (20) أَفْقِي, [transmitted by ANB (Jh), with Fath (IY, R) of the Hamza and ف (R),] from أَفْقٌ *region, horizon* or أَفْقٌ (S, IY, R), which is contracted from أَفْقٌ, like عُنُقٌ from عُنُقٌ *neck*: (a) they allow أَفْقِي (R) because فَعَلٌ and فَعَلٌ

are often associated, as in عَجَمٌ and عَجَمٌ foreigners, عَرَبٌ and عَرَبٌ Arabs (IY, R), and سَقَمٌ and سَقَمٌ sickness (R): (b) some say [أَفْقَى or (S)] أَفْقَى, [either of (S)] which is regular (S, IY), because the second of فَعَلَ may be made quiescent regularly, universally [246] (IY): (21) حُبْلَى from the بَنُو الْحُبْلَى, [a tribe (IY, R, A)] of the Anṣār (S, IY, R, A), whose ancestor [Sālim Ibn Ghanm Ibn 'Auf Ibn AlKhazraj (SR, Dh)] was named الْحُبْلَى the pregnant, because of the bigness of his belly (IY, R, A), whence [the enemy of God (SR),] 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ubayy [alKhazraji, called (Nw)] Ibn Salūl, [Salūl being his mother (ID, Nw, Sn),] the hypocrite (A), or, as in A's handwriting (Sn), the chief of the hypocrites (ID, Nw, Sn): (a) حُبْلَى is pronounced with Faṭḥ of the ب (IY, R, A), as though (IY) for distinction (IY, R) from the *rel. n.* of the حُبْلَى woman [300] (R): (22) شَتَوَى, [with quiescence of the ب (R), and شَتَوَى (Jh, KF), like خَرَفَى and خَرَفَى (Jh),] from شِتَاءٌ winter (S, IY, R), as though from شَتَوَى (IY) i. q. شِتَاءٌ (KF): (a) شِتَاءٌ is said [by Mb (R)] to be *pl.* of شَتَوَى, like صِكَافٌ *pl.* of مَكْفَةٌ a bowl (IY, R), and قِصَاعٌ *pl.* of قِصْعَةٌ [238] (IY); and, according to this, شَتَوَى is regular, because in the *rel. n.* the *pl.* is restored to the *sing.* [310] (IY, R); but his saying is invalidated by the unrestricted applicability of شِتَاءٌ

wherever شَتَوٌ is applicable (R) : (23) صَنْعَانِي [from صَنْعَاء (S, IY, R), a city in AlYaman (R)], and [similarly (IY)] بَهْرَانِي and رَوْحَانِي from بَهْرَاء, [a clan of Kudā'a (S, IY, R),] and رَوْحَاء (S, M, R), a place near AlMadīna (R) : (a) Y told us that (S) some of the Arabs say [صَنْعَاوِي (IY),] بَهْرَاوِي, and رَوْحَاوِي (S, IY), which are the regular forms [304] (IY) ; but رَوْحَاوِي is more often used (S, IY) than بَهْرَاوِي (S) : (b) the conversion of the Hamza into ن, [although anomalous (R),] is explained by the resemblance of the two |s of femininization to the | and ن [250] (IY, R) : (24) دَسْتَوَانِي, [with Damm of the ن (LL), and دَسْتَوَانِي (KF),] from دَسْتَوَا (S, R), with abbreviation (KF), a town of Al'Irāk, by rule دَسْتَوِي [300] (Bk) : (25) جَلَوَانِي and حَرَوَانِي (S, M, R, Aud, A), from جَلَوَاء [246] and حَرَوَاء [273] (S, M, R, A), two places (R, A) in Al'Irāk (R), eliding the | and Hamza (IY, R, Aud), on account of the length of the n., by assimilation of the two |s to the 3 of femininization (IY, R) : (a) the regular form is جَلَوَانِي and حَرَوَانِي, like حَمَرَاوِي [304] (IY) : (b) the حَرَوَانِي are schismatics, who were so named by the Commander of the Believers, 'Alī (peace be upon him !), when they settled at Ḥarūrā on seceding from him (R) : (26) خُرَاسَانِي and خُرَسَانِي (S, M, R, A), from خُرَاسَان (S, IY

A), assimilating the **ل** and **ن** [at its end either (IY)] to [the **ل** of femininization, which is sometimes assimilated to (R)] the **ة** of femininization (IY, R), and is therefore elided, although its elision is anomalous, as in **جَلُولِيَّةٌ** and **حَرُولِيَّةٌ** [above] (R); or to the augment of the *du.*, and therefore eliding them (IY): while those who say **خُرْسِيَّةٌ** elide all the *aug.* (IY, R), and make the **ر** quiescent (R), forming the *n.* upon the measure **فَعْلٌ** (IY), for the sake of lightness (R): (27) **بَحْرَانِيَّةٌ** (S, M, R, A), from **أَلْبَحْرَيْنِ** [236] (IY, R, A), when its **ن** is made the seat of inflection, in which case neither the **ن** nor the **ل** of the *du.* is elided [296]; as though it were from **أَلْبَحْرَانُ** [236], because this is the regular form, although seldom used; by rule **بَحْرَيْنِيَّةٌ** (R): (a) Khl asserts that they form **أَلْبَحْرُ** upon the measure **فَعْلَانُ** (S): (b) by rule they should say **بَحْرِيَّةٌ** (S, IY), eliding the sign of the *du.* [296]; but, disliking ambiguity, they distinguish between the *rel. n.* of **بَحْرٌ**, which is **بَحْرِيَّةٌ**, and the *rel. n.* of **أَلْبَحْرَانُ**, because AlBahrain is itself a place (IY), on the shore of the sea (MI), between AlBaṣra and 'Umān (Bk, ZJ, MI, LL): (28) **هِنْدَوَانِيَّةٌ** *Indian*, with Kasr. or Ḍamm of the **ه**, from **أَلْهِنْدُ** *India*, said of a sword (Jrb), the **ه** being pronounced with Ḍamm by alliteration to the **د** (Jh): (29) **أَزَلِيَّةٌ** *existing from eternity*, [this word being

orig. (Jh, KF), as some of the learned mention (Jh),] a *rel. n.* from *لَمْ يَزَلْ* *He has not ceased*, [said of the Ancient (Jh),] by abridgment: for they say *يَزَلِي*; and then substitute an *!* for the *ي* [683], saying *أَزَلِي*, [for the sake of lightness (KF),] as they say *أَرْنِي* [of a spear (Jh, KF)] from *ذُو يَزِين* the name of a king (Jrb), and *أَثَرِي* [296] of a blade (Jh): (30) *ثَلَاثِي* from *ثَلَاثَةٌ* *three*, not from *ثَلَاثٌ* [18, 325.A], because the meaning is not related to *three each*, but related to *three*; and similarly *رَبَاعِي*, *خَمَاسِي*, and the others: (31) *عَبَشِي* [309], *عَبْدَرِي*, and *يَمَانِي* [294], *شَام*, and *تِهَام* (S, R, A), which have no fourth (R), from *الْيَمِينُ* *Al Yamān*, *الشَّامُ* *Syria*, and *تِهَامَةٌ* *Tihāma* (S, A), but all pronounced with Fath of the initial (A); orig. *يَمْنِي* [256], *شَامِي* (R, Sn), and *تِهْمِي*, because *التَّهْمُ* is *Tihāma* (R), [or] *تِهَامِي* with Kasr of the *ت* (Sn): (a) one of the two *س* of relation is elided; and, [as Khl asserts (S),] the *!* is put as a compensation for it (S, R, Sn) in all three (R), [or only] in the first two, and the Fatha of the *ت* in the third, where putting the *!* as a compensation would lead to a combination of two *!* s, one of which would have to be elided, so that there would then be no sense in putting it as a compensation (Sn): (b) you may say *يَمْنِي* [and *شَامِي*, according to rule (R),] and *تِهَامِي* (S, R).

with Kasr of the ت (S), from تَهَامَةٌ (R); and Akh asserts that he heard some of the Arabs say شَامِيَّ (S): (c) some say يَمَانِيَّ and شَامِيَّ (S, R, Sn) and تَهَامِيَّ (S), anomalously (Sn), (α) because they combine the compensation and original (R, Sn); though that, says Dm, quoting IUK, occurs only in poetry (Sn); while an instance of the anomalous form is the saying of 'Umar Ibn Abi Rabī'a

إِنِّي أُتِيكَتُ لِي يَمَانِيَّةٌ * إِحْدَى بَنِي الْكَارِثِ مِنْ مَذْحِجٍ

Verily for me was a Yamānī maid designed, one of the Banu-l-Hārith, of Madhḥij (D): or (b) because these rel.

ns. are, as it were, formed from the rel. ns. يَمَانٍ and شَامٍ [and تَهَامٍ] by elision, of the ي of relation, but not of its ا; since they are not deemed heavy, as the rel. n. of the n. containing the double ي would be deemed, if the ي were not elided [303]; while the meaning of يَمَانٍ and شَامٍ [and تَهَامٍ] in this case is [a place] belonging to AlYaman and Syria [and Tihāma], the thing being then declared to relate to this place: or (c) because the ا in يَمَانِيَّ [and تَهَامِيَّ] is for impletion [497], as in

يَنْبَاعُ مِنْ ذِفْرَى غَضُوبٍ جَسْرَةٍ * رِيَافَةٍ مِثْلِ الْفَيْقِ الْمَكْدَمِ

[by 'Antara, *That flows from the projecting bone behind the ear of an enraged bulky she-camel, stepping proudly, like the pampered stallion bitten by the stallions* (EM, AKB), meaning يَنْبَعُ (IK, EM, AKB)]; while شَامِيَّ is

made to accord therewith (R) : (d) IBr says that الشَّامُ with prolongation is a *dial. var.* of الشَّامُ, as in شَفَى اللَّهُ مَرَضِي بِالشَّامِ فَأَنْنِي * عَلَى كُلِّ شَاكٍ بِالشَّامِ شَفِيقٌ by the Majnūn of 'Amir, *God heal sick persons in Syria ! For verily I am moved by compassion for every person ailing in Syria*; and then cites other well known verses : for it has three *dial. vars.*, the chastest of which is الشَّامُ with the quiescent Hamza, then الشَّامُ with the Hamza converted into ا, then الشَّامُ with prolongation; and all of them have been heard (CD) : (32) جَمَانِي having a long جَمَّةٌ head of hair [below], لِحْيَانِي having a long لِحْيَةٌ beard, رَقَبَانِي having a thick رَقَبَةٌ neck (S, IY, A) and شَعْرَانِي having much شَعْرٌ hair (A) on the head (LL), adding the ا and ن to denote intensiveness (IY) : while Akh asserts that he heard some of the Arabs say رُوحَانِي spiritual of the Angels and the Jinn; and that the Arabs say it of every thing containing رُوحٌ a soul or spirit [below], whether men, beasts, or Jinn (S). Some of these expressions are more anomalous than others (A), from the violence or multiplicity of the irregular alteration : for مَرُورِي is more anomalous than بَصْرِي, since alteration by a consonant is more violent than alteration by a vowel; and رَقَبَانِي is more anomalous than either, since the alteration in it is by the addition of two consonants (Sn). If these ns. be used as [proper (R)] names

(S, IY, R) in any case other than this (S; IY), where we have mentioned that their *rel. ns.* are anomalous (IY), [i. e.] when they are either not proper names already (R), like ^١دَهْر [and ^٢طَلَح (R)], or [when they are applied to denote something other than what they denoted at first (R),] like ^٣زَيْنَة when a name (S, IY, R) for a man (S, IY), [e. g.] for a son of yours (R), you form their *rel. ns.* according to rule, [and do not use the anomalous forms (IY),] as ^٤دَهْرِي (S, IY, R) and ^٥طَلَحِي (R), not ^٦دَهْرِي (S), because they say ^٧دَهْرِي [only (IY)] of the man (S, IY) advanced in years (S), whose life is long, and over whom ages pass (IY); and as ^٨بَنِي (S, IY, R), not ^٩زَبَانِي (S, IY), because they use the anomalous form [only] in the case of the tribe called ^{١٠}زَيْنَة (IY); and similarly, when you remove ^{١١}ثَقِيف from this case, you say ^{١٢}ثَقِيفِي (S): for these *ns.* are anomalous [only] in the cases mentioned; while making them proper names for what you intend is a secondary application of them, so that in this application they revert to the regular form. The two *س* of relation are sometimes affixed to the names of *parts of the body*, to indicate their *bigness*, they being then either upon the measure ^{١٣}فَعَال, like ^{١٤}أُنَانِي [above] for the *big in the* ^{١٥}أَنْف nose; or augmented at their end by an *ا* and *ن*, like

لِحَيَانِيَّ, رَقَبَانِيَّ, and جَمَانِيَّ [above]. These two formations, however, are not regular; but are confined to hearsay (R). They say فَاكِهَانِيَّ [fruit-seller (CD)], بَاتِلَانِيَّ, and سَمْسَمَانِيَّ for the *rel. ns.* of فَاكِهَةٌ fruit, بَاتِلٌ beans, and سَمْسَمٌ sesame: but in this they mistake, because the Arabs affix the ل and ن in the *rel. n.* to only a limited member of *ns.*, in which these two letters are added to denote *intensiveness*, as رَقَبَانِيَّ [above], لِحَيَانِيَّ, and جَمَانِيَّ; and as رُوحَانِيَّ [with Damm (CD)] from رُوح [above], رَبَّانِيَّ [from رَبُّ a master (CD)], said of him that رَبُّ masters learning, and صَيْدَلَانِيَّ or صَيْدَنَانِيَّ druggist from صَيْدَلٌ or صَيْدَنٌ, *orig. silver ore*, and afterwards made a name for *drugs*: and the proper way is to say فَاكِهِيَّ [312], بَاتِلِيَّ, and سَمْسَمِيَّ (D). Such *rel. ns.* are used only in the sense in which the Arabs use them (IY); and, when you do not mean that, they are treated like their counterparts, which do not contain that sense (S); so that the *rel. n.* of the رَقَبَةٌ neck itself is only رَقَبِيَّ cervical (IY). And, [when these *ns.* are used as names, their *rel. ns.* revert to the regular form, since *intensiveness* is then not intended: so that (R),] from [جَمَّةُ (S),] لِحَيَّةُ, [or رَقَبَةُ (S), when a name (S, IY) for a country or a man (IY)], you say [only (IY) جَمِيَّ

(S),] لِيَحْيِي (S, IY, R), according to (IY, R) Khl (R) [and] S (IY), or لِيَكُونِي (S, IY, R), according to Y [302] (IY, R), and رَقَبِي, because the sense is altered (S).

§ 312. What contains the sense of relation is sometimes formed upon the measure (1) فَعَالٌ, as بَتَاتٌ *a maker or seller, of cloaks* [below], عَوَاجٌ *a dealer in ivory*, ثَوَابٌ *a clothier*, [بَرَّازٌ *a draper* (IY),] جَمَالٌ *an owner, or attendant, of camels*, [حَمَارٌ *an owner of asses*, صَرَّافٌ *a money-changer*, which are innumerable, like عَطَّارٌ *a perfumer* and نَقَّاشٌ *a decorator or engraver* (IY)]; or (2) فَاعِلٌ, as لَابِنٌ *a possessor of milk*, قَامِرٌ *a possessor of dried dates*, دَارِعٌ *a possessor of a coat of mail*, نَابِلٌ *a possessor of arrows*, [نَاشِبٌ *a possessor of* نَشَابٌ *arrows*, سَالِمٌ *a possessor of a weapon*, and فَارِسٌ *a possessor of a horse* (IY)]; without affixion of the two ي s (M) of relation (IY). And فَعِلٌ is [sometimes (IA, Aud)] accepted, with فَاعِلٌ and فَعَالٌ, as a substitute for the ي (IM) of relation, as طَعِمٌ *well-off for food* (IA, Aud, A), كَيْسٌ *having plenty of clothing* (IA, A), عَمِلٌ *doing much work* [below] (A), كَيْنٌ *having plenty of milk*, and نَهَرٌ [below] (Aud). فَاعِلٌ here is not participial, but is a *n.* formed to denote *possessor of the thing*; for you do not

say دَرَعٌ (IY, Jrb), nor لَبَنٌ (IY), nor تَمْرٌ (Jrb). But, if any of these things be [the material or implement of] a craft or trade, and [of] a livelihood, in which its possessor is continually engaged, its *rel. n.* is فَعَالٌ, like لَبَّانٌ and تَمَّارٌ for the seller of milk and dried dates, and خَبَّالٌ for the shooter with arrows (IY). The poet [AlḤuṭai'a (S, IY)] says

*
وَعَرَّرْتَنِي وَزَعَمْتَ أَنَّكَ لَابِنٌ بِالصَّيْفِ تَامِرٌ

And thou didst beguile me, and assert that thou wast a possessor of milk in summer, a possessor of dried dates, i. e., [says S (A),] ذُو كَبَنٍ and ذُو تَمْرٍ (S, IY, A), meaning that he had got milk and dried dates, not that he sold them (Sn); and hence كَلِينِي لَهُمُ الْحَى [149], i. e., ذِي نَصَبٍ (S, A), meaning productive of weariness, not an act. part. [from نَصَبٌ he was weary], because grief is wearying, not weary (Sn). And Imra alKais [Ibn Ḥujr al-Kindī (MN)] says

وَلَيْسَ بِي ذِي رُمَحٍ فَيَطْعُنَنِي بِهِ * وَلَيْسَ بِي ذِي سَيْفٍ وَلَيْسَ بِنَبَّالٍ

[below] (IY) And he is not a possessor of a spear, so that he should pierce me with it; and is not a possessor of a sword, and is not an archer, i. e., not a shooter of arrows (MN). And the poet says

لَسْتُ بِلِيلِي وَلَكِنِّي نَهْرٌ * لَا أُدْلِحُ اللَّيْلَ وَلَكِنِّي أَبْتَكِرُ

(S, IA, Aud, A), cited by S (IA, A), but not attributed

by him to its author, *I am not a worker by night, but a worker by day. I journey not in the night, but start early in the morning* (MN), i. e., نَهَارِيَّ (S, IA, A), meaning *a worker by day* (IA, A). فَاعِلٌ [or فَعِلٌ (IA, Aud, A)] is used to signify *possessor of such a thing*: while فَعَّالٌ is used in the case of *crafts or trades* (SH, IA, Aud, A), to signify *working at, or following, them* (A); but is sometimes used to signify *possessor of such a thing* (IA). Sometimes فَاعِلٌ takes the place of فَعَّالٌ, as حَاثِكٌ *a weaver*, in the sense of حَوَّانٌ, because it is *a craft*; and sometimes the converse occurs, as وَلَيْسَ بِيَدِي وَلَيْسَ بِيَدِي نَبَلٌ *a possessor of arrows* (A). But, [according to some,] وَلَيْسَ بِيَدِي رُمَحٌ أَلْحٌ [above], i. e., بِيَدِي نَبَلٌ *a possessor of arrows* (A). But, [according to some,] وَلَيْسَ بِيَدِي رُمَحٌ أَلْحٌ [above], meaning بِيَدِي نَبَلٌ, is anomalous (Aud). AFR says that نَبَالٌ here is not good, because the نَبَالٌ is the *maker, or seller, of arrows*, while the *shooter of them* is نَابِلٌ; but AHm says that the like of this sometimes occurs, as سَيَّافٌ *swordsman* [below], meaning the *striker with the sword*, and زَرَّاقٌ *javelin-man*, meaning the *stabber with the javelin* (MN). And [IM says that (A)] to this is attributed [by critical judges (A)] the text وَمَا رَبُّكَ بِظَلَّامٍ لِّلْعَبِيدِ XLI. 46. *Nor is thy Lord a doer of injustice to the servants* (IA, Aud, A), i. e.,

يَذِي ظَلَم (IA, A). Thus some *ns.* upon the measure of *فَاعِلٌ* and *فَعَّالٌ* occur in the sense of *ذُو كَذَا* without being *act. parts.*, or intensive forms of such, as the *act. part.*, like *غَافِرٌ* *Author of forgiveness*, and the intensive form of it, like *غَفَّارٌ* *Author of much forgiveness*, are i. q. *ذُو كَذَا*, except that *فَعَّالٌ*, being *orig.* an intensive form of *فَاعِلٌ*, is used only for a *possessor of a thing, who deals in, or manipulates, or attends upon, that thing*, in some way, vid. *selling*, like *بَقَّالٌ* *a green-grocer*; or *tending*, like *جَبَّالٌ* and *بَعَّالٌ* *an attendant of camels and mules*; or *using*, like *سَيَّافٌ* [above]; or otherwise: while *فَاعِلٌ* denotes the *possessor of a thing* without intensive-ness. They are made to accord [in form] with the *act. part.* and intensive formation. One says *لَاكِبِنٌ* of the *possessor of milk*, and *لَبَّانٌ* of the *dealer in it*, by sale or otherwise (R). Sometimes both the expressions are used for one thing, as *سَيَّافٌ* and *سَاتِفٌ* [above] (IY, R), and *رَجُلٌ تَارِسٌ* and *تَرَّاسٌ* meaning *a man having with him a shield or buckler* (IY). Sometimes one of them is used without its companion, like *قَوَّاسٌ* *a maker of bows* and *تَرَّاسٌ* *a maker of shields or bucklers* (R). And sometimes the *ى* of relation is put, as *عَطَّارٌ* [above] and *عِطْرِيٌّ* for the *seller of عِطْرٌ perfume*, and *نَتَّاتٌ* [above]

and بَتَّى for the the seller of بُتُوٓٔ cloaks [below] (A). The GG say that فَاعِلٌ and فَعَالٌ in the sense mentioned are i. q. the *rel. n.*, because the *possessor* of the thing is *related* to that thing; and also because فَعَالٌ and the *rel. n.* formed with the ى occur in one sense, like بَتَاتٌ and بَتَّى for the seller of the بَتَّ cloak [above]. They are known not to be *act. parts.* or intensive forms of such by their (1) having no *v.* or *inf. n.*, as جَامِلٌ *possessor of a he-camel* and بَغَالٌ [above] and مَكَانٌ اِهْلٌ *an inhabited place*, i. e., ذُو اِهْلٍ : (2) having a *v.* and *inf. n.*, but being (a) i. q. the *pass. part.*, as مَاءٌ دَافِقٌ *water poured out*, [i. e., مَذْفُوقٌ (Jh, KF), like سِرٌّ كَاتِمٌ *a hidden secret*, i. e., مَكْتُمٌ, because it is from دَفَقَ الْمَاءُ *the water was poured out*, and دَفَقَ الْمَاءُ is not said (Jh), since دَفَقَ is *trans.*, according to the majority (KF)]; and as عَيْشَةٌ رَاضِيَةٌ *a pleasant life*, [i. e., مَرْضِيَّةٌ *found pleasant*, because one says رَضِيَتْ مَعِيشَتُهُ *his life was found pleasant*, not رَضِيَتْ (Jh, KF) with Fath (KF)]: (b) a *fem. bare* of the ى as حَافِضٌ and حَالِقٌ [247, 268]; and for this reason they say that such as مُرْضِعٌ [252, 268] and مُطْفِلٌ [252] and [مُنْفَطِرٌ in] LXXIII. 18. [268] are i. q. the *rel. n.*: (c) an intensive *ep.* of what it implies, as عَزَّ عَزِيزٌ *mighty*

power, ذُلٌّ ذَلِيلٌ *abject meanness*, شِعْرٌ شَاعِرٌ *an exquisite poem*, مَوْتُ مَاتَتْ *a violent death*, and نَاصِبٌ هَمٌّ *a weary grief*; for each of those *eps.* implies a *meaning*, which it, though [properly] denoting the *subject of that meaning*, since the عَزِيزٌ and ذَلِيلٌ and شَاعِرٌ and مَاتَتْ and نَاصِبٌ are [properly] the subjects of the عَزٌّ and ذُلٌّ and شِعْرٌ and مَوْتُ and نَصَبٌ [142], is hyperbolically applied to denote, as the *n.* denoting a *meaning* is [sometimes] hyperbolically applied to denote the *subject of that meaning*, as رَجُلٌ صَوَّمٌ and عَذْلٌ [142, 143] and مَاءٌ غَوْرٌ *water sinking into the ground* [247, 333]; the *poem* being made to be, as it were, *author of another poem*, as says AlMutanabbi وَمَا أَنَا وَحْدِي قُلْتُ ذَا الشِّعْرِ كُلَّهُ * وَلَكِنْ لِشِعْرِي فِيكَ مِنْ نَفْسِهِ شِعْرٌ [Nor have I alone produced this poem, all of it; but my poem on thee has a poem of its own, meaning I have not been alone in composing this poem; but my poem has helped me to praise thee, because it desires, as I desire, to praise thee (W)]; and the *death* to be, as it were, *accompanied by another death*; and the *weariness* to be, as it were, *necessarily followed by another weariness*: i. e., the *poem* not being a single poem, nor the *death* a single death, nor the *grief* a single grief; but each of them being doubled, repeated. The *v.* also is sometimes used in this sense, as جَدَّ جَدُّهُ *His toil was redoubled* and تَمَّ تَمَامُهُ *It was completely finished*. But, as for

[in شَاغِلٌ] شَغْلٌ هَاغِلٌ *an engrossing, or absorbing, occupation*, it is not of this kind ; but is really an *act. part.*, the phrase meaning *an occupation such that one occupied by it is distracted from every other occupation*, so that he has no leisure for anything else. And, as فَعَالٌ, which is *orig.* an intensive form of the *act. part.*, is used in the sense of *possessor of the thing*, so فَعِلٌ, which also is an intensive formation of the *act. part.*, as عَمِلٌ meaning كَثِيرُ الْعَمَلِ [above], and طَعِمٌ [above], كَبِسٌ, and كَبِنٌ, is used in the sense of the *rel. n.*, even in the case of *prims.*, as رَجُلٌ نَهْرٌ a *diurnal man*, meaning a worker by day [above]; and رَجُلٌ حَرْحٌ and سَتْنَةٌ a man addicted to the vulva and the anus, i. e., حَرِيٌّ and اِسْتَنَى [306], meaning constantly engaged in that pursuit. According to this, then, the sense of the *rel. n.* is not confined to فَاعِلٌ and فَعَالٌ : but is found in the *act. part.* of the *tril.* un-augmented, [as exemplified,] and augmented, as مُرَضِعٌ and مُنْفَطِرٌ [above]; and in the intensive forms فَعَالٌ, فَعِيلٌ and فَعِلٌ of the *act. part.* [343] (R). And hence, [says Khl, they say (S, M, R)] (1) رَاضِيَةٌ عَيْشَةٌ a pleasant life, [above] (S, M, SH), i. e., ذَاتُ رَضَى possessing pleasantness (S, M, Jrb), because عَيْشَةٌ life is not qualifiable by رَاضِيَةٌ

finding pleasant, i. q. *فَاعِلَةٌ* ; but by *كَأَنَّهُ رَاضٍ*, in order that it may be i. q. *مَرْضِيَّةٌ* *found pleasant* (Jrb) : (a) this is rendered dubious by the introduction of the ة (IY, Jrb), since they say that the ة drops off from *حَافِظٌ* and *طَالِقٌ* [288], because they are not participial ; while they mention that *رَاضِيَةٌ* is not participial, because *عَيْشَةٌ* is *مَرْضِيَّةٌ* its v. being *رُضِيَ* [above] (IY) : but the ة may be [introduced (Jrb)] to denote *intensiveness*, as in *عَلَامَةٌ* *very learned man* [294] (IY, Jrb) and *نَسَابَةٌ* [265] (IY) ; or you may hold *عَيْشَةٌ* *life* to be *رَاضِيَةٌ* by a trope, the really *راضٍ* being the *person leading it* (Jrb) : (2) *طَاعِمٌ* [below] (S, M, SH), i. e., *ذُو كِسْرَةٍ وَطَعَامٍ* (S, IY, R), which is vituperative, meaning *having no excellence other than that he eats* (IY, R) and *drinks* (IY) and *dresses* (R). The poet [AlHuṭai'a (IY, AAz)] says

دَعِ الْبَكَارِمَ لَا تَرْحَلْ لِبُغْيَتِهَا * وَاقْعُدْ فَإِنَّكَ أَنْتَ الطَّاعِمُ الْكَاسِي
 (IY, R, A), satirizing AzZibriḳān, *Leave noble feats alone ; journey not in quest of them ; but stay at home, for verily thou art the possessor of food, and of dress* (AAz), not meaning *eating and dressing* (Sn). This verse, though not in the text of the M, is intended by Z's saying *طَاعِمٌ* [above] (AAz). But we need not hold *طَاعِمٌ* to be i. q. the *rel. n.* ; nay, we had better call it an

act. part. from طَعِمَ *he ate*, *aor.* يَطْعُمُ, deprived of the sense of *origination*, [i. e., meaning *eater*, not *eating*]: whereas كَاسٍ may be said to be i. q. the *rel. n.*, because it is in the sense of the *pass. part.*, [meaning *dressed*,] like مَاءٌ دَافِقٌ [above]; or to mean كَاسٍ نَفْسُهُ *dressing (himself)*, though the first is more obvious, because, when the *trans. act. part.* is unrestricted [by the mention of an *obj.*], its action mostly falls upon another (R). مَفْعَالٌ also is sometimes used as a substitute for the *ى* of relation, as امْرَأَةٌ مِعْطَارٌ *a woman having perfume on*, i. e., ذَاتٌ عِطْرٍ (A), this not being inconsistent with its meaning also *using much perfume* [269] (Sn): and مَفْعِيلٌ, as نَاقَةٌ حَظِرٌ, as ذَاتٌ حَظِرٌ *a running she-camel* [252], i. e., ذَاتٌ حَظِرٌ *capable of a run or of running* (A); and مِعْطِيزٌ *a perfumer*, which is mentioned in the Ṣaḥāḥ as being i. q. عَطَّارٌ, besides meaning *using much perfume* [269] (Sn). Some of (A) these formations are numerous (IY, A), extensive (IY); and فَعَالٌ in the sense mentioned is more often used than فَاعِلٌ (R). But, [notwithstanding that (R),] they are not regular (IY, R, A), but confined to what has been heard (IY, R). This is the opinion of S, who says that (A) you do not say بَرَّارٌ of the *possessor of بَرٌّ wheat*, nor فَاكِهَةٌ of the *possessor of فَاكِهَةٌ fruit* [311] (S, IY, R, A),

nor شَعَارُ of the *possessor of* شَعِيرُ *barley*, nor دَقَانُ of the *possessor of* دَقِيقُ *flour or meal* (S, IY, A); but دَقِيقِي, though دَقَانُ is sometimes said (IY). But Mb allows these by analogy (A) to what has been heard, like عَطَارُ and بَرَارُ [above] (Sn). Similarly الْكِسَائِي the *maker, seller, or wearer of wrappers or a wrapper* is a *rel. n.* formed according to rule [304]; while الْفَرَّاءُ the *furrier* is formed by analogy to الْبَرَارُ and الْعَطَارُ [above] (IY).

mentioned by IHjr in the Is among the Converts (AKB). One of the two **س** is *red.*, as in **لَا تَجْزَعِي الْحَ [62, 540] (AAz)—l. 20.** alKalbi, an Islāmī poet (AKB).

P. 856, l. 17. By AlFarazdaq, satirizing Jarir, whom he ridicules, and makes out to be a woman. He likens each half of the **جَهَم** [mentioned two verses before, and] here meaning *vulva*, to the *face of a-Turk*, the Turks being coarse, broad, and red in the face (AKB)—ll. The Mother of the Believers (Is), Hafsa Bint 'Umar Ibn AlKhattāb, is said to have been born [when Kuraish were building the House (Nw),] five years before the Mission [of the Prophet (Nw)]; was married by the Apostle of God [after 'Ā'isha (Is)] in the year 2 or 3, [the latter date being preferable (Is)]; and died in the year 27, [28 (Nw),] 41, 45 (Nw, Is), 47, or 50, at the age of 60 (Nw). Between the *Hijra* and the birth of the Apostle of God were 53 years 2 months and 8 days; between the *Hijra* and the Mission of the Apostle of God were 13 years 2 months and 8 days; and between the *Hijra* and the death of the Apostle of God were 9 years 11 months and 22 days (LM). The *Hijra* is the beginning of the Islāmī era (Nw, LM); and the first [person] that dated by the *Hijra* was 'Umar Ibn AlKhattāb in the year 17 of the *Hijra* (Nw). The *Hijra* occurred (LM, TKh) in the 14th year of the Mission (TKh), when AlMuḥarram, Ṣafar, and 8 days of Rabi' alAwwal had elapsed. So, when they resolved upon founding [the era of] the *Hijra*, they went back 68 days, and made the beginning of the era the 1st of AlMuḥarram of this year. Then they computed from the 1st of AlMuḥarram to the last day of the Prophet's life, and it was 10 years and 2 months; whereas, when his age is really reckoned from the *Hijra*, he is found to have lived 9 years 11 months and 22 days after it, [the difference between the two periods being 2 months and 8 days,

i. e. 68 days] (LM). But [the assertion that the period from the 1st of AlMuḥarram in the year of the *Hijra* to the last day of the Prophet's life was 10 years and 2 months is difficult to reconcile with the statement that] he died (God bless him, and give him peace!) in the forenoon, [or, as is said, at midday (LM),] on Monday the 12th of Rabi' alAwwal in the year 11 (Nw, LM) of the *Hijra*, [i. e. 10 years 2 months and 12 days from, and including, the 1st of AlMuḥarram in the year of the *Hijra*] (Nw). He died at the age of 63, the [most correct and (Nw)] best-known [opinion]; or, as is said, 65 or 60 (Nw, LM). The preferable opinion is that he was sent [on his Apostolic Mission] at 40 years, and abode in Makka calling [the unbelievers] to AlIslām 13 years and a fraction, and abode at AlMadīna after the *Hijra* nearly 10 years; and that is 63 years and some fractions (LM). If, then, Ḥafṣa was born 5 years before the Mission, she was 18 or a little more at the beginning of the *Hijrī* era; so that, if she lived 60 years, she died in 41.

P. 857, ll. 25-26. Of Himyān Ibn Kuḥafa (S). The truth is that these two verses are from a *Rajaz* by Khitām alMujāshī'i, an Islāmī poet; not by Himyān Ibn Kuḥafa (AKB), the Rājiz (ID).

P. 859, l. 8. Abū 'Aṭā was a contemporary of the two dynasties: he praised the Banū Umayya and the Banū Hāshim (KA). Yazīd Ibn 'Umar Ibn Hubaira [alFazārī (ITB), b. 87 (IKhn)], governor of the two 'Irāks for Marwān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Marwān Ibn AlḤakam [alQurashī (TKh) alUmawī (IKhn, TKh) adDimashkī (TKh), known as alJa'dī and nicknamed AlḤimār (IKhn), the last Khalīfa of the Banū Umayya (IKhn, TKh), b. 72 (TKh) or 76 (Tr, Iath, ITB)]. a. 127, k. 132 at the age of [58 (MDh),] 59, [62 (Iath, MAB), 69 (MDh, Iath), or 70 (MDh)], was put to death by Abū Ja'far alManṣūr, [afterwards Khalīfa,] at Wāsiṭ in 132 in violation

of a capitulation (IKb). The advice of Abū Ja'far was to keep faith with him; but Abū Ja'far's brother Abu-l-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh asSaffāh Ibn Muḥammad [alKuraashī (TKh) alHāshimī (ITB) al'Abbāsī (ITB, TKh), the first Khalifa of the Banu-l-'Abbās (FW, ITB), *ḥ.* 108 (FW, TKh)], *a.* 132, *d.* [135 or (TKh)] 136 [at the age of 27 (TKh), 28 (Tr, IATH, FW, TKh), 29 (MDH), 32 (TKh), 33 (Tr, MDh, IATH, MAB, ITB, TKh), or 36 (Tr, IATH)], insisted upon Abū Ja'far's putting him to death (IKhn). Marwān was called AlJa'dī [because he had learnt (IATH, MAB)] from [his preceptor and master (TKh)] AlJa'd Ibn Dirham (IATH, MAB, TKh) the doctrines of the Creation of the Kūr'ān and of Predestination (IATH, MAB), etc. (IATH): and he was known as AlHimar because of his bravery, from the saying فَلَنْ أَصْبِرَ مِنْ حِمَارٍ فِي الْحَرْبِ *Such a one is more patient than a he-ass in war*; for he used not to flag in waging war upon the rebels against him, and was the bravest of the Banū Umayya (TKh). It is said that AlJa'd Ibn Dirham published his doctrine of the Creation of the Kūr'ān in the days of Hishām Ibn 'Abd AlMalik, under whose order he was put to death by Khālīd alQasrī, governor of Al'Irak (IATH). The Wāsiṭ of Al'Irak was founded by AlHajjāj Ibn Yūsuf athThakafī between AlKūfa and AlBaṣra; and for that reason was named Wāsiṭ, because it was *intermediate* between the two cities, [the distance from it to each being fifty parasangs (MI), i. e. leagues]: it was begun by him in 84, and finished in 86 (Mk)—*l.* 12. The first hemistich is

حَسَاىَ عَلَى جَمْرِ ذِكِّي مِنَ الْغَضَا

My heart is on glowing embers of the wood called غَضَا; and the verse is from an ode by AlMutanabbi: W says (AKB), He says *My heart is on glowing embers from passion*, i. e. on account of their bidding

farewell and their departing ; and mine eye is revelling in the face of the beloved in a garden of beauty (W, AKB). مِنْ آلْهَرَى (W) for

مِنْ آلْغَضَا.

P. 860, ll. 2-3. بَطْنُ عَاتِلِ The bottom, or low land, of 'Ākil is [a place (MI)] on the road of the pilgrims of AlBaṣra between Rāmātān and (Mk, MI) Āmirra (Mk) [or] Immara (MI)—l. 4. 'Ākil is said to be a mountain (Bk, ZJ) that Ḥujr, the father of Imra alKais, used to dwell in (Bk). The author of the Mk, after enumerating eight places named 'Ākil, the second of which he describes as "a mountain that the children of [Ḥujr (KA)] Ākil "alMurār, the ancestor of Imra alKais, used to stop in", adds "But I do not find myself confident that they "are eight [separate] places ; and perhaps there is some intermixture in them"—l. 8. See Md. II. 182 and P. II. 598—ll. 16-17. The R (vol. II, p. 142. l. l.) has "either because repetition of the v. is made a substitute for dualization of the ag.", which, though it occurs in all three eds., I have ventured to invert—ll. 19-20. The two Indian eds. of the R (vol. ii, p. 143, l. 2) have صاحب his companion ; but the Persian ed. has صاحبيه his two companions.

P. 861, l. 1. تَسْبِيَةُ جُزْءٍ بِأَسْمِ كُلِّ naming a part by the name of a whole (R), i. e., putting a whole for a part, as penes for penis and testicles for two testicles in the exs. given.

P. 862, ll. 3-4. I. e., to two or more of its kind. See p. 863, ll. 6-7. The definition is inverted, pluralization being the addition of two or more to one, not of one to two or more. See p. 863, ll. 22-23.

P. 864, l. 9. Read "Nawādir."

P. 868, l. 1. The poet of *Ḳuraish* in *AlIslām*. He rebelled with *Muṣ'ab Ibn AzZubair* against 'Abd AlMalik [*Ibn Marwān*]; and, when *Muṣ'ab* was killed [in 71 (Tr, IATH, ITB) or 72 (Tr, ITB)], and 'Abd Allāh [*Ibn AzZubair*] was killed [in 73 (Tr, IATH, ITB)], he took refuge with 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ja'far Ibn Abi Ṭālib [*alḲuraishī alHāshimī aṣṢaḥābī* (Nw), d. 80 (IATH, Nw, Is, ITB) or 82 (Is) or 84 or 85 (IATH, Is) or 86 (IATH) or 87 (Is) or 90 (IATH, Nw, Is), at the age of 80 (Nw, Is) or 90 (Is)], who petitioned 'Abd AlMalik about his affair, and secured his pardon, [at which time he appears from a long story told in the KA to have been 60 years old] (KA). His brother 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ḳais left issue; but 'Ubaid Allāh left none (AKB). The poet's name is often given as 'Abd Allāh, probably from mistranscriptions. *Dele* "['Abd-Allāh or]" before " 'Ubaid Allāh" in the Note on p. 18, l. 5—ll. 2-3. Ṭalḥa was governor of *Sijistān* (IHjr, AKB) in 61 (IATH), [or] in 63 (ITB); and there he died (AKB)—l. l. The author of this verse is *Abū Ḳais Ibn Rifā'a* (Jh, Jsh, MN) *alAnṣārī* (Jsh, MN), whose name was *Dīnār* (Jsh): so says ISf in his exposition of the verses of the *Iṣlāḥ* by ISk. And Bk [also] says that he was named *Dīnār*, and was one of the poets of the Jews; and, says Bk, I think that he was a heathen. But K1 says that the author is *Ḳais Ibn Rifā'a*; and AFI says that the author is *Abū Ḳais Ibn AlAslat alAusī*, his name having been altered (MN). See the Note on p. 738, l. 19.

P. 869, l. 25. Read نَعْلَانُ.

P. 870, l. 1. Lane (p. 812, col. 1) asserts, on the authority of the *Tāj al'Arūs*, that "خَصَانٌ" has no pl. formed by the addition of , and ن , contrary to what is stated here by R, and at p. 1020,

l. 4, by S—l. 3. Read ^{فُعْلَانُ}—l. 19. ^{لَعْبَرَةٌ} (Fk), a medley of III. 11 and XXXIX. 22.

P. 871, l. 17. A tribe of AlYaman (MAd).

P. 872, ll. 5-6. I have transposed ^{عَلِيَّوْنَ} and ^{زَيْدَوْنَ} in accordance with the suggestion of YS, the former being an instance of the *perf. pl. masc.*, and the latter of the co-ordinate—l. 14. From the same poem as a verse given on p. 96A—l. 17. Tumādir was his wife (AKB).

P. 873, l. 19. I. e., *pl.* of ^{أَبْيَكِرٌ} *dim.* of ^{أَبْكِرٌ} [285]. On the diptote declension of ^{أَبْيَكِرٌ} in l. 15 see p. 1182, l. 12—p. 1183, l. 4.

P. 874, l. 12. Of [the Banu-lḤarith Ibn Rabī'a Ibn (AKB)] AlAwās Ibn AlḤajr Ibn AlHanw Ibn AlAzd (KA, T, AKB) Ibn AlGhauth (KA, T) Ibn Nabt [Ibn Mālik (IHb)] Ibn Zaid Ibn Kahlān Ibn Saba (T) Ibn Yashjub Ibn Ya'rub Ibn Kaḥṭān (IHb). AlAwās is with Fath of the Hamza; AlḤajr with Fath of the undotted ح, and quiescence of the ج; and AlHanw with all three vowels of the ح, and quiescence of the ن. Some assert that Ash-Shanfarā, meaning *big-lipped*, was his cognomen, his name being Thābit Ibn Jābir; but this is a blunder, like Al'Ainī's blunder in asserting that his name was 'Amr Ibn Barrāk, these being his two comrades in robbery (AKB).

P. 875, l. 15. See Md. I. 334 and P. I. 691—l. 17. In the *nom.* ^{عَفْرَيْنَ} or ^{عَفْرَوْنَ}. Lane (p. 2090, col. 2) gives ^{عَفْرَيْنَ} as the name of a place abounding with lions, on the authority of the KF and other works; but the KF (p. 303) has ^{عَفْرَيْنَ}, and there is no

reason why it should be diptote, unless we assume it to be *fem.*, since the form عَفْرَيْنَ may be accounted for as *gen.* of عَفْرُونَ .

P. 876, l. 7. After طُبُون insert "[244]" — l. 12. أَثَابِي has no *sing.*; or, as is said, its *sing.* is أَثِيَّة on the measure of أَفْعُولَةٌ (T). A better *ex.* would be طَبَّة , *pls.* طُبُون [above], طَبِي , and أَطِب [244].

p. 877, ll. 1-2. See p. 1361, l. 4, and the Note on p. 854, ll. 4-5 — l. 24. شَابَ قَرْنَاهَا Her two ringlets have become white is one of the *props.* used as names: the poet says
كَذَبْتُمْ وَبَيَّتَ اللَّهُ لَا تَنْكِحُونَهَا * بَنِي شَابَ قَرْنَاهَا تَصْرُوتُ وَتَحْلُبُ
Ye have lied, by the House of God! Ye shall not wed her, sons of Shāba Karnāhā, tying up the udder, and milking (IY on §. 4).

P. 878, ll. 20-23. There is no difference in that between the generic *n.* not a proper name, like ابْنُ كَبْرٍ a two-year-old he-camel, and the [generic (Sn)] proper name, like ابْنُ آوَى the jackal [and ابْنُ عَرَسٍ the weasel], the difference between them being that the second member of the generic proper name does not receive اَلْ [7, 194], contrary to the generic *n.* (A).

P. 811, l. 23. بَيَاتٌ (YS. I. 143) : بَيَاتٌ (Sn. IV. 288.)

P. 882, l. 24. If it were a name for the *fem.*, it would come under the rule in p. 881, ll. 7-10.

P. 883, ll. 9-11. Lane (p. (1703, col., 1) has "صَاغِينَ.....*pl.*
صُفُون (M, TA) and صَوَائِنُ and [the *pl.* of صَاغِيَّة is] صَاغِنَاتُ (TA)".

It seems doubtful whether he was justified in inserting the words in brackets—*l.* 14. جَمِيلَاتُ appears from the context to be *pl.* of جَمِيلٌ *dim.* of جَمَلٌ [274]. It might be *dim.* of جَمَالٌ *pl.* of جَمَلٌ [285]. See *IY.* 700, *l.* 17. In the former case it means *little*, or *small*, *he-camels*; and in the latter *a few he-camels*. Read “[270, 289]”.

P. 884, *l.* 22. *Ns* says that *Kais Ibr Jābir* is the man of whom *Zaid* says كَمْنِيَّةُ جَابِرِ آلِخ [170], naming him by the name of his father—*l.* 25. This *Sa'd* is said to have been one of the chiefs and cavaliers of *Bakr Ibn Wā'il* in heathenism, and to have been a poet (AKB).

P. 885, *l.* 6. *I. e.*, had already split up into factions each claiming to be the tribe *Ka'b*. With *Ka'b* and *Ki'ab* cf. *Kalb* and *Kilāb*, names of tribes—*l.* 13. After “formations” insert “[253]”.

P. 886, *l.* 4. *IM's* text is given at *p.* 1114, *l.* 22; and the *Aud's* enumeration of the broken *pls.* in *pp.* 1032-1033.

P. 887, *l.* 4. After “formations” insert “[253]”—*l.* 26. If بِأَنْفُسِهِنَّ be a corrob. [503], the paradigm أَفْعُلُ is the only one allowed [132].

P. 888, *l.* 18. An *Islāmī* poet of the *Marwānī* dynasty, and a *Badawī* (AKB)—*l.* 22. From the same poem as verses cited on *pp.* 454, 651, and 854, and as a verse ascribed by *H* (D. 151) to *AlMuthak্কib al'Abdī*. See the Note on *p.* 651, *l.* 1—*l.* 27. An *Islāmī* poet of the *Marwānī* dynasty (AKB).

P. 889, *l.* 1. Coupled to بِأَنَا لَا نَزَالَخ in the preceding verse, as here appears

أَلَا أَبْلَغُ مُعَاوِيَةَ بْنِ حَرْبٍ * وَرَجْمُ الْغَيْبِ يَكْشِفُهُ الْيَقِينُ
بِأَنَّا لَا نَزَالُ لَكُمْ عَدُوًّا * طَوَالَ الدَّهْرِ مَا سَمِعَ الْحَنِينُ

Now tell thou Mu'āwiyah Ibn Ḥarb (and the guess at the unknown is cleared up by certainty) that we shall not cease to be foes to you, throughout the length of time, so long as the moan of the she-camel for her young one is heard; but IA and IHsh in their Commentaries on the IM transmit it وَكَانَ لَنَا أَبُو حَسَنِ عَلِيٍّ أَبًا بَرًّا And Abū Ḥasan 'Alī was a good father to us (AKB). According to the MN and FA, it is cited by BD (not IA) and IHsh. It is in the Aud (p. 12), with the version mentioned by AKB; but is not in the IA or J, nor in the EC. Perhaps IUK should have been named, instead of IA, by AKB—l.l. One of the companions of 'Alī. I have not seen any mention of him in the Book of the Companions [of the Prophet]; and he is only a Follower (AKB)—l. 11. I have not met with the name of its author (MN).

P. 890, ll. 3-9. Cf. p. 888, l. 11, and p. 1262, ll. 8-12—ll.

9-18. This explanation fails to account for ضَارِبِينَ الْقَبَابِ [above].

P. 891, l. 3. The poet is eulogizing the two Muḥammads mentioned in vol. II, p. 469, l. 1—ll. 12-14. Because the ن stands in the place of the Tanwīn. See p. 342, ll. 4-6, and p. 863, ll. 23-24—l. 28. "this sort" is the irregular pl. with the و and ن p. 888 l. 11); and "the regular pls." are such as ضَارِبُونَ.

P. 893, l. 6. السَّعَانُ on the measure of فَعْلَانُ, so mentioned by S, is a mountain in front of AlFalj (Bk). It is orig. du. of سَعٍ; but is treated by the poet like سَلْمَانُ, since, if he treated

it like the *da*, he would say بِالسَّبْعِينَ (MN)—*l.* 13. After 'قَنَسَرِينَ' insert "[295]"—*ibid.* يَبْرُونَ or يَبْرِينَ is a well-known tract of sand in the abodes of the Banū Sa'd of Tamīm (Bk)—*ll.* 23-24. Mb. says in the Kāmil (HH); AU says that there is a dispute about this poem, which some attribute to AlAḥwaṣ, and some to Yazīd Ibn Mu'āwiya (Mb, HH); but the truth is that it is by Yazīd, describing a girl (Akh). The poetry of Yazīd, little as there is of it, is extremely beautiful (IKhn)—*l.* 25. Al Maṭirūn is a place in Syria, near Damascus (MI).

P. 894, *l.* 1. Jillik means Damascus; and is said to be a place near Damascus; or to be a statue of a woman, from whose mouth water used to issue, in one of the towns of Damascus (Jk)—*ll.* 3-14. This passage from the Aud contains a summary of the two variations of the *pl.* discussed at length from *p.* 892, *l.* 20, to *p.* 894, *l.* 3, with the addition of a third, the worst of all, with the description of which *cf.* *p.* 891, *ll.* 18-20—*l.* 11. An Islāmī poet (AKB). He composed poetry at the end of the reign of 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭalib, and praised Mu'āwiya, and 'Abd Allāh Ibn AzZubair, who had made him governor over one of the provinces of AlYaman (KA). It is said that this ode is by 'Abd ArRaḥmān Ibn Ḥassān Ibn Thābit alAnṣārī; and this is the opinion adopted by Jh and others; but the truth, says IBr, is that the ode is by Abū Dahbal (MN).

P. 895, *l.* 1. But IM has reversed the practice by mentioning the *pl.* [first (Sn)], and then saying that this measure is regular in such and such [*sings.*]. And for each practice there is a reason (A), the reason for the first being that the *sing.* is anterior to the *pl.* in existence; and the reason for the second that the *pl.* is the

[formation] really intended, because the discussion is about it (Sn). S, followed by Z and IH, with their Commentators IY, R, and Jrb, details the *pls.* of each formation of *sing.*; while IM and his Commentators 1A, IHsh, and A detail the *sings.* of each formation of *pl.* The present work attempts to combine the advantages of both methods; but this cross-division of the subject among the authorities involves some repetition.

P. 896, l. 3. And ^{طَبِي} [260]—l. 10. The [*fem.*] *pron.* in ^{أَزْدَادَهَا} relates to the ^{قَوْم} (MN), which is of common gender (Jh, KF)—l. 19. It is followed by

أَلْقَيْتَ كَاسِبَهُمْ فِي قَعْرِ مُظْلِمَةٍ * فَآغْفِرْ عَلَيْكَ سَلَامُ اللَّهِ يَا عُمَرُ
Thou hast cast their supporter into the bottom of a dark well (the dungeons being wells). *Then forgive (upon thee be the peace of God !), O 'Umar* (MN). See AArb. 138—l. 22. A green valley, containing many trees [and waters (Mk)], between Fadak and AlWābishiya (Mk, MI).

P. 897, l. 14. And (c) ^{فَعَلَّةٌ}, as ^{ثَبْرَةٌ} *pl.* of ^{ثَوْرٌ} a bull [257]—l. 19. Read ^{فَعَالَةٌ}—l. l. And (h) ^{فَعَلٌ}, as ^{قَشَعٌ} *pl.* of ^{قَشَعٌ} a worn-out skin (A).

P. 898, l. 16. And (c) ^{أَفْعَلَةٌ}, as ^{أَقْفِيَةٌ} *pl.* of ^{قَفَا} back of the neck [328] (A).

P. 899, l. 1. Read ^{فَعَلَى}—l. 14. Lane (*p.* 2213, *col.* 1) gives ^{عَيَائِلٌ}, which his authorities explain as *pl.* of ^{عَيَالٌ} *stalking majestically*; but this is strange, because ^{فَعَالٌ} has no broken *pl.* [252]. The M and Aud give ^{عَيَائِلٌ}, which AAz holds to be *pl.*

of عَيْلٌ *pl.* of عَاتِلٌ *stalking majestically*; while the And makes it *pl.* of عَيْلٌ *prowling, seeking for prey*, which has another *pl.* عِيَالٌ; and both the M, followed by IY, and the And hold the *ى* to be added for impletion, as in تَنْقَادُ الصَّيَارِيفِ [252]. And the Jsh gives a similar explanation of the *ى*, making عِيَاتِيْلٌ *pl.* of عَيْلٌ, and allowing either sense. See the Note on p. 1036, ll. 3-16. The S and M have أُسُوْدٌ explained in the Jsh as a *subst.* for عِيَاتِيْلٌ; but IY and Lane have أُسُوْدٌ explained in the MN as a qualified *post.* to its *ep.* [121]—l. 17. فُعْلٌ is not given by any of my authorities as a *pl.* of فَعْلٌ: perhaps خُطْرٌ may be contracted from خُطُوْرٌ, like أُسْدٌ from أُسُوْدٌ; or *pl.* of خُطُوْرٌ, as اَنْجِدَّةٌ is said to be *pl.* of نَجُوْدٌ [above]; or a heteromorphous *pl.* of خُطْرٌ [255]—ll. 20-21. And اَفْعُلٌ, as اَضْبَعٌ *pl.* of ضَبْعٌ a *she-hyæna* (A).

P. 900, l. 10. And اَفْعَلَةٌ, as اَفْدَحَةٌ *pl.* of قَدَحٌ (A) with Kasr of the ق, and quiescence of the د, meaning *an arrow before it is feathered* (Sn); and فِعْلَةٌ, as ثَنِيَّةٌ *pl.* of ثَنِيٌّ [257]—l. 15. This is probably the proper form of the ضرس in Lane, p. 1785, col. 3, l. 31—l. 21. And (4) فِعْلٌ, as لَثِيٌّ *pl.* of لَثَةٌ a *gum* [316] (A), which is *orig.* لَثِيٌّ, like عِنَبٌ (Sn).

P. 902, l. 21. Read “*quasi-pl.*”

P. 903, l. 5. A valiant poet, and a celebrated cavalier of Mudar. He was one of those who rebelled with ‘Amr Ibn Sa‘id

against 'Abd AlMalik Ibn Marwān; and, when 'Abd AlMalik had killed 'Amr [in 69 (Tr, IATH, ITB) or 70 (IATH)], he rebelled with Najda Ibn 'Āmir alḤanafi, [4. 72 (IATH)]; and afterwards he fled, and joined 'Abd Allāh Ibn AzZubair, with whom he stayed till 'Abd Allāh was killed, when he came to 'Abd AlMalik in disguise, and tricked him into giving him quarter (KA). The verse may be part of the poem given in KA. XII. 26-27. Cf. the verse of AlḤuṭai'a at p. 896, l. 19.

P. 904, l. 5. And (7) فَعَلَّةٌ, as جُمُعَةٌ a Friday, pl. جُمُعٌ; and (8) فَعَلَّةٌ, as حَدَاةٌ a kite, pl. حَدَا [254] (A).

P. 906, l. 17. We hold أَمَّةٌ a handmaid to be فَعَلَّةٌ because we see them form the broken pl. أَفْعُلٌ from فَعَلَّةٌ when nothing is elided from it, but do not see them form the broken pl. أَفْعُلٌ from فَعَلَّةٌ when nothing is elided from it (S).

P. 907, l. 6. 'Abd Allāh, [or 'Ubaid (T), Ibn Mujīb (T, Is)] Ibn AlMaḍraḥī (KA, T, Is) Ibn 'Āmir alḤiṣṣān.....Ibn Abī Bakr Ibn Kilāb (KA, T) Ibn Rabi'a Ibn 'Āmir Ibn Ṣaṣ'a (KA), of the Banū Abī Bakr Ibn Kilāb, known as AlḤattāl alKilābī. AZ says that he was one of the poets of heathenism: but AU mentions that he was imprisoned by Marwān Ibn AlḤakam; and, according to this, says Bk in his Commentary on the *Amālī* of Kī, he was one of the Converts (Is). The KA gives the second hemistich as

إِذَا تُحَدِّثُ عَنْ نَقْصِي وَأَمْرَارِي

When my being untwisted, and my being firmly twisted, i. e. my good luck and my ill luck, are talked about—ll. 13-15. Derenbourg (S. II. 188, l. 16) prints فَعَلٌ and نَقْمٌ and مَعْدٌ.

P. 908, ll. 15-17. IM says in the CK that **فَعَلٌ** sometimes acts as a substitute for **فَعِلٌ**, as **حَلَى** pl. of **حَلِيَّةٌ** and **لَحَى** pl. of **لَحِيَّةٌ** [238, 329. A]; and **فَعِلٌ** for **فَعَلٌ**, as **صَوَّرَ** pl. of **صُورَةٌ** a *shape, effigy* and **قَوَّى** pl. of **قُوَّةٌ** *force* (A).

P. 909, l. 10. See the last Note—l. 13. Cf. **نَسَاءٌ** pl. of **نَسْوَةٌ** [310], according to R (p. 137, l. 19), who here follows S (*vol.* II, p. 86, l. 15). But see p. 1069, ll. 12-16, and p. 1089, l. 3.

P. 910, l. 15. Read **غَرَفٌ**.

P. 911, l. 2. Read "[in them]".

P. 913, ll. 16-18. This cause seems to be stated rather too broadly, because all *eps.* on the measure of **فَعَلٌ** are not treated as substantives. See p. 912, ll. 22-23—l. 19. **شَيْخٌ** is regarded by Z as a substantive. See p. 1123, l. 1—l. 21. Read **أَفْعَالٌ**.

P. 914, l. 12. Read **أَسْمَالٌ**—l. 15. The unmarried man would go further afield, when out hunting, than the married—l. 17. He compares the mare to a staff because she is long in the body, round in the barrel, and smooth in the coat.

P. 917, l. 18. The reference is to p. 1022, l. 21—1023, l. 1.

P. 918, l. 1. Read "vowel".

P. 919, l. 9. Read **أَبَتْ**—l. 17. In "*his heart*" there seems to be an enallage from the 2nd to the 3rd *pers.*

P. 920, ll. 2-3. I. e. *with our waist-cloths tucked up in readiness for fighting*—l. 17. I am not acquainted with [the name of] its author (AKB).

P. 921, l. 1. B. 60 (Iath) or 61 (IHjr, ITB), d. [147 or (IHjr)] 148 (Iath, IHjr, ITB).

P. 923, l. 17. After الْعَبَلَات insert "[310]".

P. 924, l. 9. Kais Ibn 'Āsim was a Companion (AKB). He was Kais Ibn 'Āsim Ibn Minkar Ibn 'Ubaid Ibn Sa'd Ibn Zaid Manāt Ibn Tamīm (Is, AKB) at Tamīmī alMinkarī (Is), one of the Banū Minkar Ibn 'Ubaid (SR). He came to the Apostle of God as an envoy [in the embassy of the Banū Tamīm, and became a Muslim (Is)] ; and then the Apostle of God said "This is the chief of the dwellers in tents of camels' hair" (Is, AKB)—l. 11.

The verse is preceded by

أَلَمْ تَعْلَمِ يَا أُمَّ عَمْرَةَ أَنَّنِي * تَخَاطَانِي رَيْبُ الرِّمَانِ لِأَكْبَرَا
وَأَشْهَدُ مَنْ عَوَفٍ حُلُولًا كَثِيرَةً * يَكْحُجُّونَ سَبَّ الزَّبْرِقَانِ الْمَرْعَفَا

Dost thou not know, O Umm 'Amra, that the mishaps of time have missed me, in order that I might grow old, and witness many arrivals of 'Auf Ibn Ka'b Ibn Sa'd Ibn Zaid Manāt Ibn Tamīm, repairing to do homage to the turban of AzZibrikan dyed with saffron?, the chiefs of the Arabs being wont to dye their turbans with saffron. But apparently this verse is disconnected from what precedes it, by the loss of some verses between them. وَأَشْهَدُ is in the *subj.*, coupled to لِأَكْبَرَا (AKB). And وَأَشْهَدُ in Lane (p. 1285, col. 1) is a mistake, which should be corrected. On the rivalry between AlMukhabbal asSa'dī and AzZibrikan see pp. 31 A—32A.

P. 926, l. 23. I have not met with the name of its author (MN).

P. 930, l. 3. Put a comma after أَجْر—l. 8. Read دُمِي

P. 931, l. 9. Of the Madīd [metre] (MN). This version shortens the last syllable of the second epitrite forming the first foot of the second hemistich—l. 15. This is the version given in Tr. I. 751, except that the Tr has عَوْرَةٌ for غَزْوَةٌ. Jh and IHsh may have confused the ending of this line with that of the next

ثُمَّ أَبْنَا غَانِي نَعِمَ * وَأَنَاسَ بَعْدَنَا مَاتُوا

Then we returned, making spoil of camels, while men left behind us died ; but this again is differently given in the MN, which has

ثُمَّ أَبْنَا غَانِيَيْنَ وَكَمْ * مِنْ أَنَاسٍ قَبْلَهَا فَاتُوا

Then we returned, making spoil ; and how many men, before it, have passed away ! ; while the AKB agrees with the Tr except in giving غَانِيَيْنَ making spoil together for غَانِي [above]. The true text seems to be uncertain.

P. 932, l. 8. Read فُعْلَةٌ. See p. 1364, ll. 10-13. The o. f. of these ns. is properly فَعْلٌ, as سَنَةٌ, orig. سَنَوٌ or سَنَءٌ ; لَثَّةٌ, orig. لَثِيٌ ; and طَبَةٌ, orig. طَبَوٌ : and the ة, being a compensation for the lost ل, ought not to be combined with it ; so that R's expressions فُعْلَةٌ [244] and Jh's expression سَنَوَةٌ or سَنَهَةٌ [275] are not strictly accurate. Cf. Sn. IV. 158, l. 9. When the ة is substituted for the elided ل, the ع, if orig. quiescent, is pronounced with Fath, because the ة of feminization is preceded by Fatha, except in the abbreviated, as قَنَآةٌ and فَتَآةٌ.

P. 934, ll. 12-15. Some allow آمَوَاتٌ (Lane, p. 103, col. 2).

P. 935, l. 9. Read "[in multitude, as is said (R),]". The clause "as is said" is intended to throw a doubt upon the qualification

"in multitude," which is based on the theory impugned by R that the *pl.* with the | and ٣ serves only for paucity, not for multitude (*p.* 886, *ll.* 9-13). When the *sing.* has no ٣, the *pl.* فَعَالِلُ serves for paucity and multitude (*p.* 887, *ll.* 10-11, and *p.* 934, *ll.* 18-19) : but, when the *sing.* has a ٣, then, according to the theory mentioned, the *pl.* with the | and ٣ serves for paucity, and فَعَالِلُ for multitude. Cf. *p.* 1037, *ll.* 1-10.

P. 936, *ll.* 11-12. IM's words are

وَمِنْ خُمَاسِي
جَرْدَ الْآخِرِ أَنْفٍ بِالْقِيَّاسِ

which I have rendered by an Alexandrine—*l.* 18. خَوْرَنْقٍ (A). So in the MSS ; but properly خَدْرَنْقٍ, as in the C and the And, because the و of خَوْرَنْقٍ is a co-ordinative *aug.* [247], whereas the discussion is about the *quin.* whose letters are *rad.* (Sn). خَوْرَنْقٍ is [said in the KF to be (Sn)] a castle [outside AlHīra (Bk)] belonging to AnNu'mān (KF, Sn, MKh), the elder (KF, Sn), son of [Imra alKais (Tr, AF), not of] AlMundhir (MKh). See the Note on *p.* 54, *l.* 11. But, according to IBd, it was AnNu'mān Ibn AlMundhir who built AlKhawarnak. See Dozy's Note on *p.* 96, *l.* 3, of the IBd, and the pedigree in the Note on *p.* 947, *ll.* 17-18 below.

P. 939, *l.* 3. And sometimes فَعِلَّةٌ, as غَزَلَّةٌ *pl.* of غَزَالٌ α gazelle [257]—*ll.* 14-15. Here R follows S (*vol.* II, *p.* 198, *ll.* 10-11). But Lane (*p.* 389, *col.* 3) makes جُدْرٌ or جُدْرٌ *pl.* of جَدْرٌ, and جُدْرَانٌ *pl.* of جَدَارٌ, citing Jh and the KF among his

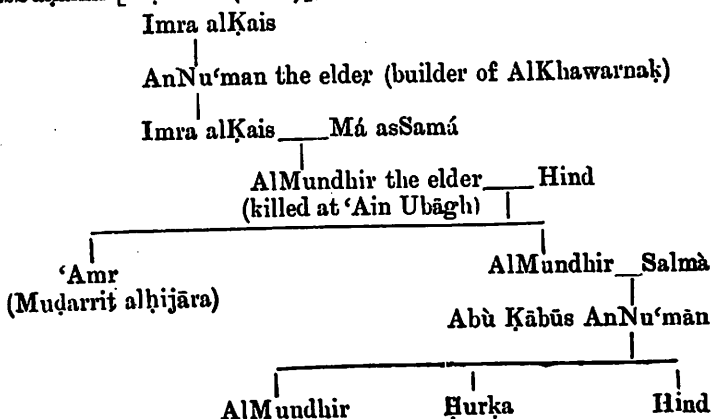
authorities. The KF mixes up the *pls.* of the two *sings.*: but Jh says "The *pl.* of جَدَارٌ is جُدَرٌ; and the *pl.* of جَدْرٌ is جُدْرَانٌ, like بَطْنٌ and بَطْنَانٌ" [237], which is exactly the opposite of what Lane makes him say. The words "former" and "latter" in Lane's passage should perhaps be transposed.

P. 945, l. 9. See the verse cited at p. 460, l. 21.

P. 946, l. 6. See Md. I. 401 and P. II. 86.

P. 947, l. 6. The نَقْرُق [with a ن and two ق's, upon the measure of صُبُور (Sn),] is the صِفْصِفَةٌ صَيَّاحَةٌ (A. IV. 155, l. 1).

Frogs are of many sorts, some that croak, and some that do not croak (HH). The نَقْرُق, which is not in the Dictionaries, nor in the HH, seems to be the female of the croaking sort—ll. 17-18. In the portion of the land of Al'Irāk adjacent to Syria. There AlHārith alGhassānī, who owed allegiance to Cæsar, made an attack upon AlMundhir [the elder, grandfather of AnNu'mān (ID)] Ibn AlMundhir, and upon the Arabs of Al'Irāk, who owed allegiance to Kisrā; and AlMundhir was killed on that day by Shimr Ibn 'Amr asSuḥaimī [alḤanafī (IATH)], of the Banū Ḥamīfa (Bk).



P. 948, l. 10. Read "(IA, A)" — *ibid.* ذَرَّاعٌ in the IA (p. 332, l. 2) I take to be a misprint, because, though *fem.*, it is an *ep.*, meaning *active in spinning*—l. 19. Read قَلُوصٌ.

P. 950, l. 1. Dele "[248]" — l. 6. Read حُجَجٌ.

P. 951, l. 5. IY here and R at p. 946, l. 8, restrict the *pl.* سُبَى to the سَمَاء meaning *rain*: but there seems to be no reason for this restriction, because سَمَاء meaning *sky* or *heaven* is *fem.*; and the KF does not observe it, nor does AKB (ll. 20–23 below)—ll. 10–11. An ancient heathen poet (KA). But see the Note on p. 332, l. 18—l. 13. IJ says "F used to recite it to us as فَوْقَ سِتِّ سَمَائِيَا *above six heavens*, and so have I seen him write it in the *Idūh*". And so have I too seen it in the *Dīwān* of Umayya. And in that version what is meant by the *heaven of God* is the *seventh heaven* (AKB).

P. 952, l. 11. Read فَعُولٌ.

P. 953, l. 20. I have not met with the name of its author (MN).

P. 957, l. 1. IY makes up his three formations by counting فَعْلٌ separately; while he omits فَعَالٌ, which he afterwards mentions incidentally in giving the *pls.* of فَعَالٌ [below]. But, as Z does not mention فَعْلٌ among the nine paradigms, I have treated it as a mere *var.* of فَعْلٌ—ll. 19–20. I think this means "in the *pls.* فَعْلٌ and فَعَالٌ", not in فُعْلَاءٌ, which is not a *pl.* of the *fem.*, even in فُعَيْلٌ, except in two instances (p. 969, ll. 10–11).

P. 958, l. 6. قَلِيلُ اللَّحْمِ (R): شَدِيدَةُ اللَّحْمِ *firm in flesh*, said of she-camels (KF)—l. 9. And they say رَجُلٌ لَيَكُنَ اللَّحْمِ "man spare in flesh, and we have heard the Arabs say كَنَازٌ of the

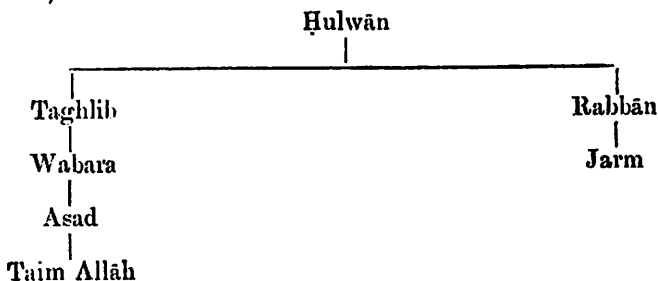
big ; and, when you pluralize, you say **كُنَزٌ** and **نُكْدٌ** (S). *Pls.* **نُكْدٌ**, like **صُرْدٌ** ; and **لِكَانٌ**, like **كِتَابٌ**, uniform with the *sing.* (KF).

P. 959, l. 7. By Jarir (Jh). Read **لَوْمَى** —l. 16. Put a full stop at the end of the line.

P. 961, ll. 13-14. **تَقْرَأُ** (R) : **بُعَوَاءُ** and **بُعَيَاءُ** (IY). The former is given in the KF and in Lane; but for the latter forms I can discover no authority.

P. 962, l. 1. I have not met with the name of its author (MN). Its author has not been named (Jsh)—l. 17. The version **يُتَخَيَّرُ** given by Lane (p. 1332, col. 2) is incorrect. See T. 731—l. 21. Read **صُدِّقَ**.

P. 963, l. 13. The verses are by 'Amr Ibn 'Abd AlJinn. So say Sgh and others. And in the *Jamharat alAnsāb* by IKlb ſic is said to have been a Tanūkhī, Tanūkh being one of the clans of AlYaman (AKB), the descendants of Taim Allāh Ibn Asad Ibn Wabara (T). The poet was 'Amr Ibn 'Abd AlJinn Ibn 'Ā'idh Allāh.....Ibn Jarm (AKB). And [his grandson] Asad Ibn Nā'isa [Ibn 'Amr Ibn 'Abd AlJinn (AKB)] was (KF, AKB) a cavalier in heathenism (AKB), [and] an ancient Christian poet (KF). The author is also said to have been a heathen man, unknown in name; but the first statement is more correct (MN). And one MS [of the Jh] adds "Ḥumaid Ibn Thaur" after "poet" (MAJh). Taim Allāh and Jarm were related :—



—l. 19. Al'Uzzā was the name of an idol belonging to Kuraish and [the rest of] the Banū Kināna ; or, as is said, a gum-acacia

tree belonging to Ghatafān, who used to worship it (MN)—l. 20. An-Nasr was the name of an idol belonging to [the clan of (ID)] Dhu-l-Kalā' in the land of Ḥimyar; while Yaghūth belonged to Madhḥij, and Ya'ūk to Hamdān; [and all three were] among the idols of the people of Noah, as LXXI. 22, 23 [Note on p. 44, l. 6] (MN). ISh says that the poet prefixes the *art.* to نَسْر redundantly, by poetic license; and IJ [also] says that the ل in النَّسْر is *red.* (AKB); and so says R on the Determinate and Indeterminate.

P. 964, l. 3. Abū 'Umar (IY) alJarmī R). The passage وَقَالَ أَبُو عَمَرَ أَقُولُ فِي مَدَائِكِرَ in S. II. 217, ll. 4-6, appears to be an interpolation, because Jr was junior to S, and never met him, but studied his book under the second Akh. See NA. 198—ll. 19-20. One says طَرِيقٌ رَكُوبٌ *a road much ridden upon* (Mb, Jh), i. e. مَرْكُوبٌ (Jh), when it is *wont to be ridden upon*; and رَجُلٌ رَكُوبٌ *a man much given to riding beasts*, when he is *wont to ride them* (Mb). Lane (p. 1144, col. 1) gives رُكْبٌ as *pl.* of رَكُوبٌ in the sense of *broken, trained, manageable, submissive, [quiet to ride,]* perhaps because it is then i. q. ذُلُولٌ *pl.* ذُلُلٌ.

P. 965, l. 13. عَجَائِلُ and عَجَلٌ in the passage قَالُوا عَجَائِلُ (IY. 647, l. 15) should be transposed, as is clear from قَالُوا صَبُورٌ وَصَبْرٌ (l. 11) and قَالُوا لِلْوَالِيَةِ عَجُولٌ وَعُجْلٌ (p. 657, l. 1., translated in p. 1010, ll. 9-10, below), and from the corresponding passage in S. II. 217, ll. 10-18, which IY is following.

P. 970, l. 8. خَلَائِفَ in IY. 650, l. 21, seems to be a misprint for خُلَفَاءَ.

P. 979, ll. 16-17. Jahn prints *وكسروا العين* (IY. 653, l. 18); but the R (p. 163, l. 6) has *كسر الفاء*, which is required by the context.

P. 980, l. 13. *Delete* the comma at the end of the line.

P. 982, l. 6. *عَدُولٌ* here is *pl.* of *عَدْلٌ*, not of *عَادِلٌ*. See the Note on p. 412, l. 1, where the version *شَهْرَدِي*, taken from IY. 371, is a mistake, as appears from the present version, and from Mb. 255.

P. 985, l. 5. See Md. II. 195 and P. II. 625—l. 18. From the same poem as the verse at p. 346, l. 19.

P. 990, l. 5. ALB composed a treatise in refutation of AU's *Gharīb alḤadīth* (HKb). He also composed a *Gharīb alḤadīth* of his own, in which he combined the works composed under that name by AUd, IKb, and IKhtt. See De Sacy's *Relation de l'Égypte*, pp. 537, 545, FW. II. 10, and BW. 188—l. 17. From the same poem as a verse at p. XXXIV, l. 5.

P. 992, l. 2. The *و* is elided under the rule for the *pl.* of the augmented *quad.* (p. 1050, ll. 8-20).

P. 993, ll. 19-20. See p. 993, ll. 18-20, and the Note thereon.

P. 995, ll. 9-10. Because it indicates not only a meaning, as the substantive does, but also its subject [142].

P. 996, l. 3. I. e., not liable to be confounded with anything else. See p. 997, ll. 13-14.

P. 998, l. 7. Read *عَوَارٍ*—ll. 18-20. The Dictionaries do not give *حَبَالٍ*, nor does R allow it (p. 993, ll. 20-22); but IHsh and A allow it, following IM.

P. 999, l. 3. Read مَهْرِي —ll. 12-14. R would add نُعَلَى (p. 993, ll. 20-22). See the last Note—l. 21. For “that” read “like”.

P. 1001, ll. 15-16. The KF, but not Jh, gives رَبَاعٌ as pl. of رُبْعٌ, fem. of رُبْعٌ a young camel born in autumn; and Jh, R, the KF, and A give رَبَاعٌ as pl. of the masc. رُبْعٌ [237]—ll. 17-20. نَفْسَاءُ is like نَفَسَاءُ on account of the mobility of the ع. But, if it were نَفَسَاءُ, it might take the ultimate pl. نَفَاسٌ (p. 1008, ll. 17-20); so that R's reasoning here does not seem to be sound. The KF gives نَوَافِسُ, as though pl. of نَافِسٌ, like طَوَالِقُ pl. of طَالِقٌ [247].

P. 1002, l. 13. The words “and عُشَارٌ (K in art. نفس)” in Lane (p. 2052, col. 3, l. 2) and “except عُشَارٌ (K)” in Lane (p. 2829, col. 2, l. 2) should be omitted. The KF has غَيْرُهَا meaning غَيْرُ نَفْسَاءَ; but Lane seems to read غَيْرُهَا, i. e. غَيْرُ نَفْسَاءَ. The context [below] favors غَيْرُهَا; and, if غَيْرُهَا were the true reading, عُشَارٌ would be mentioned in the KF's article on عُشَارٌ among the pls. of this word. The passage in the KF's article on نَفْسَاءَ is وَكَيْسٌ فَعْلَاءٌ يُجْمَعُ عَلَى فِعَالٍ غَيْرِ نَفْسَاءَ وَعُشْرَاءَ; and, if the sense were as Lane supposes, it would have been shorter to write يُجْمَعُ عَلَى فِعَالٍ أَوْ فَعَالٍ غَيْرِ نَفْسَاءَ وَعُشْرَاءَ.

P. 1004, l. 20. I have not met with the name of its author (MN).

P. 1005, l. 1. Read ^{أَفْرَ}—ll. 4-6. Or made *det.* by prothesis [355], as in VI. 123 [below].

P. 1006, l. 1. Read ^{فَعَلَتْ}—l. l. Read ^{فَعَلَى}—*ibid.* Read “(S, IY)”.

P. 1007, l. 22. ^{بَنَاتُ} is *ag.* of ^{وَجَدَتْ}, and ^{حَلَاكِلُ} its *obj.* (AKB). But Jahn prints ^{وَجِدَتْ} (IY. 658, l. 14), the sense being *been found to be wines of reds and blacks.*

P. 1009, ll. 14-15. The editor of the A prints ^{حَبَارِي} and ^{حَرَابِي}, (A. IV. 172, l. 8); but the author must have written ^{حَبَارِ} and ^{حَرَابِ}, because ^{حَبَارِي} would be inconsistent with his previous statement that the *pl.* of ^{حَبَارِي}, when the first of its two *angs.* is elided, is on the measure of ^{فَعَالٍ}, to the exclusion of ^{فَعَالِي} (p. 999, ll. 4-12).

P. 1012, l. 7. This was the “‘Alkama the braggart” mentioned at p. 150, l. 3.

P. 1013, ll. 1-2. In susceptibility of the ξ of feminization in the *sing.* (p. 866, ll. 24-25; p. 867, ll. 3-4; and p. 1020, ll. 8-9)—l. 6. Read ^{فَعَلَانُ}—l. 15. For “he” read “the”.

P. 1014, ll. 8-9. See Mb. 260. These two verses follow the four given in *vol.* II, p. 496—l. 9. He says ^{قَرَى}, not ^{قَرَيْنَ}, although the address was at first to a woman, because he afterwards transfers the address to a man; and the Arabs do that (Mb)—l. 10. ^{Qasà} is [a way-mark in AdDahnà (Bk),] a [small (Bk)] mountain (Bk, ZJ) belonging to the Banù Dabba (Bk)—l. 21. The Dictionaries give ^{غَدَيَانُ} i. q. ^{نَشِيطٌ} *lively*, said of a horse; not ^{غَدَيَانُ} i. q. ^{نَشِيطٌ}, said of a man.

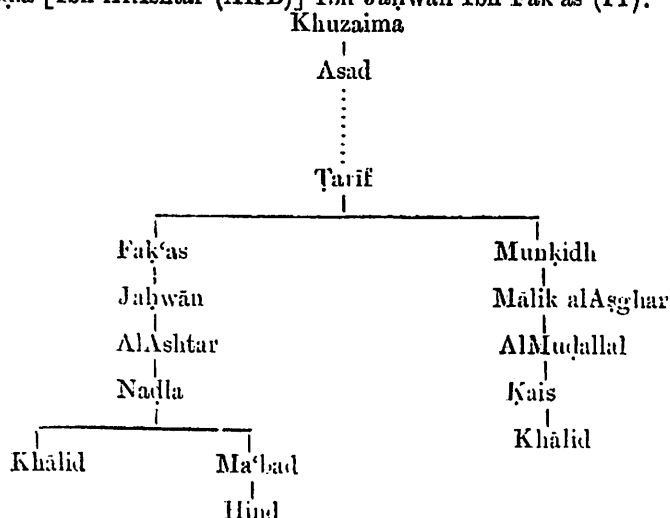
P. 1016, l. 1. See Md. I.378 and P. II. 30—l. 7. I. e.,
 فَعْلَانُ as pl. of فَعْلَانُ is not strange, because it is assumed to be
 pl. of فَعْلٌ.

P. 1018, l. 16. The R after فَعْلَانُ in this passage inserts
 “whose fem. is فَعْلَى” (R. 169, l. 5); but see l. 7 above.

P. 1020, l. 10. Read عُرَاةٌ.

P. 1021, l. 10. Read ضَارِبُونَ.

P. 1022, l. 5. By Hind Bint Ma'bad Ibn Naḍla, lamenting
 'Amr Ibn Mas'ūd alAsadī and Khālīd Ibn Naḍla alAsadī, her pater-
 nal uncles; put to death by AnNu'mān Ibn AlMundhir alLakhmī,
 who erected over them the two monuments that are in AlKūfa
 (SR). Ma'bad Ibn Naḍla Ibn AlAshtar alFak'asī was brother of
 Khālīd Ibn Naḍla, of whom AlAswad Ibn Ya'fur says وَقَبْلِي مَاتَ
 الْح [13] (T), meaning, [says ISk, Khālīd Ibn (IY on §. 13)]
 Kais [Ibn AlMuḍallal (IY)] Ibn Mālik [alAsghar (IY)] Ibn Mun-
 kīdh: Ibn 'Tarīf (T, IY) Ibn 'Umar Ibn Ku'ain and Khālīd Ibn
 Naḍla [Ibn AlAshtar (AKB)] Ibn Jahwān Ibn Fak'as (IY).



In the *Dw* of AlKhansā (*p.* 190) *نضلة* *بن خالد بن معبد* should be *معبد أخو خالد*. I suppose that 'Amr Ibn Mas'ūd must have been a cousin of Hind's father Ma'bad, and in that way one of her paternal uncles. AKB (*vol.* II, *p.* 292) traces the pedigree of the poet Muḍarris Ibn Rib'ī through Khālid Ibn Naḍla, who was his great-grandfather, up to Khuzaima.

Khālid Ibn Naḍla

|
Lakīṭ

|
Rib'ī

|
Muḍarris.

l. 21. Read *أحياء*.

P. 1023, *l.* 1. Read *أبيناء*.

P. 1024, *l.* 1. Read *أهوناء*.

P. 1027, *ll.* 20-21. Perhaps *A* means that *مختار* and *منقاد* form broken *plz.* when they are used as proper names, as *Sn* says of the *inf. n.* at *p.* 1046; *ll.* 18-19.

P. 1028, *l.* 19. AlAkhwaṣ with the dotted *خ* (AKB). Zaid Ibn 'Amr (KF, Is, AKB) Ibn Kaïs Ibn 'Attāb Ibn Harmī Ibn Riyāḥ Ibn Yarbū' [Ibn Hanḡala.....Ibn Tamīm (AKB)] atTamīmī alYarbū'ī (Is, AKB) arRiyāḥī, called at one time ArRiyāḥī in relation to his lower ancestor, and at another alYarbū'ī in relation to his higher ancestor (AKB), an [Islāmī (AKB)] poet and cavalier (KF, AKB), mentioned [in the MSh] by AlMarzubānī, who says that he was a Convert (Is), contemporary with Suḡaim Ibn Wathīl (AKB), or, in the Is of IHjr, who is followed by Syt in the SM, Wuthail (AKB on the verse cited at *p.* 454, *l.* 20). See the Note on *p.* 454, *l.* 1.

P. 1029, ll. 4-8. IY and R make مَنَّاكِرُ *pl.* of مُنْكَرٌ, but do not say in what sense. S makes it *pl.* of مُنْكَرٌ; but, like IY and R, omits to indicate the sense. Lane makes it *pl.* of مُنْكَرٌ in the sense of *cunning* or of a *bad deed*.

P. 1030, l. 15. He adds the صَيَارِفِ and الدَّرَاهِمِ ي (IK)—
 l. 19. The Banù Ḥarām are Madanis; and this is a name current among the inhabitants of AlMadīna (Dh). They are of the Anṣār, whence Jābir Ibn ‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Amr Ibn Ḥarām [Ibn Tha‘laba Ibn Ḥarām (SR, Tr) Ibn Ka‘b Ibn Ghanm Ibn Ka‘b Ibn Salima (SR, Tr, AGh, Is) Ibn Sa‘d.....Ibn AlKhazraj (IHb, Tr, Nw) alAnṣārī asSalamī (AGh, Nw, Is)] alḤarāmī (KAb) alMadanī (Nw) aṣṢaḥābī (ITB), *d.* 68 (Nw) or 73 (Nw, Is) or 74 (AGh, Is) or 77 (AGh, Is, ITB) or 78 (Tr, Nw, Is, ITB), at the age of 94 (Tr, AGh, Nw, Is), said to have been the last of the Companions of the Apostle of God to die at AlMadīna (Is). His pedigree is otherwise stated [by Nw, who has Jābir Ibn ‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Amr Ibn Ḥarām Ibn ‘Amr Ibn Sawād Ibn Salima]; but this is the best known (AGh).

P. 1032, ll. 5-6. دُبَّابٌ is a *d. s.* to جَنَى *the honey*; while تُشَابٌ *that is mixed*, the version in the Jh, is an *ep.* of أَلْبَانٍ *milk*.

P. 1034, l. 8. Add (28, 29) فُعَالَةٌ and فُعُولَةٌ [237, 265], (30) فَوَاعِيلُ [247, 253, 255, 261], and (31) فَعَائِلُ [256], variations of فَعَالٌ and فُعُولٌ, فَوَاعِلُ, and فَعَائِلُ respectively; and (32-34) أَفَاعِلُ [249, 253, 254, 256], أَفَاعِلَةٌ [249, 256], and أَفَاعِيلُ [254, 256, 257], (35, 36) فَعَاعِلُ and فَعَاعِيلُ [252, 715], (37, 38) فَيَاعِلُ and

فَيَاعِلٌ [252, 253, 715], (39) فَعَالِيْنُ [250, 256], and (40, 41) مَفَاعِلٌ and مَفَاعِلٌ [252, 255-257], included by IM in the like of فَعَالٍ [below]. Other collective, *pl.*, or *quasi-pl.* formations will be found in §§. 253-258, 265, 267, 272, and 273—*l.* 21. IA (*p.* 337, *ll.* 6, 15) has “augmented *quad.*” and “augmented *quin.*”, meaning “*tril.* augmented to four letters” and “*quad.* augmented to five letters” respectively. The Aud (*p.* 219) and A (*vol.* IV, *p.* 176, *l.* 1.) here have “*tril.*” ; but the A similarly uses “*quad.*” on *p.* 177, and “*quin.*” on *pp.* 179, 180, to signify “augmented *tril.*” and “augmented *quad.*” respectively. In order to avoid confusion I have here confined the terms “*tril.*”, “*quad.*”, and “*quin.*” to words of three, four, and five *rad.*s. respectively. Jrb also uses “*quad.*” for “augmented *tril.*” ; and so does IY (*p.* 666, *ll.* 12 and 23, and *p.* 667, *l.* 1).

P. 1035, *ll.* 6 and 19. The mention of عَلَقَى and عَلَاقٍ requires consideration, because عَلَقَى is one of the aggregate previously mentioned, in which there exist broken *pls.* of other formations, since A has previously mentioned it among the *ns.* whose [broken] *pls.* are فَعَالٍ and فَعَالَى [248] (Sn). See *p.* 998, *ll.* 15-16. But this objection seems to be groundless, because these two *pls.* are not “of other formations,” being *orig.* فَعَالَى, like فَعَالٍ [248].

P. 1036, *l.* 1. Derenbourg (S. II. 204, *l.* 14) prints عَثَائِرُ, which is contrary to rule [717], because the ع in the *sing.* is not a letter of prolongation—*ll.* 3-16. Under this rule فَيَعِلُ, like جَيِّدٌ [251], is as much entitled to the broken *pl.* فَيَاعِلٌ as فَيَعِلُ, like

صَيْرُ [above]. Jh, in saying that ^{جَيَّائِدُ} and ^{سَيَّائِدُ}, *pls.* of ^{جَيِّدُ} and ^{سَيِّدُ}, are contrary to analogy, perhaps refers to the Hamza, adopting the opinion of Akh [715]. Other *pls.* of this form are mentioned in § 715. And the KF is mistaken in calling ^{عَيَّائِلُ} a *pl. pl.*, i. e. *pl.* of ^{عَيَّالُ} *pl.* of ^{عَيْلٌ}, because ^{فَعَالٌ} does not make a broken *pl.* like that of the *quad.*, as R here points out. See the Note on p. 899, l. 14—l. l. Put a full stop at the end of the line.

P. 1037, l. 4. Read ^{أَنْبَلَةٌ}—l. 5. See the Note on p. 935, l. 9—ll. 10-12. A foreign word, like ^{جَوْرَبٌ}, is of course, strictly speaking, not an augmented *tril.*; but is treated as such, ^{جَوْرَبٌ} being given under ^{جرب} in the Jh and KF—l. 14. Derenbourg (S. II. 208, l. 17) prints ^{صَوَلَجٌ}; but the form in the Th, Jh, Jk, and KF is ^{مَوَلَجَانٌ}, *orig.* ^{چَوَلْجَانٌ}—l. 17. ^{كَيْلَجَةٌ} (Jh, Jk): ^{كَيْلَجَةٌ} (IY, KF, Sn. IV. 118). Cognomen of the Ḥāfiẓ [Abū Bakr (IHjr, TH)] Muḥammad, [or Aḥmad (TH)], Ibn Ṣāliḥ (KF) Ibn ‘Abd ArRaḥmān alBaghdādī alAnmāfī (IHjr, TH) aṣṢūfī (TH), d. 271 (IHjr, TH) or 272 (TH).

P. 1038, l. 11. Derenbourg (S. II. 209, l. 1) prints ^{مَلَكٌ}, but the content requires ^{مَلَّانٌ}, as given by Jahn (IY. 666, l. 16).

P. 1040, l. 21, ^{إِلْيَاسِينَ} [read with the *disj.* Hamza (K)] in XXXVII. 130. is a *dial. var.* of ^{إِلْيَاسٌ} (K, B), the addition of the ^ي and ^ن having perhaps some meaning in Syriac. I have not explained it as a *pl.*, because, if it were so, it would be made *det.*

with the *art.* [13] (K). It seems probable that in Mb.33, l. 19, and 623, l. 3, where **إِلْيَاسِينَ** is explained as a *pl.*, Mb wrote **إِلْيَاسِينَ**, meaning it to be *pl.* of **إِلْيَاسُ** (see p. 1040, l. 19—p. 1041, l. 4).

P. 1041, l. 1. Ilyās (IKb, Tr, K, B, Nw) Ibn Yā-Sin (Tr, K, B), of the tribe of Aaron brother of Moses (K, B), the Apostle of the Lord of the Worlds (Nw), sent by God to the inhabitants of Ba'labakk, who use to worship an idol called Ba'l (IKb)—5. AlAsh'ar is Nabt Ibn Udad (Tr, LTA, IKhn, Dh, KF, LL) Ibn Zaid Ibn Yashjub (Tr, LTA, IKhn, Dh, LL) Ibn 'Arib Ibn Zaid Ibn Kahlān (Tr, LTA, LL) Ibn Saba (Tr, Jh, LTA, LL) Ibn Yashjub Ibn Ya'rub Ibn Kaḥṭān (Tr, Jh)—ll. 16-17. In **لُعَيْرِي** the fourth becomes penultimate, and in **حَيْرُونُ**, **مَرْمَرِيْسُ**, **عَيْطَامُوسُ**, and **أَحْرَنْجَامُ** the penultimate becomes fourth, by elision of another *aug.* in the first four words, and of two other *aug.* in the last. The first three *ns.* are augmented *trils.*, and the last two augmented *quads.*; but the same rule applies to both kinds (p. 1050, ll. 13-15). The letter of prolongation in the penultimate, however, of the augmented *quad.* **عَنْكَبُوتُ**, or of the augmented *quin.* **قَرَطْبُوسُ**, cannot be made fourth; and the *pl.* is **فَعَالِلُ** formed from the four *rad.*s. preceding it. But if, as some hold, the fourth *rad.* in **قَرَطْبُوسُ** may be elided instead of the fifth, then the penultimate may become fourth, and the *pl.* will then be **قَرَّاطِيْسُ**. See p. 936. ll. 16-21, and p. 1051, ll. 14-18; and note that the **ب** is from the same source as the *aug.* letters **م** and **و** [732].

P. 1042, l. 23. The version **وَكَحَلِ الْعَيْنَيْنِ** printed by Derenbourg in S. II. 415, l. 8, is wrong, and should be corrected.

P. 1044, l. 10-18. See what S says at p. 1240, ll. 19-22. His opinion that the و of كَنْهَرٌ is not elided in the broken *pl.* or the *dim.* is apparently inconsistent with his opinion that one of the two و s in عَطَرٌ must be elided in both formations. See p. 1242, ll. 9-20, and p. 1316, l. 1.—p. 1318, l. 20. And perhaps it is this inconsistency which has produced the difference between R and A, the former going by what S says on كَنْهَرٌ, and the latter by what he lays down on عَطَرٌ.

P. 1045, ll. 3-9. The *quin.*, whose augment is always placed after the 4th or 5th *rad.* [401], loses it by this rule, in addition to the 5th *rad.* (p. 1051, ll. 10-13), because فَعَالٌ is completed by the preceding four *rad.*s, unless the augment be a letter of prolongation after the fourth *rad.*, and this *rad.* be elided, in which case the *pl.* is فَعَالِيٌ (Note on p. 1041, ll. 16-17). The *quad.*, which may have three *aug.*s in various positions [393-400], loses all of them except the soft letter fourth and penultimate, or reducible to this position by elision of the other *aug.*s. (p. 1050, ll. 8-20), because the positions of the ف, ع, and two ل s in فَعَالٌ and فَعَالِيٌ are occupied by the four *rad.*s, so that there remains only the position of the ي in فَعَالِيٌ for the *aug.* to occupy, and this can be taken only by a soft letter occupying in the *sing.* the position above described. The *tril.*, which may have four *aug.*s in various positions [389-391], retains one to occupy the position of the ف, ع, first ل, or second ل in the *pl.*; and may retain a second to occupy the position of the ي in فَعَالِيٌ. The latter can only be a soft letter fourth and penultimate in the *sing.*, or reducible to this position. But the former may be one of three possible *aug.*s; and various supplementary rules are given (p. 1045, l. 19—p. 1050, l. 8) to determine the choice.

P. 1048, *l. l.* The A (*vol. IV, p. 183*) adds “and عَيْطُوسُ” [398], and after حَزَائِينُ (*p. 1049, l. 3*) inserts “and عَطَامِيسُ” [below]: but this *cx.* is out of place here, being an augmented *quad.*, the elision of whose *ي* is to be explained by the rule given below (*p. 1050, ll. 8-20*), though Jh explains it by the rule here given. A seems to have inserted عَيْطُوسُ here because he inserts it in the corresponding passage (*vol. IV, p. 192*) on the *dim.* (*p. 1249, l. 16—p. 1250, l. 13*), where it is not out of place, since he makes no distinction there between the augmented *tril.* and the augmented *quad.*, classing both of them, together with the un-augmented and augmented *quin.*, as *ns.* exceeding four letters. See the Note on *p. 1250, l. 13*.

P. 1052, *ll. 5-8.* See the Note on *p. 1193, l. 14*.

P. 1057, *l. 6.* Lane (*p. 282, col. 3*) makes بَيُّوضُ *pl.* of بَيِّضٌ, not of بَيِّضَةٌ; but see *p. 1060, ll. 17-21*, below.

P. 1059, *l. 1.* Read مِنْ الْحَاجِّ — *ll. 10-11.* The poem cited by H is attributed to [Sharaf adDīn Abu-lMaḥāsīn Muḥammad Ibn Naṣr Ibn AlḤusain (IKhn)] Ibn ‘Unain [alAnṣārī alKūfī by origin, adDimashkī by birth, the celebrated poet, *l. 549, d. 630* (IKhn)], and occurs in some MSS of his *Diwān*; but this is a mistake of the rhapsodists, the poem being by Abū Sa’d Ibn Hibat Allāh Ibn AlWazīr alMuṭṭalib (CD). Abu-lMa’ālī Hibat Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn AlMuṭṭalib, Wazīr to AlMustaẓhir bi-llāh (*r. 487-512*), was one of the learned and most erudite and best Wazīrs (Fkhr). He was appointed in 501, and dismissed in 502 (IKhld). The verses, being quoted by H (*d. 516*), cannot, of course, be by Ibn ‘Unain.

P. 1060, ll. 17-21. The rule that the broken *pl.* should be assigned to the *n. un.*, though here observed by S, and expressly laid down by R, is often neglected, sometimes by R himself, ^{أَعْنَابٌ} and ^{أَرْطَابٌ} being treated as *pls.* of ^{عِنَبٌ} and ^{رُطْبٌ} [237], and ^{سَفَارِجٌ} and ^{فَرَارِدٌ} as *pls.* of ^{سَفَرَجَلٌ} and ^{فَرَزْدَقٌ} [245].

P. 1063, l. 5. Read ^{قَلَنْسُوَّةٌ}—l. 20. Read ^{جَبَّاءٌ}.

P. 1065, ll. 17-18. They do not say ^{أَرَاضٌ}, nor ^{أَرْضٌ} (S). S here (S. II. 197, ll. 9-13) seems to be repeating Khl's words—l. 19. Lane (p. 48, col. 2, l. 3) omits "S", i. e., Jh, from his list of authorities for ^{أَرَاضٌ}.

P. 1066, ll. 16-17. Derenbourg (S. II. 206, l. 20) prints ^{رَحْلٌ}; but R seems to have read ^{رَحْلٌ} here—l. 19: These are *pls.* of an obsolete *sing.*, which supersede the *pl.* of the *sing.* used. This is the opinion of S and the majority. But some of the GG hold them to be irregular *pls.* of the *sing.* spoken: while IJ holds that the expression is altered to another shape, [for which that *pl.* would be regular (Sn),] and is then pluralized, as in the case of ^{أَبَاطِيلٌ}, where he thinks that the *n.* is altered to ^{أَبْطِيلٌ} or ^{أَبْطُولٌ}, and then pluralized (A on the *dim.*); and this opinion is approximate to the first (Sn).

P. 1067, l. 18. This verse, as appears from the next verse cited by Jh (*art.* ^{حَوَجٌ}), forms part of a poem attributed in the KA (*vol.* XV, p. 167) to Abū Ḳais Ibn AlAslat, and in the Is (*vol.* III, p. 492) to Ḳais Ibn Rifā'a. See the Notes on p. 738, l. 19, and p. 868, l. 4.

P. 1068, l. 8. Read **الْكَوَاتِمِ** —l. 21. Not mentioned by HKh under this title. Probably IBR's treatise styled by IKhn (p. 378) and HKh (*vol.* III, p. 205) "Glosses on", and by Syt (BW, p. 168) and AKB (*vol.* II, p. 529) "Refutation of", the D.

P. 1069, l. 1. The CD (p. 86) has **الرقاشي**, for which I read **الرياشي** —ll. 12-16. See the Note on p. 909, l. 13, and see p. 1089, l. 3.

P. 1070, ll. 18-19. IY (p. 624, l. 10) attributes the fourth saying to AU.

P. 1072, l. 4. Put a full stop after "(DM)".

P. 1073, l. l. **عَرَلٌ** *unarmed men* (IY) : **غَزَلٌ** *weavers* (Jh). The latter reading seems to be correct.

P. 1075, l. 7. This looks like a transposition, meaning "*off the salt plants of the rugged ground*". See p. XXXVI, l. 11.

P. 1076, l. 12. Derenbourg (S. II. 208, l. 10) prints **فَالثَّمِيرَةِ** —l. 13. Ḥaḳīl is a land. AnNumaira is a water in the abodes of the Banū Tamīm ; and ArRā'ī says **لَهَا بِحَقِيلِ الْحِ**, which shows you that Ḥaḳīl is one of their abodes (Bk).

P. 1077, l. 8. "*that had no well-rope*" means *superficial*, not sunk in the ground, like well-water—l. 10. **بُرْكَةٌ** is a kind of *water-fowl* ; and ISd says that it is also *a frog*, Zuhair's saying **فِي حَافَاتِهِ** **أَصَاتِلُ** being so expounded by some (HH)—l. 22. Read **أَصَاتِلُ** —*ibid.* The MASH (p. 65) reverses the order of **أَصِلُّ** and **أَصَلُّ**,

making أَصِيلٌ *pl.* of أَصْلٌ; but this is an evident mistake—*l.* 23. Read أَعْنَاقٌ—*l.* 1. Read أَكُمُ.

P. 1078, *l.* 4. Lane (*p.* 73, *col.* 3, and *p.* 353, *col.* 1) gives أَكَامِيمٌ—properly, as he suggests, أَوَاكِيمُ [661, 686]—and أَثَامِيمُ as ultimate *pls.* added by IHsh; but I do not find them in the BS (*p.* 150)—*l.* 7. From R. I. 33, 45—*l.* 16. The *Kitāb al-Hujjat fi* [*‘Ilal* (NA)] *al-Kirā’āt* (NA, IKhn) as *Sab’* (NA).

P. 1080, *ll.* 18-20. رِبَاجِي is a *rel. n.* from رِبَاجٌ *Calatrava*, [a city (MI)] in Spain (LL). The geographies do not give رِبَاجُ, which is said by Lane (*p.* 1009, *col.* 2), on the authority of a marginal annotation on a copy of the Jh, to be in India.

P. 1081, *l.* 10. عَبَالٌ is not a *pl.*, but a collective generic *n.*; and for that reason alone is not diptote.

P. 1082, *ll.* 1-2. In Syria (ZJ).

P. 1084, *l.* 1. Read “and (dread) the”.

P. 1086, *l.* 7. Jahn (IY. 675, *l.* 9) prints رَحْلٌ. See *p.* 1066, *ll.* 16-17, and the Note thereon—*l.* 9. إِخْوَةٌ, according to R, is a *pl.*, because its measure, like that of نِسْوَةٌ [below], is notorious in the *pl.* (see *p.* 898, *l.* 16).

P. 1087, *l.* 19. Bk says (AKB), Uḥāza is a country; and is said to be a clan of Dhu-lKalā’, of Ḥimyar, which is correct (Bk, AKB).

P. 1089, *ll.* 3-4. Read “[21, 255]”, cutting out the reference to §. 275.

P. 1094, ll. 17-19. The *sing.* of رَوْبَانُ [is رَوْبَى; but (Jh)] is [said by As to be (Jh)] رَأَيْتُ (S, Jh), like هَالِكٌ, *pl.* هَالِكَى (Jh).

P. 1095, ll. 13-15. It is said that AlKhansá was smearing her camels with pitch, having bared her arms; and she was a comely woman, having fore-arms firm in flesh. Then Duraíd Ibn AṣṢimma passed by her: and he sent to her, suing for her in marriage; and praised her in an ode containing this verse (AAz).

P. 1098, l. 9. Ibn Hishām, the author of the SR, cites this verse in his Life [of the Apostle, at p. 514], saying "One of those who fled on the day of Badr was Khālid Ibn AlA'lam, who was the man that said فَلَكْسْنَا عَلَى الْخِمْ، and did not say truly in that, but was the first to flee on the day of Badr, and was then overtaken, and captured," which seems to say that he was the author of this verse; whereas it was not so, but he quoted it only as an example (AKB)—l. 10. AlḤuṣain Ibn AlḤumām Ibn Rabī'a.....Ibn Sahm Ibn Murra alMurri (T, AKB), of the Murra of Ghaṭafān (T), a heathen cavalier and poet (AKB).

P. 1099, l. 10. Jh and the KF give اَوَانٌ a broken *pl.* اَوْنٌ, like بُونٌ [below].

P. 1100, l. 7. Jadhīma alAbrash says رُبَمَا أَوْخَيْتُ الْخِمْ [505] (Jh).

P. 1102, ll. 11-12. Mālik Ibn AlḤārith an Nakha'ī (Mb, T, Is), known as AlAshtar, the chief of his people (Is), one of [Jasr (IKhn)] AnNakha' Ibn 'Amr Ibn 'Ula Ibn Jald (Mb) Ibn Mālik [Madhḥij (IKhn)] Ibn Udad (IHb), a [great (IKhn)] clan of Madhḥij (IKhn, LL) in AlYaman (IKhn), d. 38 (Is).

P. 1105, l. 22. By "it" is meant "what he mentions".

P. 1107, l. 14. From the same poem as the verse in p. 980, l. 22.

P. 1109, ll. 10-11. This verse is attributed (1) by Abū Tam-mām to Tharwān Ibn Fazāra Ibn 'Abd Yaghūth al-'Āmirī, a Companion, whose pedigree is given by IKlb, and, on his authority, by IHjr in the Is, as Tharwān Ibn Fazāra Ibn 'Abd Yaghūth Ibn Zuhair aṣṢatm, also called Zuhair alAkbar, Ibn Rabi'a Ibn 'Amr Ibn 'Āmir Ibn Rabi'a Ibn 'Āmir Ibn Ṣa'sa'a : (2) by S to Khidāsh Ibn Zuhair, this Zuhair being the Zuhair aṣṢatm mentioned; and Khidāsh being brother of 'Abd Yaghūth, grandfather of Tharwān aṣṢaḥābī; and being said by AlMarzubānī to be a heathen, while IHjr in the Is brings him into the division of the Converts, who reached the time of the Prophet, but did not meet him, saying that Khidāsh was present at Ḥunain with the idolators, and afterwards become a Muslim : (3) by AAA to Zurāra Ibn Farwān, [a poet (ID)] of the Banū 'Āmir Ibn Ṣa'sa'a; but I have not seen this Zurāra in [any of] the four divisions of the Is, nor in the *Jamharat alAnṣāb* of IKlb; and God knows! (AKB). AAA here follows his Master ID (see ID. 180)—*ibid.* This is the well-known version, which is transmitted by S and later GG. But AMArb, in his Refutation of ISf's Exposition of the Verses of S, says "How should the gazelle and the ass be mothers, when they are male animals? And the correct version is what AN recited to us, vid.

أَطْبَىٰ نَأَىٰ أُمِّكَ أَمْ حِمَارُ

Whether a gazelle covered thy mother, or an ass" (AKB). Yaḳūt [author of the Mk] says of AN, I do not know any master of his; nor any pupil other than AMArb; and I think that this was a

man who went out to the desert, and picked up his learning from the Arabs who dwell in tents (BW). And AMArb used to try to blacken his color, anointing himself with oil, and sitting in the sun, in imitation of the Arabs of the desert, in order that his cognomen "AlA'rābī" might be justified (NA).

P. 1110, ll. 18-19. From the same poem as verses on pp. 307 and 510.

P. 1116, ll. 12-14. حَمَامَةٌ is made *fem.* by the ة; and, there being no corresponding male, since حَمَامَةٌ itself denotes the *male* here, is a *lit. fem.*—l. 22. From the same poem as verses on pp. XXXIV and 990—*ibid.* صُلبٌ, *orig.* صُلبٌ (IY) : صُلبٌ with two Dammas, *pl.* of the صليبٌ *cross* [246] of the Christians (MN).

P. 1117, l. 6. I have not met with the name of its author (MN). إِلَى مَلِكٍ *to a king* (Aud), *to the light of whose fire I betake myself.*

P. 1118, l. l. Put a comma after " (IY)".

P. 1127, ll. 18-19. Abū Ḥamza Anas Ibn Mālik alAnṣārī alKhazrajī an Najjārī alBaṣrī, the servant of the Apostle of God, d. 90 or 91 or 92 or 93 or 95 or 97, at the age of more than 100 years, having been ten years old before the Hijra (Nw). He was the last of the Companions to die at AlBaṣra (IKb, HH).

P. 1128, l. 10. Read "or".

P. 1130, l. 17. Read فَاعِلٌ.

P. 1132, l. 8. *Dele* "to"—l. 19. Put a comma after "them"—l. 23. Read "resemblance".

P. 1138 l. 9. Read لَأَقْوَامَ.

P. 1139, ll. 21-23. See the pedigree given in the Note on p. 947, ll. 17-18—l. 24. From the same poem as the verse at p. 587, l. 8.

P. 1140 l. 1. AlGhabīṭ is a place near Falj on the road from AlBaṣra to Makka (AKB)—l. 16. Diyāf is not mentioned in the Bk (AKB).

P. 1141, l. 20. Put a comma after “Nūwaira”—l. 22 From the same poem as verses on pp. 353 and 42 A, and vol. II, p. 341.

P. 1143, l. 3. Here the use of the *pl.* with the smaller number is explained by IY as intended to prevent the *pl.* of paucity in the *sp.* understood from being taken for a *sing.*; but in §. 325. B it is explained by R as adopted for agreement with the form of the *sp.*, which is a *pl.*; as the use of the *sing.* with the larger number is adopted for agreement with the form of the *sp.*, which is a *sing.* [315].

P. 1145, l. 1. Read قَامَ.

P. 1146, l. l. Read “stantive”.

P. 1147, l. 10. أَدْمَى (Jh, R, Aud, KF, A), with the د (Sn). Lane (p. 45, col. 3) gives أَرْمَى.

P. 1156, l. 22. Read أَهْطَلْ—*ibid.* IA and Sn have سَكَابٌ for مَطَرٌ.

P. 1157, l. 1. Dieterici (IA. 323) prints رَوَّغَاءَ (p. 1156, l. 21) and أَرَوَّغٌ, with the dotted غ; but MKh (vol. II, p. 177, ll. 2-4) shows that these words should be spelt with the undotted ع—ll.

18-19. Dieterici is wrong in printing *فَعَالَاءُ* and *قُصَاصَاءُ* (IA. 323) ; and Lane (*p.* 2528, *col.* 1) is right in thinking *قُصَاصَاءُ* to be a mistake.

P. 1158, *ll.* 15-19. *فَعَالِي* as a *pl.* is frequent [248, 272].

P. 1159, *l.* 12. *دَائِي* (Aud. 208, *l.* 2) : *ثَادِي* (R. II. 135, *l.* 23). They are the same in measure and meaning [385].

P. 1160. *l.* 3. Aud Damm also of its initial is transmitted, as in [the Commentary of] IA on the Tashil (Sn)—*l.* 4. With a ت pronounced with Fath, then a quiescent , then a ن pronounced with Damm, and then a dotted ض (Sn). Lane (*p.* 1147, *col.* 1) says that *تَرْكُضَاءُ* is incorrect—*l.* 5. With Kasr of the ت and ن (Sn)—*l.* 11. The A (*vol.* IV, *p.* 127, *l.* 8) has *مَعْلُولَاءُ*, an evident mistake for *فَعْلُولَاءُ*.

P. 1165, *l.* 13. AlKhazrajī as Salamī, who was present at Badr, [when he was 33 years old (AGh)] ; and died in the Khilāfa of 'Umar (AGh, Is), at an age exceeding 50 years (Is)—*l.* 14. He said it on the day of [the meeting of the Anṣār in] the Hall (Md, Agh, Is) of the Banū Sā'ida (Agh) Ibn Ka'b Ibn AlKhazraj (SR, MDh), at the swearing of allegiance to Abū Bakr, meaning that he was a'man whose judgment [and understanding (Md)] would be profitable (Md, Agh). See Md. I. 27 and *P.* I.47.

P. 1167, *ll.* 8-9. *مُهَيِّين* is *act. part.* of *هَيَّيَنَ* (Sn), and *مُبَيِّطَر* of *يَبْطِرُ*.

P. 1172, *l.* 1. IA's formula "the | of the *فَعْلَانُ* whose *fem.* is *فَعْلَى*" is defective, because it excludes the substantive, whether a proper name, like *عُثْمَانُ* ; or a generic n., like *زَعْفَرَانُ* [282]—*ll.*

9-10. A here (A. IV. 195, l. 20) refers to the passage (A. IV. 194, l. 24) corresponding to the preceding passage (p. 1171, l. 17-p. 1172, l. 9) from the Aud.

P. 1175, l. 20. The stop after ضَيَّانٌ should be a comma.

P. 1176, l. 13. There is no word سَبْعَانٌ. There is السَّبْعَانُ [236, 250, 385], a name of a place; but the substantive here is by hypothesis not a proper name.

P. 1177, l. 5. Read وَرَيْشِينَ.

P. 1179, l. 14. Read ظَرْبَاءَ — l. 15. And, if anything like ظَرْبَاءَ occurred, the Hamza would be for feminization, because this formation is not of the *cat.* of عِلْبَاءَ and حَرْبَاءَ (S). By "this formation" I understand فَعْلَاءَ, as contrasted with فَعْلَاءَ, in which the Hamza is for co-ordination [273]; and therefore I read ظَرْبَانِ and ظَرْبَاءَ for ظَرْبَانِ and ظَرْبَاءَ in S. II. 108, ll. 8-10, where Derenbourg in printing ظَرْبَانِ and ظَرْبَاءَ seems to have been misled by S's comparison of ظَرْبَانِ to سَرْبَالٌ in ll. 11-12, a comparison limited, in my opinion, to the number of letters and the position of the *aug.* 1, as appears from what is said by S in ll. 1-2, and from the *ex.* وَرَشَانٌ mentioned by him in l. 12. The form ظَرْبَاءَ or ظَرْبَاءَ is not given in the HH. The rule laid down by R (p. 1176, ll. 1-20) requires the *dim.* of ظَرْبَانِ to be ظَرْبَيَانِ, whatever be the form of the broken *pl.*: but the rule formulated by the GG (p. 1171, l. 4.—p. 1172,

l. 1, and p. 1179, ll. 7-10) requires the *dim.* to be ظَرَبِينَ, because of the broken *pl.* ظَرَابِين; and having, therefore, to account for its being ظَرَبَان, they essay to do so by ignoring the *pl.* ظَرَابِين, and pointing to the *pl.* ظَرَابِي, which, though commonly regarded as derived from ظَرَابِين by substitution of a ي for its ن [248, 685], is here used to suggest the existence of an imaginary *sing.* ظَرَبَاء, where the prolonged Hamza is for feminization; so that the | and ن in ظَرَبَان resemble the | and Hamza in ظَرَبَاء, since both are *aug.* (p. 1017, ll. 6-9); and it is common ground that, when the | and ن resemble the | and Hamza, the | is not converted into ي in the *dim.* (p. 1175, l. 1).

P. 1180, l. 12. Put a comma after "283".

P. 1181, ll. 4-17. The only real exception to the rule that the letter after the ي of the *dim.* should be pronounced with Kasr in the *dim.* of the *n.* exceeding three letters is where the said letter comes immediately before the | of أَفْعَال: for in the three cases added by IH and IHsh, and the five other cases added by R, the final augment, or last member, being regarded as a separate word, is not taken into account in forming the *dim.* [283]; but the *dim.* is formed from the preceding part of the word, which part by hypothesis consists of only three letters, since we are dealing with words in which the letter immediately before the final augment, or last member, comes next after the ي of the *dim.* (p. 1171, l. 17—p. 1172, l. 11, and p. 1181, ll. 6-17), which is inserted after the second letter of the *non-dim.*; so that in all these eight cases the *dim.* is not formed from a *n.* exceeding three letters, but from a

tril. fragment, being simply *فَعِيلٌ* with the final augment, or last member, of the *non-dim.* tacked on to it. Moreover one of the eight cases is not an exception for another reason (*p.* 1181, *ll.* 13-15). But the case of *أَفْعَالٌ* is really an exception, because the *ا* and *ج* are not separable from the preceding part of the word, since the *ج* is not *aug.*, but a *rad.* part of the word.

P. 1184, *l.* 15. Read "the *ا* and *ج*".

P. 1185, *l.* 4. Read *عَلَيْكَ* — *l.* 8. Read *تَوَسُّطٌ*.

P. 1187, *l.* 5. *عَطَا* in the *non-dim.* contains a cause of conversion of the *ج*, but no cause of elision. In the *dim.* the old conversion of the *ج* is removed; but a cause of conversion of the *ا*, a new cause of conversion of the *ج*, and a cause of elision of the *ج* supervene [279, 281]—*Ibid.* Read "such as".

P. 1189, *l.* 2. A Companion, entered in the first division of the *Is* by IHjr, who does not mention his name [Note on *p.* 343, *l.* 21], but says (AKB), It is mentioned that he became a Muslim, and afterwards came to the Proph. t, and said to him "Make adultery lawful for me". The Prophet said "Wouldst thou like such as that to be done towards thee?" He said "No". The Prophet said "Then like for thy brother what thou likest for thyself" He said "Then pray God [for me (AKB)] that it may depart from me (AGh, *Is*, AKB). And Ḥassān says, mentioning that, *سَأَلْتُ هَذَا الرَّبَا* [658] (AGh). The *Is* has *الرَّبا* *usury* for *الرَّبا* *adultery*—*l.* 11. See the Note on *p.* 932, *l.* 8.

P. 1192, *l.* 4. *يُضَيِّعُ* (S. II. 126, *l.* 18); *يُضَيِّعُ* (IY. 717, *l.* 3); but there is no reason why Derenbourg should make it diptote—*ll.* 8-9.

Derenbourg prints مَرِي, but يَرِي (S. II. 126, l. 16) ; and apparently would print مَرِيْع, if it happened to be in the *nom.* in S's text. Jahn gives مَرِي and مَرِيْع (IY. 717, l. 6), plainly contrary to the explanations of S and R (ll. 10-13). مَرِي requires the ي of the *o. f.* مَرِي to be restored, as well as the Hamza, and then the two to be transposed. مَرِي is evidently required by the explanations of S and R ; and مَرِيْع is *dim.* of مَرَعِي a *pasturage*, like مَلِيْع *im.* of مَلِي [278]—ll. 9-10. يَرِي is *orig.* يَرِيْعِي, being فَعِيْعِل from يَرِي: and is diptote for the same reason as يُوِيْع (l. 14), i. e., because of the quality of proper name combined with verbal measure ; but is pronounced with Tanwin for the same reason as يُعِيْعِل, *orig.* يُعِيْعِي [Note on p. 43, ll. 14-20]. Cf. p. 1193, ll. 5-9—l. 14. On يُوِيْع see the last Note—l. 18. أَشِيرِر (IY. 717, l. 13) ; but see p. 1171, ll. 10-13.

P. 1193, l. 22. All through §. 276 the letter elided in هَار and شَان, *orig.* هَار and شَان, is supposed to be the ع of فَاعِل, i. e., the و. If, however, it be the *ang.* ا of فَاعِل, as Z says in the K on IX. 110, then, هَار and شَان being thus contracted into هَر and شَن, which afterwards become هَار and شَان [684, 703, 711], the *dims.* are of course هَوِيْر and شَوِيْك, like بَوِيْب *dim.* of بَاب [278].

P. 1194, l. 6. IY (p. 717, l. 22) has "while, in the *dim.*, what follows the initial": but I have omitted "what follows" as out of place.

P. 1198, l. 14. *Pl.* of مِيثَانُ (MN). His saying الْمِيَاثِقِ , not الْمِيَاثِيقِ , is an instance of conformity to the opinion of the KK, that the letter of prolongation in the penultimate may be elided without putting the ي as a compensation for it, as before explained [253] (Sn). See p. 1052, ll. 5-8.

P. 1204, l. 2. For شَوَى in S. II. 128, l. 13, read شَوَى .

P. 1207, l. 3. ثَقَبٌ (S. II. 130, l. 13; Jh. I. 210), which is perhaps the proper reading here, instead of نَقَبٌ printed by Jahn (IY. 720, l. 21); and means *holes, perforations, bores* smaller than نَقَبٌ .

P. 1208, l. 13. The restriction "when a proper name" is inserted here, as in many other places, in order that the *pl.* may be regarded as a *sing.*, and form its *dim.* as such, and not as a *pl.* [285]. Cf. the Note on p. 1321, l. 15.

P. 1213, l. 5. Read غَزَوْ .

P. 1214, l. 12. Not مَكْبِي , as strangely printed by Lane (p. 683, col. 2, and p. 2085, col. 2). This is conclusively proved by its *pl.* مُكَبِّونَ , as مُكَبِّونَ in a verse cited in T. 45, explained in the MN as *orig.* إِيَالِكِ . Lane is apparently misled by Jh's saying that the ل is retained, by which he means that the ل is not arbitrarily elided, as in عَطَى and أَحَى , where the third ي is, in IH's words, elided as forgotten, i. e., completely, lopped off, together with the vowel of the second ي , to which the inflection of the ~~card~~

is then transferred. The third *ي* euphonically elided in *مَكِّي* disappears in the presence of Tanwīn; but re-appears in the absence of Tanwīn, as *مَكِّيكَ* and *الْمَكِّي*: while, during its disappearance, its memory is preserved by the Kasr of the second *ي*; and for this reason, or because it sometimes appears in pause [643], it is often expressed in print, as in the Egyptian edition of the *Ṣaḥaḥ* (vol. II, p. 468), or in MS, as perhaps in Lane's copies of that work. See p. 1336, l. 3.

P. 1217, l. l. *أَرَسُ* (S. II. 134, l. 7). But S here means the Hamza to be elided (Cf. p. 1218, ll. 4-6); not transposed, and then softened into *ا*. For *أَرَسُ*, like *أَكَلُ* *I eat*, would be as much on the measure of the *v.* as *أَرَسُ*.

P. 1218, l. 1. S and Jh mean that, if *أَحِيَّ* were triptote because of its variation from *أَفْعِلُ*, then *أَصَمَّ* and *أَرَسُ* would be triptote because of their variation from *أَفْعَلُ*, and *أَصِيمٌ* because of its variation from *أَفْعِلُ*—l. 10. In Lane (p. 661, col. 3) *dele* “‘Amr Ibn-el-’Alà or” and “(according to different copies of the S.)”, there being no use in perpetuating the accidental omission of “Abū” by some copyists.

P. 1219, l. 20. Read “elides”.

P. 1220, l. 7. Read *مَرْيِيَّةٌ*—l. 8. In S. II. 132, l. 16, read *أَرْوِيَّةٌ* for *أَرْوِيَّةٌ*.

P. 1226, ll. 4-5. Cf. “Justice Shallow”—*Ibid.* The words *تَكْجَسَمُ فِي عَيْنِي مَرِينُ* in Lane (p. 424, col. 3, art. *جسم*, 5) should

be rendered "*He or It, assumed such a form, or shape in my eye,*" not "*Such a thing assumed a form, or shape, in my eye, as Lane translates them, كَذَا* being in the *acc.*, like عَدَلًا in R's phrase تَجَسَّسَتْ عَدَلًا here, not in the *nom.*, as Lane supposes. The *ex.* is designed to show the construction, as well as the sense.

P. 1228, ll. 1-2. Read "*marriage-feast*"—ll. 8-9. A born poet, who was contemporary with the two dynasties, the Umawī and [the beginning of (KA)] the 'Abbāsī (KA, FW). Lane (p. 1993, col. 1) gives his name as 'Abd AlMu'min.

P. 1229, l. 7. Read كَذَا.

P. 1232, l. 18. حَوْلَايَا is a [proper (Jrb)] name (IY, R, Jrb) of a man (IY, R), [or] of a place (Jrb). حَوْلَايَا is a place (ZJ), a town in AnNahrawān, ruined with it (MI). See p. 1147, l. 13, where R also calls it a place.

P. 1237, ll. 20-21. Cf. p. 870, ll. 20-25.

P. 1241, l. 21. Dozy (Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes, vol. I, p. 490) is quite mistaken in stating that أَذْهَبَ in the M, p. 87, l. 4, means "*plus apte à être éliaté*". The words of the M are أَبْقَيْتَ أَذْهَبَهُمَا فِي الْفَائِدَةِ وَحَدَفْتَ أُخْتَهَا You retain the more useful, and elide its fellow, for which IH in the SH, p. 37, l. 3, has يُحَدَفُ أَكْثَرُهُمَا فَائِدَةً The less useful of the two is elided. The ذَهَابَ implied in أَذْهَبَ here does not mean *elision*, but *extent of usefulness*; and the *aug.* that goes further in usefulness is "*moins apte à être éliaté*," not "*plus apte*".

P. 1248, l. 17. The *dim.* of أَبِيرَةٌ is أَبِيرِي (Jh, Kl¹) ; and this is the saying of Mb (Jh). Mb says أَبِيرِي and أُسَيِّعُ (A), by eliding the fifth, and putting the ى as a compensation for it (Sn). This compensatory ى before the ʾ and ع in the *dim.* has no connection with the *aug.* ى after the ʾ and ع in the *non-dim.*—l. l. Thus these *ns.* are *tril.*, *quad.*, or *quin.*, according to different opinions. And, when they are held to be *tril.*, أَبِيرِي and أُسَيِّعُ may be defended on the ground that elision of the Hamza enables the ى to be retained ; and أَبِيرِي or أَبِيرَةٌ, and أُسَيِّعُ or أُسَيِّعُ, on the ground that the Hamza, being initial, should be retained in preference to the م and ل, which are final.

P. 1250, ll. 13-21. IIIsh in the Aud (p. 222), being under the impression that the passage of the IM paraphrased below (p. 1251, ll. 8-12) from the IA and A is intended by IM as an exception to the rule previously laid down by him (p. 1249, ll. 16-21), goes on here to except the *post.*, the last member of the synthetic *comp.*, the sign of the *du.*, and the sign of the sound *pl.* ; and, after observing that, if a *n.* ending in any of these terminations might form a broken *pl.*, the rule of elision would necessarily be applied to that termination, raises the objection that, this rule not being applicable to the *post.* in either the broken *pl.* or the *dim.* (p. 1251, ll. 3-7), IM ought not to have included the *post.* among the exceptions to the rule that what is elided in the broken *pl.* is elided in the *dim.* This impression, which seems to have been shared by IA (p. 341, ll. 6-7) and A (vol. IV, p. 198, ll. 26-28), is shown by Sn (vol. IV, p. 197, l. 14—p. 198, l. 1) to be erroneous, IM's intention being only to intimate that, with these eight things, it is sufficient

for the form of the *dim.* to be constructively attained by treating them as separate, irrespectively of the consideration whether they are similarly treated in the broken *pl.*, or not ; while, as a matter of fact, seven of them, i. e., all but the *post.*, are not so treated. And this explanation is adopted by MKh (*vol.* II, *p.* 196, *l.* 30—*p.* 197, *l.* 2).

P. 1251, *ll.* 5-6. The *conj.* Hamza of the *sing.* seems to be here treated as a substantive letter.

P. 1252, *l.* 2. Dieterici (IA. 341, *l.* 8) prints **بَعِيلَبْكَ**.

P. 1255, *l.* 2. And in **لَغَيْرِي** [below] also, because the **ي** before the **;** becomes penultimate upon elision of the **!** of feminization—*l.* 13. A (*vol.* IV, *p.* 193, *l.* 20) has “in the *sing.*”, because IM treats of compensation in the broken *pl.* and the *dim.* together ; and Sn (*vol.* IV. 193, *l.* 13) uses the same expression. The *sing.* and the *non-dim.* are of course identical.

P. 1256, *l.* 22—*p.* 1257, *l.* 15. I have re-arranged these *exs.* to make the meaning clearer. See R. 98, *ll.* 15—*l.* 1.

P. 1257, *ll.* 2-3. The R (*p.* 98, *l.* 16) has “that *sing.*” ; but some of the *exs.* require “that *pl.*”—*ll.* 8, 13. Jahn prints **جَرِيحُونَ** (IY. 731, *l.* 1.) and **جَرِيحَاتُ** (IY. 732, *l.* 1)—*l.* 9. See the Note on *ll.* 2-3—*l.* 16. Z intends **شُرُوعُ** to be an *ex.* of a *pl.* of multitude whose *sing.* has no *pl.* of paucity ; but some allow **أَشْسَاعُ** [317].

P. 1260, *ll.* 10-11. It is difficult to see how **مَشَابِهٌ** and **مَكَاسِينُ** can relate to the rational *masc.*, and still remain *pl.*, because, if

either of them were a proper name of a man, it would be *sing.* in sense. Perhaps R means to show, irrespectively of their actual meaning, how their *dims.* would be formed if they related to the rational *masc.*—*l.* 19. Its author is said to be unknown, and it is said to be forged (MN, AKB).

P. 1265, *ll.* 13-20. ^{اُنْسَانٌ} is *orig.* ^{اُنْسِيَانٌ}, from which they elide the ^ي; and therefore, when they have recourse to the *dim.*, they say ^{اُنْسِيَانٌ}, restoring the ^ي in the *dim.* And they do that in another word, saying ^{لَيْلِيَّةٌ} in the *dim.* of ^{لَيْلَةٌ}, because its *o. f.* is ^{لَيْلَاةٌ} [below] (ID). Thus the Baṣrī ID adopts the opinion of the KK.

P. 1270, *l.* 1. For ^{مَلِيحٌ} in Lane (*p.* 2732, *col.* 1) read ^{مَلِيحٌ} (*dim.* of ^{مَلِيحٌ}), as in *S.* II. 137, *l.* 12, *M.* 88, *l.* 7, and *IY.* 734, *l.* 23. *S.* omits ^{يَدٌ} in this *ex.*

P. 1273, *l.* 21. ^{عُنَيْتَرِيْسٌ}, if authentic, is anomalous, like ^{عُنَيْكِيْبِيْتٌ} [283, 674]. The *dim.* of ^{عَنْتَرِيْسٌ} is said by *S.* and *R.* to be ^{عُنَيْرِيْسٌ} [283].

P. 1276, *l.* 7. *IY.* gives ^{جَبِيْهِيْرٌ} as an instance of the ^ي of compensation, which is plainly wrong—*ll.* 19-20. The *Sn* (*vol.* IV, *p.* 208, *l.* 5) has ^{بُرِيْهِيْمٌ} and ^{أُبِيْرِيْهٌ}; but in the *curt. dim.* the *aug.* letter of prolongation in the penultimate of the *non-dim.* disappears, as in ^{قُرَيْطِيْسٌ} for ^{قُرَيْطِيْسٌ}, and the ^ي of compensation is not inserted. Therefore, according to *S.*, on elision of the Hamza the,

aug. ا , and the *aug.* ي , there remains برهم , which forms بَرِيْهِمْ ; and, according to Mb, on elision of the *aug.* ا , the *aug.* ي , and the last *rad.* م , there remains ابره , which forms اُبَيْرَه .

P. 1277, ll. 13-14. See Md. I. 401 and P. II. 85—l. 19. See Md. II. 310 and P. II. 908—l. 22. See Md. I. 149 and P. I. 297.

P. 1281, ll. 7-8. Jh on اَمْسِ says "except Friday", giving S as his authority. See Lane (p. 99, col. 2). But I do not find this exception in S. II. 138, ll. 13-14.

P. 1282, l. 7. Read "339".

P. 1283, l. 3. After "Zaid" insert "[339]".

P. 1285, l. 22. Put a comma after "into و".

P. 1286, l. 22. Put a comma after "dim."

P. 1287, l. 14. Read "Tashīl".

P. 1297, l. 19. The second hemistich is by AtTau'am alYashkurī, who was engaged in a poetic contest with Imra AlKais, in which the latter gave out the first hemistich of each verse, and the former then supplied the second.

P. 1298, l. 13. One of the Banū Muḥārib Ibn 'Amr Ibn Wadī'a [Ibn Lukaiz Ibn Afṣā (IKb)] Ibn 'Abd AlKais, in relation to whom he is called al'Abdī, a well-known bad poet (AKB), who satirized Jarīr (ID). Mb asserts that Jarīr and AlFarazdaq made him judge between them: and that he then adjudged AlFarazdaq to be more noble than Jarīr, and AlFarazdaq's kindred, the Banū Mujāshi', than Jarīr's kindred, the Banū Kulaib; but Jarīr to be the better poet of the two (AKB)—ll. 17-18. There is another version مَتَى مَا يُحَكِّمُ Whenever he is made judge (AKB). See p. 771, l. l.—p. 772, l. 9.

P. 1300, l. 12. Read "(I am)"

P. 1305; l. 2. A place in the cultivated parts of Al'Irāk, said by Khl to be adjacent to the region of Mesopotamia. Good wine is called after it. AlA'shà says

تَخَيَّرَهَا أَخُو عَانَاتٍ دَهْرًا * وَرَجَّى بِرَهَا عَامًا نَعَامًا

An inhabitant of 'Ānāt selected it once upon a time, and hoped for its goodness year by year, also related أَخُو عَانَاتٍ (Bk)—l. 3. أَذْرَعَاتٌ with Kasr [or Fath (KF)] of the , a place in Syria (Jh, KF, LL)—*Ibid.* أَذْرَعِي (S. II. 83, l. 18) : أَذْرَعِي (LTA, Dh). See p. 1309, l. 7—1310, l. 8. Apparently it ought to be أَذْرَعِي —l. 9. Naṣībīn, [or, as some of the Arabs say, Naṣībūn (MI),] a [flourishing (MI)] city in [the regions of (MI)] Mesopotamia (Mk, MI, LL), on the main road of the caravans from Mauṣil to Syria, and nine parasangs from Sinjār (MI).

P. 1306, l. 2. It was flourishing, populous : but, when the Greeks took Aleppo in the year 351, the inhabitants of Ḳinnasrīn were alarmed, and evacuated it, dispersing abroad in the countries'; and nothing remained in it, except a caravansary, where the caravans stop (MI).

P. 1308, ll. 9-12. The *rel. ns.* نَمْرِي, شَقْرِي, and دُولِي may be derived from the proper names AnNamir, Shaḳira, and AdDu'il—*Ibid.* Namarī is from (1) AnNamir Ibn Ḳaṣīṭ,.....Ibn Asad Ibn Rabi'a Ibn Nizār Ibn Ma'add Ibn 'Adnān, among whom are many ; (2) AnNamir Ibn 'Uthmān (KAb) Ibn Naṣr Ibn Zahrān,.....Ibn Mālīk Ibn Naṣr Ibn AlAzd (IHb). Shaḳira is [Mu'āwiya Ibn (IHb)] AlḤārith Ibn Tamīm (IHb, Mb, LL) Ibn Murr (IHb). And AdDu'il [Ibn Bakr Ibn 'Abd Manāt Ibn Kināna (IHb)] is a clan of Kināna (IKbn) Ibn Khuzaima, the kindred of AAD (IHb)—l. 13

AlHārith received the cognomen AlḤabīṭ (The man with a swollen belly), because he ate much gum, and his belly swelled from it (ID).

P. 1313, l. 9. AṣṢammān is a [red (ZJ, Mk, MI)] mountain [in the neighbourhood of AdDahuà (Mk), in the land of Tamīm (MI)], extending for three nights (Bk, ZJ, Mk, MI), not lofty (Bk, Mk, MI), named الصَّامَانُ because of its ruggedness (Bk).

P. 1321, l. 15. The restriction "when proper names" is intended to obviate the necessity for restoration to the *sing.* [310]. Cf. the Note on p. 1208, l. 13.

P. 1329, ll. 14-20. In S. II. 75, l. 9, read مَثْنَى (like مَعْلَى) for مَثْنَى printed by Derenbourg.

P. 1332, l. 20. There is no سَرَوَّة in the Dictionaries or Geographies. It seems to be an imaginary word.

P. 1339, ll. 11-12. Jirwa Ibn Naḍla (IHb, IY) Ibn Mālik Ibn Ḥumais (IHb)—l. 19. Put a comma after "[300]".

P. 1340, l. 5. الْبَطِيَّةُ, as in S (vol. II, p. 70, l. 21), R (p. 123, l. 3), and KF (p. 924, l. 4) : not بَطِيَّةُ, as in Lane (p. 222, col. 1). Lane's authorities appear not to be aware that it is a proper name.

P. 1345, ll. 2-6. The clause "whether they denote.....combination of two double سى" is interpolated from R. 109, ll. 6-8, in the passage from R. 125, l. 4, commenced at p. 1344, l. 21.

P. 1349, l. 21. Ḥirā is a mountain at [the distance of three miles from (MI)] Makka (Bk, MI). As says, It is made *masc.* and *trip-tote* by some, and *fem.* and *diptote* by others (Bk)—*Ibid.* Kūbā is the name of two places, one on the road from AlBaṣra to Makka,

and the other at AlMadina. It is made *masc.* and triptote by some of the Arabs, and *fem.* and diptote by others (Bk).

P. 1352, ll. 23—l. l. In order that you may be able to inflect it, because the *n.* that a *rel. n.* is formed from must be susceptible of being *infl.* independently of the *ي* of relation [300].

P. 1354, ll. 20-22. But in that case it has no *rel. n.*

P. 1355, ll. 14-18. According to those who add an *ا*, and then convert it into Hamza, the Hamza of *لَا* is like that of *كَسَاءَ*; and on this ground IA, IHsh, and A allow *لَاوِي*. But, according to those who add a Hamza from the very first, the Hamza of *لَا* is like that of *قَرَأَ*; and on this ground they disallow *لَاوِي*. Whatever be the origin of the Hamza in *لَا*, however, the *ا*, which is *rad.*, differs from the *ا* of *كَسَاءَ*, which is *aug.*; and on this ground R does not allow *لَاوِي*. Cf. the opinion of R, IHsh, and A on *مَاءَ* water [304].

P. 1360, l. 1. For “be” read “he”—l. 11. Read *الْمَرْتِي*. If, as S holds, the vowel of the *ف* be retained on restoration of the *غ*, then *الْمَرِي* becomes *الْمَرْتِي*; so that, the second being mobile, the *ي* must be elided, as in *يَتَقَى* [301]; and, the word being thus reduced to three letters, the second must be pronounced with Fath, as in *دُتِلَ* [296]—*Ibid.* Read *الْمَرْتِي*—l. 12. Read *الْمَرَاوِي*.

P. 1363, ll. 5-11. See p. 1371, l. 13, and the Note thereon.

P. 1367, l. 1. Not *إِمْرَتِي* and *إِمْرَعِي*, as printed by Derenbourg in S. II. 81, ll. 1-2. See ll. 10-12 below; and p. 1377, ll. 21-22;

and IY. 766, l. 23. This is according to the *dial.* that makes the vowel of the *ر* conform to the vowel of the Hamza in ^{أَمْرٌ} [16]. According to the *dials.* that make the vowel of the *ر* Fatḥ in all cases or Damm in all cases, the *rel. n.* is ^{أَمْرِي} or ^{أَمْرِي}.

P. 1369, ll. 21-22. The "original formation of the *masc.*" means the original vocalization of the *ف* and *ع*, whether the *ل* be restored, as in ^{أَخَوَاتٌ}; or not, as in ^{بَنَاتٌ} [234].

P. 1370, l. 3. ^{كَلَرِي} printed by Derenbourg in S. II. 78, l. 18, should be ^{كَلَرِي}, as in IY. 764, l. 14, and SH. 48, l. 8.

P. 1371, l. 13. But see p. 874, l. 26, and p. 1363, ll. 5-11; and cf. vol. II, p. 16, l. 21—p. 16 a, l. 4. The passage in the S (vol. II, p. 78, ll. 15-17) here paraphrased by R is extremely involved and obscure—l. 17. I adopt the *var.* ^{بِنْتِي} given in S. II 78, note 18, as plainly required by what R says here and below (p. 1372, l. 21—p. 1373, l. 13); not ^{بِنْتِي} given by Derenbourg in l. 18 of the text.

P. 1375, l. 3. ^{كَلَرِي} in IY. 764, l. 15, seems to be a misprint—*Ibid.* And apparently he says ^{كَلَتِي} and ^{كَلَتَاوِي} also, like ^{مَلَهِي} and ^{مَلَهَاوِي} [300]—ll. 4-7. IY, who asserts that Jr considers the *ت* to be the *ë* of femininization, gives two other reasons, (1) that the *ë* is not a sign of femininization in the *sing.*, except when it is preceded by a Fatḥa, as in ^{قَاتِمَةٌ}, or an *ا*, as in ^{سَعْلَةٌ} [272]; while the *ل* in ^{كَلَتَا} is quiescent: and (2) that the sign of femininization is never a medial, but always a final. But these are inapplicable according to the opinion distinctly stated by R,

and evidently implied by Jh and A, that the ت does not contain the sense of feminization—l. 7. The object of the condition is to turn كَلْتَا into a *sing.* [117], so that it may become *decl.* as a trip-tote or diptote.

P. 1379, l. 24. Here and in p. 1380, l. 2, IY has إِحْدَرِي² for إِحْدِي² given by R. إِحْدِي being like حَبْلِي, either form is an *v-*able [301]—l. 1. ذِرَاع⁹ an *ell* is *fem.*

P. 1380, l. 2. See the Note on p. 1379, l. 24—l. 10. Put a comma after “IY” at the end of the line—l. 19. Not كَرْنِي², as printed by Jahn in IY. 766, l. 3.

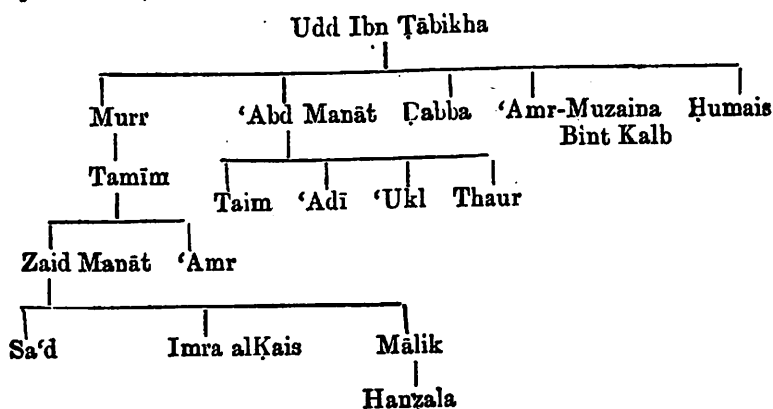
P. 1381, l. 16. The عَاجِن⁹ is he that, from old age, is unable to rise except after bearing on his two hands, as though he were kneading {R}—l. 19. IY has “but Abu-l-‘Abbās disapproves”, which I take to mean Th, mentioned just before. See the head-note to the Abbreviations of References.

P. 1383, l. 21. Or rather الْغَلَامُ لِرَيْدٍ the *man-servant belonging to Zaid*. See p. 343, ll. 10-12—l. 24. Not أَمْرَتِي², as printed by Derenbourg in S. II. 85, l. 11. See the Note on p. 1367, l. 1—l. 1. Not مَرَّتِي², as printed by Broch in M. 92, l. 6, and Jahn in IY. 766, l. 23. See p. 1367, ll. 7-16; and p. 1377, ll. 22-23; and S. II. 81, l. 4, and 85, l. 11; and IHb. 8 and Dh. 477. Of course مَرَّة², a *dial. var.* of أَمْر², would make مَرَّتِي². See Lane, p. 2703, col. 2.

P. 1384, l. 6. Read أَرْبَعَةً—l. 8. Not أَلْمَرَّتِي, as printed by Broch in M. 92, l. 7, and Jahn in IY. 766, l. 19, and 767, l. 16. See what is said above by AAz (p. 1383, l. 1—1384, l. 1).

P. 1387, l. 1. تَقَعَّبَسَ (A). So in the MSS, with precedence of the ق; but analogy requires the ع to precede, because the word is [formed from] a *rel. n.* of عَبْدُ الْقَيْسِ Sn.)

P. 1393, l. 23. The Ribāb were Taim [Ibn 'Abd Manāt (IKb)], 'Adī [Ibn 'Abd Manāt, of whom was the poet Dhu-r-Rumma (IKb)], 'Ukl, [Muzaina (ID),] and Ḍabba (IKb, ID). They were named [because they formed a confederacy, saying "Band yourselves together like the رِبَابَة", which is a rag wherein the arrows are collected together : or, as some say (ID),] because they dipped their hands into رُبْ, *date-juice*, and then swore one to the other (ID, Jh) upon it (Jh) ; but the first saying is better (ID) : or, as As says, because they قَرَّبُوا *formed a coalition* (Jh). Jh, followed by R and A, substitutes Thaur for Muzaina.



P. 1394, ll. 8-13. Lane (p. 1005, col. 1) gives the following extraordinary paraphrase of this passage from the Jh :— According to a rule generally observed when a [single] man is a *pl.* word for his name, as كَلَاب etc.", which is wrong on the face of it, because,

according to it, the *rel. n.* of كَلَاب¹³ ought to be كَلَبِي²; while it is exactly the opposite of what is laid down by Jh, who says that, when a single individual has a *pl.* word for his name, it is not restored to the *sing.*—*l.* 16. Read رَبَّابِي².

P. 1395, *l.* 21. Read "Abù".

P. 1396, *ll.* 3-8. A learned Jurist (Tr, IHjr). His name is said to have been Dhakwān, Ṭā'ūs being his cognomen (IH)¹⁴. He dwelt in AlJanad, a well-known town in AlYaman (Nw). He died in the year 106 (Tr, Nw, IHjr, TH), as the majority (Nw); or 101 (TH); or 110 and odd (Nw, TH): but the first is the well-known date (Nw). He was then more than seventy years old (Tr, Nw, TH). See *vol.* II, *p.* 22A—*l.* 5. Read "alFā-risī"—*ll.* 10-11. From Dhimār, a town two stages from the Ṣan'á of AlYaman (Nw). He was born in the year 34 (TH). And he died in the year 110, [113 (TH),] or 114 (Tr, Nw, TH), or 110 and odd (IHjr).

P. 1402, *l.* 4. I have not met with the name of its author (MN)—*l.* 18. Khuzaiba is the name of a mine (MI).

P. 1405, *l.* 13. He died (Nw, MAB) in the year 9 (MAB), during the lifetime of the Prophet, who prayed over him, and shrouded him in his own shirt (Nw).

P. 1408, *l.* 11. Read "32".

P. 1410, *l.* 10. Read "33".

P. 1412, *l.* 4. When you double [the ل of بَاتِلِي¹], you abbreviate [the !], and put the ن before the ي of relation; but, when you prolong [the !], you make [the ل in] it single, and say بَاتِلَاي¹ with a Hamza (CD). And [H says that (CD)] those who prolong

[the | of] *بَاقِلَاتٍ* allow its *rel. ns.* to be *بَاقِلَاتِي* and *بَاقِلَاتِي*, as the *rel. ns.* of *حِرْبَاءٌ* are *حِرْبَائِي* and *حِرْبَائِي* (D). But the Hamza of *بَاقِلَاتٍ*, being for feminization, must be converted into و; whereas the Hamza of *عِلْبَاءٌ* [and *حِرْبَاءٌ*], being a co-ordinative *aug.*, may be converted or left [304]: so says IBr (CD). And [similarly (CD)] *الْحَلَوَاتِي* *the Confectioner* [or *الْحَلَوَاتِي* (Dh)] is said of Shams alA'imma 'Abd Al'Aziz Ibn Aḥmad (Dh, CD) alBukhārī, the learned man of the East, *d.* 456 (Dh), which, IHjr says, is with a Hamza (CD). It is [said in the KF to be (CD)] a *rel. n.* from *حَلَاوَةٌ* *sweetness* or *sweetmeat* (Dh, CD): but this is a blunder, because, if it were so, *حَلَاوِي* would be said [302]; and the truth is that it is a *rel. n.* from *حَلَوَاءٌ* *sweetmeat* (CD).

P. 1420, l. 7. Jahn prints *رَضِيَتْ* (IY. 773, l. 22).

P. 1422, ll. 5-6. Ks was so called because he entered AlKūfa, and came to Ḥamza Ibn Ḥabīb azZayyāt, enveloped in a wrapper, whereupon Ḥamza said "who will read?" and it was said to him "*The wearer of the wrapper*"; or, as is said, because he entered the holy land, *clad in a wrapper* (IKhn). See vol. II, p. 24A—l. 7. Fr was so called, though he neither *manufactured furs*, nor *sold them*, because he *كَانَ يَفْرِى الْكَلَامَ* *used to trim the speech* (IKhn, MAB).